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Periodicals

JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

CONTAINING THE
TRANSACTIONS OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION

NUMBER XXXI.

JANUARY, 1894.

SARATOGA PAPERS OF 1893.

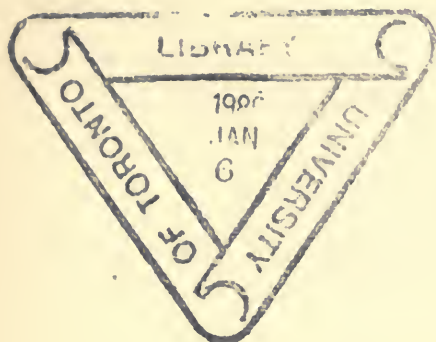
PAPERS ON ARBITRATION, THE SILVER
QUESTION, CRIME AND PUNISHMENT,
ETC.



PUBLISHED FOR THE
AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION.

DAMRELL & UPHAM, BOSTON, AND G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, NEW YORK.

1894.



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EDITED BY
F. B. SANBORN
GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE ASSOCIATION
CONCORD, MASS.

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INTRODUCTION.

The papers included in this number of the *Journal of Social Science* are more than half of the Saratoga Papers of 1893. As some misapprehension may exist in regard to the publication of papers by the Association, it may here be said that all papers engaged for the General Meeting of the American Social Science Association are so engaged, with the understanding that they may be printed in the *Journal of Social Science* if the Council so decide. If, therefore, the writers choose to publish their papers elsewhere (to which the Council offers no objection), it must be with the stipulation that these papers may also be published in the *Journal*, at the option of the Council as to the time of publication.

A list of all the Addresses and Papers for the meeting of 1893 is printed on pages v-vi.

CONCORD, MASS., Dec. 30, 1893.

GENERAL MEETING OF 1893.

The General Meeting of 1893 was held at the new Town Hall in Saratoga, beginning Monday, September 4, and closing Friday, September 8.

The opening Paper was by the President, H. L. WAYLAND, D.D., of Philadelphia, Monday evening, September 4, at 8.00 P.M., on "*Compulsory Arbitration.*" A Debate followed.

The Departments held sessions as follows:—

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 5.

Department of Education.

9.30 A.M. Remarks by the Secretary.

10.00 A.M. Announcement of Prizes to Universities and Colleges.

10.30 A.M. A Paper on "*Athletics for City Girls,*" by Dr. Mary T. Bissell, of New York.

11.30 A.M. A Report on "*The Education of Epileptics,*" by the Secretary of the Department, Dr. LOUISE FISKE BRYSON, of New York.

12.30 P.M. Annual Report of the Secretary, F. B. SANBORN, of Concord.

8.00 P.M. Annual Election of Officers.

8.30 P.M. An Address by Hon. OSCAR S. STRAUS, of New York, on "*Turkey and Civilization.*"

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 6.

Department of Finance.

9.30 A.M. Remarks by the Chairman of the Department, Hon. F. J. KINGSBURY, of Waterbury, Ct., on "*The Relative Value of the Factors that produce Wealth.*"

10.00 A.M. A Paper by Col. JACOB L. GREENE, of Hartford, on "*Bimetallism.*"

11.00 A.M. A Paper by Dr. CHARLES B. SPAHR, of New York, on "*The Status of Silver.*"

11.30 A.M. A Paper on "*The Silver Question of India,*" by Dr. E. B. Andrews, President of Brown University.

12.00 M. Discussion of the preceding Papers.

4.00 P.M. Meeting of the Council of the Association.

8.00 P.M. An Address by FREDERICK PETERSON, M.D., of New York, on "*Recent Progress in Medicine and Surgery.*"

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 7.

Department of Jurisprudence.

9.30 A.M. Remarks by the Chairman of the Department, Prof. FRANCIS WAYLAND, of New Haven, Ct.

10.00 A.M. A Paper on "*The Retributive Element in the Treatment of Convicts and Criminals,*" by JOHN MCKEAN, Esq., of New York.

10.30 A.M. A Reply on the same subject, by EUGENE SMITH, Esq., of New York.

12.00 M. A Paper on "*Recent Reforms in the Penal Code of Switzerland,*" by Prof. GEORGE G. WILSON, of Brown University, Providence.

8.00 P.M. An Address in memory of GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS, by EDWARD B. MERRILL, Esq., of New York.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 8.

Department of Social Economy.

9.30 A.M. Address by the Chairman of the Department, F. B. Sanborn.

10.00 A.M. A Paper on "*The Mutual Benefit Societies of Connecticut,*" by S. M. Hotchkiss, Esq., of Hartford, Ct.

11.00 A.M. A Report from the Department on "*Results of Legislation concerning the Sweating System.*"

11.30 A.M. Remarks by VIVE KANANDA, of Madras, and others, on the preceding Papers.

CONSTITUTION.

I. This Society shall be called the AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION.

II. Its object shall be classified in five departments: the first, of Education; the second, of Health; the third, of Trade and Finance; the fourth, of Social Economy; the fifth, of Jurisprudence.

III. It shall be administered by a President, as many honorary Vice-Presidents as may be chosen, a Treasurer, a Secretary, and a Council, charged with general supervision; five Department Committees, established by the Council, charged with the supervision of their respective departments; and such Local Committees as may be established by the Council at different points, to serve as branch associations. The Council shall consist of the President, Treasurer, and Secretary, the Chairman and Secretary of each Department, and ten Directors, with power to fill vacancies and to make their own By-Laws. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Chairman, and Secretaries of Departments, and Directors shall be chosen annually by members of the Association, and shall hold office till their successors are chosen. The President, or in his absence a Director, shall be Chairman of the Council. The Chairman of the Local Committees shall be chosen at the pleasure of their respective committees. Whenever a Branch Association shall be organized and recognized as such by the Council, its President shall be *ex-officio* one of the Vice-Presidents of the American Association, and, together with the Secretary and Treasurer, shall be entitled to all the privileges of membership in that Association. And, whenever a Local Department shall be organized and recognized as such by the Council, its Chairman shall become *ex-officio* a member of the parent Association. The Chairman and Secretary of each Department, with the consent of the President of the Association, may appoint such special Department Committees as they may think best. The General Secretary shall be elected for three years, unless he resigns, or is removed by a two-thirds vote of the members present and voting in a regular meeting of the Council; and out of his compensation he may pay the salary of an Assistant Secretary, who may also be Secretary of one Department.

IV. Any person may become a member by paying five dollars, and may continue a member by paying annually such further sum as may be fixed at the Annual Meeting, not exceeding ten dollars. On payment of one hundred dollars, any person may become a life-member exempt from assessments. Honorary and corresponding members may be elected, and exempted from the payment of assessments.

V. The Council shall have sole power to call and conduct General Meetings, and to publish the Transactions and other documents of the Association. The Department Committee shall have power to call and conduct Department Meetings.

VI. No amendment to this Constitution shall be made, except at an annual meeting, with public notice of the proposed amendment.

American Social Science Association.

(Founded in 1865.)

OFFICERS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1893-94.

President, F. J. KINGSBURY, Waterbury, Ct.

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II. *Health*.—FREDERICK PETERSON, M.D., 201 West 54th Street, New York, *Chairman*; L. F. BRYSON, M.D., 56 West 46th Street, New York, *Secretary*.

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IV. *Social Economy*.—F. B. SANBORN, Concord, *Chairman*; JOSEPH LEE, Brookline, Mass., *Secretary*.

V. *Jurisprudence*.—Prof. FRANCIS WAYLAND, New Haven, *Chairman*; EUGENE SMITH, 32 Pine St., N.Y., *Secretary*.

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GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.

A TRIBUTE TO HIS LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICE.

BY EDWARD B. MERRILL, OF NEW YORK.

[Read Sept. 7, 1893.]

We come, in obedience to the dictates of our hearts, in the acknowledgment of a personal duty, and in the observance of a beautiful custom,— a custom coincident with the tears shed at the first grave,— to pay a tribute to the memory of our friend.

And, although it is difficult to say anything wholly new concerning him, we may also ask if it is yet full time to tell what manner of man he altogether was.

“Many places have already spoken his eulogy,”—have given up the hour, to trace the lines along which his character was developed; to make more distinct and clear to our apprehension his labors, the habits of his daily life, the charming qualities of his personal presence, the delights of his companionship, the even and unsurpassed high level and elevated tone of his writings as a journalist, his scholarship, his grace of manner, his sincerity in action, his great common sense, his iron will and personal courage, giving him rightfully his place among the men of history who dared to take the responsibility upon rare occasions, when no one else could speak the word; to a consideration of the purity of his literary style, his love for the people, to whom the sovereignty of our country was long since and originally dedicated, his love of art, books, music, nature, of little children, his respect for his neighbors, his devotion to the cause of education, and to the effort to bring in an era of purer politics and wiser laws and their administration,— of all these conceded virtues, all which were his, I hazard the opinion, more has been written and said since the last sad day when they laid him to rest forever than has been written or said of any other private American citizen during or before the period in which he lived in our American republic. For he was, partly by reason of circumstances, but more largely, I believe, from his own personal choice, holding no political office by election, and of his own will seeking none (he at one

time told me that the only office he would accept would be the Presidency of the Century Club); not even the graduate of any American college; a child, in a measure, of the school system of New England and the traditions of its early settlers; inheriting by birth the temperament of the student, the patriot, and the moralist, yet bringing to bear through all his career those qualities of mind which compel observation of affairs, and the study of the philosophical relations of events as they occur, obedient in his conduct and worship to the finest usages, moral forces, and highest ideals transmitted from his own ancestry among the earliest settlers of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and from the Puritan Pilgrims, and from all the other sectarists of that early period; and with all these and more behind him, with the world before him, and every door opening wide at his coming,—he lived for the more than threescore years allotted to him, and he died, distinctively a private citizen.

Of whom else among his contemporaries can so much be truly said?

And how, with no discordant note, the whole people united in the pæan which affirmed his praise and eulogy! with what willing hands they brought the leaf with which to weave a chaplet to bind his brow!

By the press, to which vocation he gave so great a part of himself, and by whose influence journalism at its best, in these latter days, has become co-ordinate with literature; by the pulpit, for which no one, not even its brightest ornament, harbors in his mind a larger reverence than did he; at the college festivals, upon whose platform no orator of our time was ever more welcome, nor any speaker whose mature thoughts clothed in such captivating form ever inspired such confidence, or attracted more willingly, or led with easier step to attain to a higher life the young men of this republic; by the resolutions of all the various organizations with which he was in sympathy,—chartered to subserve every philanthropic and reformatory step taken that the citizenship of his time might be helped forward, and made more patriotic and less venal; by all the different societies the observance of whose anniversaries was incomplete if he was absent; in the State legislatures, in the clubs, in the chance gatherings of friends to whom "his memory is myrrh, and his presence was frankincense and flowers," and to whom his acquaintance was an education in ethics; at the firesides of his neighbors, to whom the example of

his daily life lent the argument in support of the sunny side of their various creeds; in city, town, and village, and by the countryside; in poem and prose,— his character and virtues, his rectitude and sincerity, his mental equipment and industry, and his long and open career, so various and so interesting, and by which the many sides of his nature are clearly disclosed, have been discoursed upon; and by all these and more his eulogy has been amply spoken and approved.

It is little indeed that I shall be able to add to this wealth of praise; and I must bespeak your largest indulgence if I fail to reach that high level which the subject, and a due consideration for this Association of which he "was at one time President, and always in full and active sympathy with its aims," demands.

The nobility by nature of his ancestors, his place of birth, his studies, travels, and occupations through the nearly threescore and ten years which were allotted to him to live, have become so well known by repetition that I might well leave those reminiscences for a more competent hand. I shall treat them but briefly, and in such a way as may lead us by gradual and easy steps to the view I take of the permanent result of Mr. Curtis's career.

He came attended by that great company, his contemporaries, all of them his personal friends—the founders one may justly say of our distinctive American literature—and whose names are now "familiar as household word" throughout the civilized world. The year he was born Irving had published but three of his ever-welcomed volumes, all of which are still read; Holmes was at school; Whittier a lad at work upon the farm; Emerson was at Harvard; both Longfellow and Hawthorne were classmates at Bowdoin College; Lowell was just tottering into boyhood; and from over the sea Charles Lamb, just retiring from his clerkship in India House, stood, as if silently waiting for some successor worthy from mental kinship to wear henceforth the bays of Elia, and, living but a few years, departed, bidding our friend hail and farewell.

He was born into the "soul-liberty" of Roger Williams, at Providence, in February, 1824, within sound of the bell and in the shadow of Brown University, of which he was always a loyal foster-child, as he came afterwards to be almost the favorite among her many foster-sons. This phrase was a frequent text with him: he lived true to this principle throughout his whole career, cherishing and imparting the spirit and meaning of the

fullest "soul-liberty" as best he could, in its broadest interpretation; and he has made the word, by his apt use of it, so familiar that it has become a current coin in letters and a synonyme of freedom in its broadest significance.

His mother died while he was very young. His maternal grandfather was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island, and held in high esteem. He died while he was from that State a member of the United States Senate, and when holding this latter office was a pronounced opponent of slavery.

His father was a man of high position in the mercantile community, and, I have heard, transmitted much of the charm of his voice and courtesy of manner to his distinguished son.

After he had been at a boarding-school at Jamaica Plain for a few years, and subsequently with a private tutor, in obedience to the wishes of his father, he was placed with a German importing house in New York.

The boy's school-days near Boston, and his experience in Exchange Place, are supposed to be freely given in "Trumps," Mr. Curtis's only novel (1858-59).

I should hesitate to pass judgment upon this book as being a good or a poor novel, for I have been often told by my companion, who sits at the other end of my own hearthstone, that I do not know a good novel when I read one; and whether it be good or poor, and whether it be true or not that it was not his most successful book, I must express the opinion that the book is worth reading, without regard to the presence or absence in its pages of those dramatic or descriptive situations, or competent analyses and delineations of character, the presence of which are requisite to the make up of a good novel. I must aver that the whole book is worth reading alone for the admirably descriptive chapter upon the preaching of Drs. Channing and Summerfield; the character of Lawrence Newt, the honest merchant; and for the discovery that before he had taken his later position of a recognized journalist the author clearly perceived and well understood the tricks and methods of the "boss politicians," and so could preserve in this literary form the lasting infamy of General Arcularius Belch.

One year of business placed Curtis where years before it had placed Agassiz, who, being similarly constrained by the wishes of his father, entered a counting-house, and who said, after he had obtained the distinguished position as a naturalist into which he was born, that, "if he had followed a business pursuit, he would

probably have become nothing but a mere banker." So it was with Mr. Curtis. In 1840 the Transcendental movement had progressed so far as to invite the interest of scholars and other thoughtful people, both men and women, everywhere; and Mr. Curtis, then tiring of his semi-forced occupation as clerk, threw it up, and went to Brook Farm.

He was then a boy but sixteen years of age. This step on his part, and the one just succeeding it, were the steps by which, as I think, were determined the final issues of his educational life.

The intimate family relation and association by this lad at this impressionable age—possessed by no vanity nor false pride, but modest, courteous, industrious, with a taste for books, and a natural aptitude for learning, a native literary faculty, and a receptive spirit—with the dwellers, neighbors, and visitors at Brook Farm was of inestimable advantage to him, exceeding that of all the schools besides.

Add to this his later residence in Concord, with the out-of-door work and days, with his admitted and welcome intercourse with Emerson (at that time forming a friendship and respect for one another, which never abated while either lived), and with Hawthorne, Thoreau, Margaret Fuller, and all the other disciples who dwelt near that tabernacle, and one may estimate somewhat the sources of his early inspiration and the intellectual foundation for all his subsequent work.

No adequately complete and continuous account of the origin, purport, and dispersing of the community of Brook Farm has been written. But sketches, more or less true, may be read in various volumes. I have heard it said that Mr. Curtis was never fully satisfied with the spirit or comprehension of the subject by those authors whom he had read, and was too busy and preoccupied with his own work to undertake it himself. I can tell you nothing in detail which will be new regarding it. But I think no one well informed of the character, attainments, and purposes of those who first conceived the plan,—so scholarly and philanthropic, so earnest and sincere, were they all in this early and misdated effort to realize an ideal conception of common life,—no one can pass a judgment of their attempt, measured by its intellectual and spiritual results, as being otherwise than a great, if not the greatest, single movement of Christian philosophers on this continent.

Although we seldom meet in his writings with any direct reference to Brook Farm, or any confession of his thorough appreci-

ation of the effort, or the trace of any indication that he was affected by its Transcendental spirit, and although it was early disbanded, yet time has justified the formation of the society, and its fundamental spirit can never be lost to us. Just as a hitherto concealed and unknown spring in the earth, by some seismic influence, is released from its hidden home, and flows thenceforth through its newly found portals to gratify and refresh the arid land, on every side alluring it to a new use and finer beauty, so the intellectual impulse born of this community, breaking through the sordid and material crust which still seemed to overlay and weigh down the spiritual progress of the practical mind of New England, released from any further fear or mistrust of a love for the loftiest idealism, flowed forth in a bright and sparkling current, and, moving westward by slow approaches, so infected the common temperament of the people as to make the character of Lincoln possible, filled the valley of the Father of Rivers with the hopes of a new manhood, and opened the doors of a great university at the feet of the Golden Image worshipped at the Golden Gate on our Western sea.

With this environment, in this new atmosphere, infiltrate by the influences of this school, and beneath the muffled blows of a new science and a new scholarship, of literature and of a faith in the obligations to the highest duties, this image shall yet be found disintegrated, and its dust "scattered like chaff upon the summer threshing floor." Verily, as Emerson says, verily, "when the great God lets loose a thinker on this planet, then all things are at risk."

"Fear, Craft and Avarice
Cannot rear a State.
Out of dust to build
What is more than dust,—
Walls Amphion piled
Phœbus 'stablish must.
When the Muses nine
With the Virtues meet,
Find to their design
An Atlantic seat,
By green orchard boughs,
Fenced from the heat,
Where the Statesman ploughs
Furrows for the wheat;
When the Church is social worth,
When the State-house is the hearth,
Then the perfect State is come,
The republican at home."

“He who builds upon ideas builds for eternity.”

In 1846 Mr. Curtis made his first and only visit to Europe and the East. He travelled extensively and observingly over the continent, and was matriculated at the University of Berlin. His time was passed wisely and profitably in his studies of politics and history, of music, of men, and of natural scenery; and, either by the diligence or on foot, by the railway or camel's back, or by the dahabeah, with most delightful travelling companions he saw and heard all that in those times, and for all times, is worth seeing and hearing in those portions of the earth's earliest civilizations. The personal enjoyment which he reaped from these active and engrossing years was of more importance in its results to us than to him, from the literary fruit they afterwards bore.

This fruit, the “Nile Notes,” the “Howadji in Syria,” and much of what is embodied in “Lotus Eating,” and many of his “Easy Chair” papers, he offered to us with a modesty only excelled by the great delight by which it was, and always will be, enjoyed. No student of Egypt or of Syria and the Holy Land will have completed his studies of that ancient and withered civilization, until he has had the good fortune of looking through the atmosphere of that far-off and tropical clime through the bright and cheerful spectacles of our friend. His philosophy of travel he expresses in this way: “The highest value of travel is not the accumulation of facts, but the perception of their significance. It is not the individual pictures and statues we saw in Italy, nor the elegance of Paris, nor the comfort in England, nor the splendor of the Orient in detail, which are permanently valuable. It is the breadth they give to experience, the more reasonable faith they inspire in the scope of human genius, the dreamy distances of thought with which they surround life. In the landscape which we enjoyed as a varied whole, what do we care for the branching tree or the winding river, although we know that without tree or river there would be no landscape! When Italy and Syria and Greece have become thoughts in your mind, then you have truly travelled.”

In these books the reader will be transplanted to the East, and here may gather the impressions of the poet, the scholar, the critic, and the shrewd and humorous observer of men and things, conveyed in a style of exquisite daintiness; rich with the cordial juices of the peach and plum; full of the fragrance of Scripture, enhanced by his own sympathy, his culture, and his religious spirit, broad, catholic, profound, embracing every people in every

clime, and saturated with the sweetness and aroma of flowers and song.

He was still a young man, not yet thirty years of age, when these books were first published. They were received both abroad and at home with high praise; and now after the lapse of forty years, rereading them with our better knowledge of the Orient, of the author, and of his mental powers to us, they seem to be even more valuable than at the period they promised to be.

You leave them in full accord with the crisp, epigrammatic criticism of Rufus Choate. A copy of the "Poetry of the East," by Rev. William Alger, had been sent to him. Meeting the author soon after, he remarked to him, "I examined your 'Poetry of the East' with a great deal of interest. The Orientals seem to be amply competent to metaphysics, wonderfully competent to poetry, scarcely competent to virtue, utterly incompetent to liberty."

He returned from Europe disciplined by his constant study, observation, and experiences of long travel in the congenial companionship of Hedge, Cranch, and Kensett, with his mind well equipped for the work which was before him.

The faultless expression of his poetic taste; his love of books, of Nature in all her various moods; his delight in the occupations nourished best in the still air of the library of the student; his gentle sarcasm, tinged with a savor of sadness, as he paints with a free pen the follies of the gilded youth and their forgetfulness of *noblesse oblige*, the foolishness and vanity of an ambition to gain the things that perish,—all these by his cultivated powers of literary description and comparison of nature, and the best results of human efforts, together with the delights of travel, he gave to us in "Lotus Eating" in 1852.

In one passage he says: "Many a man to whom Niagara has been a hope and an inspiration, and who has stood before its majesty awe-stricken and hushed, scarcely wonders that his words describing it are not pictures and poems. But any great natural object, a cataract, an Alp, a storm at sea, are seed too vast for any sudden flowering. They live in experience, moulding life. At length the pure peaks of noble aims and the broad flow of a generous manhood betray that in some happy hour of youth you have seen the Alps and Niagara."

In this same year he began his first work upon *Harper's Magazine*, and commenced his genial comments upon society, which later led up to the "Potiphar Papers."

Of *Putnam's Magazine*, established in 1853, he, associated with Mr. Godwin and Mr. Briggs, became a co-editor. Mr. Godwin says that in an editorial conference it was settled that each editor should write a paper upon "Parties," believing that in those warm political times such a series would bring this new literary venture into favorable and wide public notice. And in this wise Curtis showed with characteristic humor his interpretation of the scheme and appreciation of the wishes of the reading public by producing his "Potiphar Papers." Later in the same magazine he published his "Prue and I," the most charming bit of continuous sentiment he ever wrote.

Every one who reads anything has read it, and it would seem superfluous to mention it further here. It is a prose idyl, full to the end with the most delightful comments of society and of men and women; of autobiographic recollections and sentiments; of dreams, fantasies, and whims,—all clothed in such a charming literary garb and with such verisimilitude of time and place and mood that the reader is carried along its pages in the company of the simple-hearted but philosophic book-keeper and his wife, sympathizing in all their pains and sorrows, their simple pleasures, and their honest joys; and, when you close the book, and lay it down, it seems as though you were saying "good-by" for the last time to the hero, your most loyal friend, because he was the friend of every honest thought and manly deed.

The "Homes of American Authors" was also published in *Putnam's*.

His business connection with the publication of the magazine was less fortunate. But I need not rehearse what has been so often told to the credit of the great sense of personal honor, which was one of the marked characteristics of the man. By reason of it, he became one among many great living teachers and lay preachers of a now almost forgotten system, which extended more widely over our Northern States his literary reputation, and delighted every audience by the charms of his presence, by the sound of his marvellous voice, his grace of manner, his captivating scholarship and rare judgment of men, of books, of literature, and of life. In his many lyceum lectures throughout the East and West, through thirteen long and tedious winters, while of such great advantage to us all, I cannot but feel that he superimposed upon himself, through his delicate and refining moral sense, a labor uncalled for by any legal or by the best mercantile judgment

concerning a business obligation, and erected a barrier between himself and the honors which belonged to him by reason of his genius and attainments. He had not then, and never in all his life, had any time to pay attention to anything except the duty next in hand. Then it was to pay a debt laid upon a friend through the neglect or oversight of another; and, though death follow the effort, with him was the undying sentiment that the debt must be paid.

It was during this period that he delivered, by invitation, his course of lectures upon "The English Novelists" before the Lowell Institute in Boston. His lectures upon Thackeray, and upon Dickens and Charlotte Brontë, which he often repeated subsequently before other audiences, were three of the twelve lectures he prepared for this course. He was then about thirty years of age. The invitation was a great compliment to so young a man; but his habits of reading and study from the beginning, his long travel, his acquaintance with many of the authors themselves, his critical judgment, his literary charm of style and grace of delivery, and his most attractive personality were an augury of the complete triumph he obtained. No more popular or popularly instructive course of lectures was, I venture to say, ever delivered before that noble institution, whose management, since its first dedication to science and letters, has received upon its platform the most noted scholars of the English-speaking world. I can just recall their wide-spread interest and popularity, and how those who could not hear read them with avidity and delight as they were reported in the press. I can only refer you now for comparison to the interest taken in London in his course of lectures upon "Moral Philosophy," as described by Lady Holland in the life of her father, Sydney Smith.

Of his other lectures, and of the lecture system, I avail myself of what Mr. Chadwick has so well written: "His rivals were Beecher, and Chapin, and Parker, and Emerson, and Phillips, and many of less note; but no one was welcomed more cordially than he, or did less to debase the currency which he exchanged for F. A. M. E., as Chapin called it,—'Fifty and my expenses,' then a maximum rate. Parker was more massive, Emerson more profound and mystical, Phillips more incisive, Chapin more vehement, Beecher more humorous and impassioned; but no other had his perfect charm of voice and manner, suiting the dignity of noble thoughts expressed in cadences that were like music to the ear.

Many of his lectures were upon literary subjects, but always with a lively feeling for the personality behind the book. His 'Sir Philip Sidney' was related to his repertory much as Phillips's 'Lost Arts' to his, which was much more contracted; and ever, as men heard, they confused the speaker with the man of whom he spoke.

"What Sidney's fame was, his shall be,—

A gracious name to men,

With more than Sidney's chivalry,

And more than Sidney's pen!

"As the anti-slavery combat deepened, his lectures took its impress more and more, until frequently it became his solitary theme and he must go from Dr. Furness's house, in the peaceful and Quaker City of Philadelphia, to the lecture hall with six revolvers in the pockets of as many friends, to insure his safety."

It was in October, 1853, that Mr. Curtis first began his series of essays for the "Easy Chair" in *Harper's Magazine*. It will probably not be questioned that it is by those productions that he has become so widely known as a purely literary man. And it is hardly necessary, in this presence, to attempt any analysis or criticism upon them. As various in topic as they are elegant and elevated in style and tone, the series covers every subject,—men, society, fads and fashions, recollections, natural scenery, philosophy, poetry, satire, humor, criticism of books, tributes to departed friends, politics in the larger sense, and whatsoever can suggest itself to a literary worker of such wide observation as his, such cultivation of mental qualities, such high moral tone, such courage, and pure regard for the welfare of common people, and such appreciation and worship of the highest ideals of life. Their first appearance was an epoch in American literature. They follow in literary development the long series of essays upon the common but interesting affairs of daily life, which were begun more than a century before by those well-preserved and still-read papers which made the names of Addison, Steele, and Goldsmith, familiar to our youth,—books for instruction and delight, and which complete a seeming solidarity of the mental culture of the Anglo-Saxon race. We need have no apprehension that the "Easy Chair" at its best will lose anything in any aspect of our criticism—whether it be knowledge of men and affairs, purity of style, or purity or moral tone—by the coldest comparison with "The Tatler," "The Spectator," or "The Citizen of the World." It will live forever in

literature with them, to be held in praise higher, by as much as the moral tone of social life of this day, and the customs of polite society are purer, sweeter, and more gracious than were those of the past century in England.

“What is excellent,
As God lives, is permanent.”

No higher praise could be given it, no more sorrowful recognition that the “Easy Chair” was vacant, nor greater sense of the loss we must bear, than that at Mr. Curtis’s death the series was discontinued.

“The silent organ loudest chants
The master’s requiem.”

In 1856 General Fremont was a candidate for the Presidency, and it was in this campaign and in his support that Mr. Curtis first entered actively into political life. In this year also he made his distinguished literary address at Wesleyan University upon “The Relation of the American Scholar to Politics and the Times.” I think it was perhaps this address which first attracted toward him, as a political thinker and guide, the attention of the young men of America,—an attention which, the longer continued and faithful it was, was sure, in the thirty years of thought and counsel derived from it, to develop and enrich their great and unswerving confidence and affection which became his, and his almost alone of the political leaders of his day. It was a position of which he or any man might be proud, to be the leader and guide of the youth of a great Republic. What nobler position, or higher, may man ask, and what greater praise can be bestowed than that, neither by line or word of all he said or of all he wrote, either in politics or literature, in all the forty years of his mental activity and public work, did he say or write a word or line which would corrupt or mislead with false doctrine the young men of his time? To no mind more than to his own was there ever present a more constant watchfulness of the progress of this Republic, or a more constant effort that this progress might be carried along upon the highest levels of national development; nor to any one was the truth ever more distinctly present that to the young men are entrusted the future and the fortunes of their country.

From this time forward and until the day of his death he took deep and active interest in public affairs.

In 1860 he was a delegate to the convention which nominated

Abraham Lincoln ; and, although Seward was his candidate, yet with constitutional independence of judgment and conduct, he refused to bind himself to vote only for him. To no one more than to him was there afterwards a keener appreciation of the fact that it was a happy fortune which gave the honor to the less experienced but wiser man. It was in a short speech which he made at this convention that he won one of his earliest and most significant triumphs as a political orator.

The so-called practical and self-constituted leaders, the self-considered wise and hard-headed politicians, had not only proposed among themselves to dictate the movements of that body, but had also arranged that in that first great gathering of the Republican party, just preceding the Civil War, there should be nothing "inflammatory" in their declarations which might serve to disturb the border States. When the platform was reported from the committee, Joshua Giddings, of Ohio, who had been one of the leaders, as he was one of the founders and fathers of the party, moved an amendment to it, embracing the immortal words of the Declaration of Independence. Some such motion was expected, so, at a preconcerted signal being given by these "leaders," the motion was voted down, and Giddings turned to leave the convention. "It seemed to me," said Mr. Curtis afterwards, — "it seemed to me that the spirits of all the martyrs to freedom were marching out of the convention behind the venerable form of that indignant and outraged old man."

Mr. Curtis sprang to his feet, and renewed the motion. His voice was drowned in the opposing clamor. A writer in the press thus describes the scene : —

"Folding his arms, he calmly faced the uproarious mass, and waited. The spectacle of a man who would not be put down, at length so far amused the delegates that they stopped to look at him.

" 'Gentlemen,' rang out the musical voice, in tones of calm intensity, — 'gentlemen, this is the convention of free speech, and I have been given the floor. I have only a few words to say to you, but I shall say them if I stand here until to-morrow morning.'

"Again the tumult threatened the roof of the wigwam, and again the orator waited. His own moral courage and pluck, and the chairman's gavel, soon gave him another chance. Skilfully changing the amendment to the second resolution, to make it in order, he spoke, as with a tongue of fire, in its support, daring 'the repre-

sentatives of the party of freedom, meeting on the borders of the free prairies, in a hall dedicated to the advancement of liberty, to reject the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence, affirming the equality and defining the rights of man.' ”

The speech fell upon that audience like a spark upon tinder, the members came to themselves, their souls glowed anew with the fires of love for universal and equal liberty on this continent; and his amendment was adopted with a shout of enthusiasm more unanimous and deafening than was the yell of scorn with which it had been previously rejected.

This was his opportunity, and he accepted it, to make his first personally historic impression upon our national politics, and to add his wise counsels in giving direction to a national party. No one could do more. He could do no less. It places his name among those who, on rare occasions in history, have dared to take the responsibility. “I cannot do otherwise. God wills it.”

With a serene confidence in the holiness of the cause in which he was enlisted, with an unquestioning faith in the purity of the motives of the people who were behind it, with a sincere confidence in the validity of the reasons for his party's existence, he, by this personal effort, became at one bound its Abdiel, “Faithful among the faithless, faithful only he.”

From this time onward his position in politics as a thinker upon the broadest lines, as a leader of unquestionable moral courage, as a guide of the purest motives, was fixed and recognized all over the land. His labors were incessant in every cause in which his interest was engaged, and they continued until the end held in view at the outset of the contest was attained. He served his party in all its conventions, national and State, and in those which are held to subserve more local interests, with the fidelity which was a part of himself and which he could not neglect; and he often served either as a presiding officer or as the chairman of the Committee on Resolutions.

In 1867 he was a member of the Convention, among the delegates at large, called to amend the Constitution of the State of New York. He there served as the most efficient chairman of the Committee on Education, and therein performed most excellent service in lending his aid towards the permanent endowment of Cornell University, in the debate regarding the disposition of the public scrip appropriated for Agricultural Schools. It was while in this Convention that he delivered his argument upon conferring

the right of suffrage upon woman. Of course, his proposition was voted down, but not until the members had listened, charmed by his manner, instructed, but not persuaded, by his arguments, to a speech which he seldom, if ever, subsequently surpassed in the demonstration of the amplitude of his historical knowledge, in the sharpness of his satire, the kindliness of his humor, or the reasonableness of his logical position and his knowledge of jurisprudence.

Before the Civil War had closed, in 1863, he became the political editor of *Harper's Weekly*. He here secured the widest possible opportunity for public service, and a "door of utterance" wider, more commanding, and ampler than any other which he had held before, either as lecturer or platform orator.

This position he held until the close.

Through this door went far and wide, week by week, even to the "ends of the earth and to the uttermost parts of the sea," his editorials,—clear, clean, and forcible, elevated in tone, bringing journalism up to the level, in many instances, of pure literature; sincere in motive, elegant in form, irrefutable as to the facts, impregnable in their logic, the garland of flowers concealing oftentimes the tendon of steel beneath; always and at every period of time urging uncompromisingly freedom for man, political justice, the highest conceptions of principle and conduct, and the subversion of intrigue and political jugglery, whereby the interests of his pure democracy, "the unrestrained aspiration and expectation of the new man," should be put at risk.

It was an unusually broad-minded, liberal, and generous member of the so-called stalwart wing of the Republican party in Pennsylvania who replied to the question of his friend, another adherent of the same wing, but who was more stalwart, "You don't say that you read Curtis's editorials in *Harper's Weekly*, do you?" "Read them," he replied,— "read them! I guess I do, and I can say more: I only wish I could write them." So in this unknown way his influence worked, and through these unseen channels came to the surface and the sunshine, in the surprises on future election days.

If you will bear in mind also how his occupation of journalist required so wide a study of the daily affairs of our own and of every other country of the globe,—their politics, finance, diplomacy, laws, their music, their philanthropies and educational movements, their great men living and dying, each of which hold in

these latter days so close and intimate interest and concern of every intelligent mind here and everywhere, requiring such constant and engrossing labor and study, such clear perceptions on his part, such accurate judgment and such sincere comment, meeting at every turn the approval of his friends mingled with the bitterest criticism of opponents, the abuse of enemies, and the obloquy of triflers; how his occupations ran along so easily and quietly in a double current for thirty years with the preparation of his literary essays and numerous addresses and speeches, each office distinct and undisturbed by the other, each work and consummation separate and apart from all the others, marking and limiting each vocation off from everything else about it, as the fabled waters of the classical fountain passed underneath the sea, "but the sweet stream passed under the bitter sea, the bitter sea pressed on the sweet stream, and each flowed unmingled, unchanged in taste or color," — you will the more clearly recognize the mental amplitude of the man.

Almost immediately succeeding the close of the war the abuses in the subordinate civil service began to attract a more public attention. President Lincoln — meditating in his most trying hour over the doubtful results of military movements, bearing upon his shoulders the weight of so many public duties, patient beyond all other men of his time with the complaints of his friends, the sluggishness and incompetence of some in high places, the treachery and fraud of the pretended friends of the public cause so near his own heart, but sustained by his own patriotic and faithful instincts at a height beyond that of any other man — failed to conceal the sorrow and indignation at the selfishness and indifference to the then condition of affairs with which the politicians and office-seekers pressed continually upon his attention, to the great detriment of other most delicate and important duties.

"One month after his first accession he said he wished he could get time to attend to the Southern question; he thought he knew what was wanted, and believed he could do something toward quieting the rising discontent, but the office-seekers demanded all his time. I am like a man so busy in letting rooms in one end of the house that he can't stop to put out the fire that is burning the other."

"Sitting here," he continued, "where all the avenues to public patronage seem to come together in a knot, it does appear to me that our people are fast approaching the point where it can be said

that seven-eighths of them are trying to find out how to live at the expense of the other eighth." And to his former law partner, Mr. Herndon, he said, "If ever this free people, if this government itself, is ever utterly demoralized, it will come from this human wriggle and struggle for office ; that is, a way to live without work."

Mr. Lincoln was at one time taken suddenly ill with the varioloid. After recovering, he remarked to a friend that there was some satisfaction in it, after all. It was the first time since he had been President that he had anything that he could possibly give that somebody did not want. I lately read that "The Assistant Treasurer, in 1869, discharged one hundred and twenty-five clerks to economize the treasury service ; and out of the whole number there were one hundred that had not even a desk or a chair or any business in the building. So many families in Washington are decayed that, in order to prevent the members from being a tax in almshouses, they are made a tax in the different official bureaus."

It was after the death of Mr. Lincoln that the Hon. Thomas A. Jenckes of Rhode Island, a member of Congress and a very distinguished lawyer, framed and introduced a measure which was the first practical step towards civil service reform. By his earnest and capable advocacy of this proposed law it was passed, and the slow and halting march of this reform from that time was begun. After 1870, and when the country had passed through "the reconstruction period, and the fruits of the war were harvested beyond all danger of loss or impairment," Mr. Curtis, cheerfully taking the second place in the combat, with Mr. Jenckes as chief, began the great work which thereafter engaged his great power and influence with the public. In 1871 he was appointed by General Grant to the chairmanship of the first Civil Service Commission ; and from that time to the delivery of his last address in Baltimore, in April, 1892, as president of the Civil Service Reform League, he was the leader of the movement.

To the mere politician the question of civil service reform, at the time when it was first thrust upon his unwilling attention, was the least attractive question in political matters of these modern days. Inoculated as he was, and is, with the poison of the spoils policy, he thought he saw, and so asserted, that in a classified service, and the abolition of all subordinate official positions from the condition established by usage of the necessity of a change of occupants with each change of administration, a reduction in the number of votes he might occasionally control would result to him

in lessening the number of small offices to be filled. In this way to him "bossism" in politics would in a large measure become decrepit, and its attractiveness as an occupation destroyed. That was probably exactly what was hoped for by the leaders of this new movement. And it was reasonably expected that out of the decrepitude and the destruction of this corrupt political condition, by this overturning of old methods and a revivifying of the public lethargy and indifference, by the sunshine of a new patriotism and a new faith, there would arise a new growth of public spirit and genuine political service of each private citizen, to the manifest advantage of the country and the people, and to those permanently engaged in honorable public service. In this way, and in this way only, can a pure democracy carried on upon pure principles of effort and action come to its final fruition, and justify itself as a rational form of government.

"In Mr. Curtis's reports, as president of the Commission, he established the fundamental principles of the reform, defined the large lines of its methods, and erected its impregnable defence against all constitutional objection.

"As president of the League, not only each year did he review the progress of the cause, and arouse and instruct public sentiment in its support; but not a week, scarcely a day, passed that he was not aiding in the suggestion and direction of the work. He lived, happily, to see its substantial triumph, and when he passed away could have had no fear that his patient, unselfish, untiring effort in its behalf had been wasted."

As in the realm of natural science the elemental forces and every form of animated life have reached man through some divine affinity, and become known through some Berzelius or Linnæus or Morse, so it seems as if all through the history of the intellectual development of nations we could trace the final embodiment and vivifying of the highest ideals and the noblest moral sentiments in the lives and deeds of the great men of the world. And we may not despair of an ultimately genuine civilization in our own America, nor of the fulfilment of our best hopes for a pure democracy, a republic absolutely free, that this last vantage-ground upon the earth for the ultimate triumph of the human race shall yet become here the habitation where man must be better, wiser, and happier, when the moral sentiment of patriotism and of the stability of constitutional government, of equality before the law, and the clearest purification of practical politics as consum-

mated in civil service reform, all reach man without cavi and without dispute in those great men gone before, whom we may call our own.

When the student shall search for the beginning, in the history of our country, of the statements in literature of the endeavor to lift our civil service up from the slough of pauperism and spoils, and to endow it with more dignity and intelligence, he will find that from the earliest period of the attempt until his life closed, by common consent, the controlling spirit and guide, the leader of all was George William Curtis.

"His country held him as her noble son,
Who strove to make her parties undefiled,
To lift their feet from out the filth of place,
And set them where real victories might be won."

Such, in the general, was the life and public service of George William Curtis from his birth, in 1824, all along through his sixty-eight years, and down to that pathetic moment on the 29th of August, 1892, at his modest home, when, sitting by his bedside, and holding the hand of his only son, he heard the summons of his Master, and, answering the call, bade us farewell.

"Lycidas is dead,—yes, dead, . . .
. . . without a peer."

I went with mutual friends for a short drive among the Berkshire Hills, which had early won and kept his praise, in the afternoon, in early September, of the ideal day on which they buried him on that grassy slope in the Moravian Cemetery on Staten Island. All Nature, as is her wont on these "all loving" days, was as serene as the expression upon the face of our dead friend. Greylock at the head of the valley, "all tolerant of culture to the top," its sides clothed with the shadows of the pine and hemlock, and its footpaths bright with the golden-rod and aster and meadow-sweet, stood calm and watchful of life below, of the changes of the day and seasons in their turn, as it has stood for ages. The temperature, "which had lost much of the fervent heat of summer," was grateful to all our outward senses, the flowers bloomed undisturbed save by the passing air, the birds held high court in tree and hedgerow; but everything, all this beauty and grandeur and delight, was in such contrast and discord with our emotions of sorrow and sense of irreparable loss, this marvellous manifestation of the glory of the summer just passing away was in such conflict

with our mood, as almost to make it seem a hollow mockery and sneer, "a smiling as in scorn" and irony at our grief.

"O ostrich-like forgetfulness!
O loss of larger in the less!
Was there no star that could be sent,
No watcher in the firmament,
No angel from the countless host
That loiters round the crystal coast,
Could stoop to heal that only child,
Nature's sweet marvel undefiled,
And keep the blossom of the earth,
Which all her harvests were not worth?"

Covetous death bereaved us all,
To aggrandize one funeral."

In that distant, lonely, restful spot he sleeps a dreamless sleep. The tolling of the bell from the church in the vale, the low, sweet prelude of the Moravian hymn, which in one unbroken strain follows each morning sun, echoes of the accustomed footfalls of the wayfarers who are won't to visit the graves of the favorite sons of men, the twittering of the passing birds in their flight, the broad arch of the sky, the silent stars, the long line of ocean, the songs of the sailors upon the deck of his own "East Indiaman," resting upon the bosom of that beautiful bay which he loved so well, and the "lapping of the waves of the tireless sea upon the pebbly shore" shall be his requiem forever and ever, till the heavens be no more.

Beyond what has been said regarding the career of Mr. Curtis there remains to be briefly considered his faculty of oratory, and those traits of character in his local and private life for which he was so justly esteemed, and those habits and influences of his by which he will be longest remembered.

The attractiveness of oratory itself is so fleeting; it is so composite in its completeness, depending for its finish and effectiveness so greatly upon the personality of the speaker, his manner, his voice, his theme, the occasion, upon his earnestness and sincerity, together with the responsive mood, active and sympathetic or latent, in his hearers,—that it is impossible to describe it, or to convey to another its momentary charms and effects. You may say that it was classical and cold in Everett, or conversational but pyrotechnic in Phillips, or earnest and soul-stirring in Beecher, or electric and irresistible in Rufus Choate; but all this attempted

delineation of what you saw and heard with such rapturous delight from each one of them, in the end, are mere words in the description, and fall far short of conveying any appreciative idea of what was so effective in its utterance.

The charm, the enjoyment, the sweet influences, any more than those of music and flowers, cannot be carried far away from the occasion which produced it, and lives only in the memory.

Soon — too soon — the oratory of our friend will be but a memory.

About the places that knew him, the public halls, the college platforms, at the many banquets where he spoke, there still linger — and will yet linger so long as the memory and enthusiasm of the fathers remain — traditions of his presence, his marvellous voice, his eloquence. At Wesleyan the old men tell you “it was here, and on one of the marked days of my life, when I heard his address upon ‘The Scholar in Politics’”; at Union they tell you of his oration as Chancellor of the University; at Brown no one can forget his reply to Wendell Phillips in his address upon “What the College has done for our Country”; and in Berkshire they recall his noble address upon the unforgotten patriotism of their Revolutionary fathers at the dedication of their soldiers’ monument, on one face of the shaft of which will be forever read this unique inscription: “For the dead, a tribute; for the living, a memory; for posterity, an emblem of loyalty to the flag of their country.”

So is and shall be recalled with pleasant memory, tinged with the universal sorrow at his loss, that it was here the gentle scholar talked as with a friend; or here the orator aroused to activity the dormant impulses for freedom; or here the philanthropist pleaded the common cause of men; or here the historic places in our land enlarged their horizons and were lifted to a more exceeding glory by the magic of his learning and his skill.

In any gathering of which he was a part there was no feast until he had spoken, and no oratory afterwards.

From among his many speeches I am permitted to make a brief selection from one which he delivered at a banquet given to the President of Brown University, as showing the general high plane to which he invited his hearers before he had closed his public after-dinner talks:—

“And yet, when I say that the American college is now required to train American citizens, I do not mean that it is to abdicate its

highest possible function, which is not to impart knowledge,—not to impart knowledge, gentlemen, but to stimulate intellectual and moral power. It is a poor education, believe me, that gives accuracy in grammar instead of a love of letters, that leaves us masters of the integral calculus and slaves of a sordid spirit and mean ambition. When I say that it is to train Americans, I mean not only that it is to be a gnome of the earth, but also a good genius of the higher sphere. With one hand it shall lead the young American to the secrets of material skill; it shall equip him to enter into the fullest trade with all the world; but with the other it shall lead him to lofty thought and to commerce with the skies. The college shall teach him the secrets and the methods of material success; but, above all, as high as Brown University is above Market Square, it shall admonish him that man does not live by bread alone, and that the things which are eternal are unseen. ‘The gardens of Sicily,’ said Lowell, ‘the gardens of Sicily are empty now; but the bees from every clime still fetch honey from the tiny garden plots of Theocritus.’ That is honey which is stored in the college cell: the love of beauty, of goodness, the love of truth, the preference for the spiritual to the material, the unconquerable conviction that the greatest glory a nation has is not great riches, but noble men.”

For some time the church of which he was an attendant on Staten Island was without a pastor. He was asked to conduct the service, and for several years did so, reading from the published sermons by the clergy of all the sects, such as met his high standards of religion and life. He sometimes conducted also or assisted at funeral services. This was one of the countless neighborly kindnesses of his which he never refused, and one which tended greatly to liberalize and unite the society of that suburb. The catholicity of the spirit which he brought to the selection of the sermons to be read was not controlled by any theological bias, of which he had none, against the particular writer, but only sometimes by the want of a literary form in accord with his high literary instincts for the plan of any discourse. His conduct of religious services was exceptional, and very attractive to every one. In the reading of the Scriptures his enunciation was so clear, the inflections of his voice so correct, and the Hebrew and Greek idioms as preserved in the Bible were so translated into the expressions to which our Western ears were accustomed, that its truth and beauty seemed to take on a new language and

a new influence, and to become nearer and more human to his hearers. In his attendance at the last burial rites I have seen the griefs of the mother lightened by his sympathetic service, the faith of the father in the providence of God reawakened and uplifted, and the tears of sorrow and despair wiped from every eye.

I have heard him read during the church service, "Nearer, my God, to thee," and, as the words of the hymn fell from his lips upon your listening ear, so calm, so prayerful, so aspiring, so reverent were the tones of his voice that your heart seemed for the moment to hesitate to make another pulsation lest it should disturb your rapturous emotion, and the thrill of your excitation chilled your blood in its channels, and trickled like tears along your nerves like a chord of exquisite music; and, when he had ceased, his hearers felt, if he had done nothing else, that the hour was full, and that a religious service had already been performed.

To quote upon this topic, Mr. Cary, his biographer, says: —

"His public speech was on occasion very stirring, but it was still more persuasive, enlightening, and convincing. If it had a fault, it was its faultlessness. The orator's charm was felt the moment he arose. His form was manly, strongly built, and exquisitely graceful. His head was of noble cast and bearing; his features, rugged, but finely cut; his forehead, square, broad, and massive; his lips, full and mobile and of classic modelling; his eyes of blue gray, large, deep set under shaggy brows, lighted the shadow as with an altar flame, so pure, so gentle, and so profound was their expression. His voice was a most fortunate organ, deep, musical, yielding without apparent effort the happy inflections suggested by the thought and feeling, clear and bright in the lighter passages, ringing now like a bugle, now tender and flute-like, and now vibrating in solemn organ notes that hushed the intense emotion it aroused. Quite apart from the subject-matter of his discourse, there was in his lifetime no more delightful and æsthetic pleasure than to listen to him when he was at his best. Not a few of his speeches will rank among the very best examples of American oratory."

Mr. Curtis did not pass through his long, industrious, and open career without criticism. It would be strange if he had. Men of such strong character as was his are too marked in the community to altogether escape notice. And they only, or such as they, become the leaders in the march. He had physical health, pluck, an iron will and faith, and a great admiration and confidence in men

of moral courage; he was pure in heart,—the purest man I ever knew,—simple in manners and habits of life, sweet in courtesy, a lover of art and nature, of children, of man and woman, and of all cultivated things. He was generous of his gifts, and no occasion was too simple to engage his active interest, when so requested by his neighbors. He had no light vanity which could be hurt by the failure of any to hear his speech or read his papers or to follow in the ways in which he led. His standard of conduct as a private citizen, neighbor, and political guide, was ideal, but yet practical, and fixed by the immortal rules of the purest morals, construed with adherence to the admitted canons and philosophy of common sense; and, while his native temperament seemed at an early period to express its views upon lines which were deemed to be sentimental and theoretic, their ultimate adoption by his party at a later period gives him justly the high place he will always occupy among American leaders; and shows him not to have been a dreamer and doctrinaire, but the friend of all men, of the church, of law and order, of the slave, of liberty and the State. What he strove always to impress upon all was his absolute moral conviction that the genius of America is the spirit of "the absolute equality of opportunity," of truth, of the divinity of labor, and integrity; that no radical wrong may ever be the subject of compromise; that the rules of all conduct for all men are the dictates of the educated conscience; and that the principles of the common law, when purely administered, are a system of the highest ethics.

His mind, as were his lips, was absolutely free from cant, and was possessed by a supreme contempt for the Pharisee and demagogue; and he never failed to prick with his most caustic pen any wind-bag of pretension as he appeared. He personified in a higher degree than any person whom I have ever known the absolute and eternal principles which underlie and sustain the religion of self-respect. No matter how great or of how little general importance was his theme, nor how limited the occasion in general interest, nor how few his audience, his whole heart was enlisted; and he never felt that he could afford to do less than his best. I have heard him address an audience of less than twenty persons at an annual meeting of the Civil Service Reform Association with such vigor in action, with an affluence of learning and argument, and with an eloquence which he would not have striven to surpass, had he at the time been endeavoring to convince a hostile majority

in the Senate of the United States ; and I was told, by one of his hearers, that he was still at his best in that last address in a fire-engine house in the village where he died, at the simple ceremonies attendant upon the dedication of a new hose-carriage of the local fire company on the Decoration Day of his last year ; where, in commending to his neighbors the abiding sentiment of domestic patriotism, he inculcated in his own persuasive and unequalled way their duty to cherish respect for civil government, obedience to the laws, and the maintenance of civic virtue, without which there is no foundation for public liberty,—the swan-song of his beautiful and earnest life.

Conscience, self-respect, public spirit, and industry were the lamps by which his feet were guided. Resting upon the spirit of the eternal veracities, he did nothing which was outside the limitations of the spirit contained in the one word "duty." With these guides and in this dependence he kept his way.

Political parties are voluntary associations of citizens holding a common faith as to the especial needs of the time for legislation and administration in behalf of the public good. As any private citizen, seeking only to help attain the best thing for the whole, may join such an association of his own free will, so I know of no valid reason, if in the course of events he should think he had discovered a different object in view, or a different principle maintained than at the beginning, or a new policy which he could not approve,—I know of no reason why he should not leave it. All new parties are a growth from a new idea, born of the trouble and sorrow of the moment, or in an effort to change the policy of the old parties upon some well-understood question. Party spirit, nursed by the politicians, will easily invent some word of opprobrium for those who assert their new political faith ; but these terms of scorn have no weight or influence towards scattering a new party formed upon an idea which is fully believed in by any considerable body of intelligent citizens. And it has been known that the new party has lived long enough to make this new name respectable.

Two or three texts gathered from the commonplace book of our political literature seem together almost to embody the later political creed of this scholar and independent political thinker and writer : "It is always in order to bolt" ; "You may cheat some of the people some of the time, but you cannot cheat all the people all the time" ; "I came into this convention a free man, and by the blessing of God I will go out of it a free man."

To think of binding a man of his capacity, courage, knowledge, and spirit by the political scheming of the spoils-hunter, or that he would consent by silence to allow the rights of the many to be betrayed into serving the interests of a faction, or that the fundamental principles of our national bill of rights should be ignored in a national convention of one of the great parties, that the timidity of the time-serving politicians might be sanctioned! He felt that "the duty of the American scholar, the Christian scholar, is, as Bacon says, 'to give a true account of his gift of reason to the benefit and use of man.' And this cannot be done either by withdrawing from the world or by mingling with it merely to win its prizes." A recent writer says: "It is the duty of the educated classes to give their hand to arrangements tending to check the impetus of the popular will. By such a course temporary or lasting unpopularity is insured, and the reproach is incurred of want of patriotism or want of loyalty. Disloyalty in politics answers to heterodoxy in religion: it is simply the name we give to another man's opinions. But the men who are willing to incur this reproach are the very salt that keep democratic institutions from decay."

"When we have established a state of society in which a man, believing the majority to be in the wrong, does not dare to say so, we have made the master and his slave: only the master is many, and the slave is one."

So long as he was deemed to be a regular, and stood up to the line in the march of his party, his judgment of men was earnestly sought for and gladly accepted as final. And, although he differed often with Mr. Sumner and other leaders upon questions of party policy, yet his judgment prevailed. But at the last, with his ample experience and great knowledge of affairs and of the history of parties, when the course towards which the Republican party tended and the apparent objects of its leaders no longer commended themselves to him, and he openly expressed as his political creed "the clear perception that popular government, like all other governments, is an expedient, and not a panacea; that its abuses and evils must be plainly reprov'd and resolutely resisted; that the price of liberty is not eternal cringing to a party, but eternal fidelity to our own minds and consciences; that our fathers made America independent, and that their sons must keep it so, each man for himself declaring his mental, moral, and political independence, not only on the Fourth of July, but every day in the year; that the hope of free institutions lies in

character, in educated intelligence, in self-reliance, in quality, not in quantity, and that he deemed this to be the sublime faith, the unchilled hope, the untiring endeavor of the patriotism "of the wisest men we have ; and so, following the dictates of his own conscience, he left that party,— then what a storm of obloquy and abuse was poured out by the petty politicians upon him the latchet of whose shoes not one of them was worthy to unloose ! Need anything further be said in defence of his political course or in praise of that integrity of conduct, when we all know how manfully and with what supreme moral courage he stood at his watch, keeping his eye clear and his hand steady, lest the helm of the ship, in obeying the passionate trepidations of the needle, might swerve her from her true course ?

I have heard him called cold, dignified, and distant in manner. Perhaps he may, in the preoccupied condition of mind, have seemed so to strangers ; but he was not so consciously to himself. If he seemed dignified, it was a dignity born of his own self-respect : it was temperamental and such as he carried worthily in strict concurrence with the natural law of his mind and with the character of the true gentleman. But cold and remote he could not be. Nothing in nature could fail to awaken some generous emotion in his hospitable heart,—little children, an aged citizen, an old neighbor, the flower by the wayside, the clouds and sky, the birds in the trees, everything and everybody, each in their or its accustomed round, would not fail to be befriended and noticed by his grace, his kindness, and his friendly greeting and good-by.

I have heard the regret expressed that he did no more to make his place in our permanent literature more ample and secure. Secure it certainly will be by the high quality as literature of his orations, speeches, and reports, and of his contributions to the department of *belles-lettres*. He did no more because his industry was not able to lengthen out his hours for work, already fully occupied. His proposed "Life of Mehemet Ali"—for which he had long since gathered the material—was not finished. But I would with a becoming modesty submit the judgment that everything which the youth of America of this age, for their happiness or as an incentive to the development of higher character and purer lives, need to know of Egypt's great captain may be found in the brief chapter in his book upon "Syria," and that we can better afford to lose a whole library of biography of Oriental military heroes rather than one chancellor's oration at Union College.

A course of lectures upon "Political Ethics" was proposed for him. This met with his great sympathy and a desire to do it. But the proposal came too late. I am persuaded that such a course of lectures by him, published as a text-book for our schools, would have been of priceless value, and would have exerted an influence towards a higher moral conduct of political parties and of the private citizen in performance of his public duties such as we cannot measure.

The petty practical politician, to whom the term had been taught by some cheap editor, was fond of calling him a *dilettante*. To attach a derisive epithet to an opponent is one of the methods by which they hoped to invalidate his influence and silence his voice. And so they imagined that the transfer of this term from the scope of art and music, where it belongs, to the field of politics and journalism, would tend to depreciate his recognition as a leader, and reduce him to the limited authority of the shallow sciolist and amateur. They misunderstood the spirit and attainments of the man. His earlier contributions to literature, so interesting to cultivated minds, so sweet in tone, so clear and dainty in expression, had misled the ordinary observer among the leaders in low and narrow fields of politics into the belief that a broad-minded and learned scholar, a refined and elegant gentleman, would be as much out of place in criticising upon the platform or through the public press their interpretations of the principles of a pure democracy or the wayward courses of politicians as he would be if his personal presence was ever known in their usual public resorts. But they, fatally in this instance, mistook their man. And, while he was too refined and self-respecting to reply to the coarse and vulgar ribaldry by which he was sometimes attacked, yet the result of the debate, carried on by him always in respectful phrase and upon rational and philosophic grounds, soon showed which was the most sincere and stronger man. He, resting his faith upon the eternal strength of truth and right, guided by a conscience unswerving and alert, fortified by study pursued early and late with resolute and tireless industry, could not but be misunderstood by the politician and camp-follower, who mistake volubility for knowledge, activity in manipulation for statesmanship, and noise for strength.

No student of the political history of the times in which he lived will fail to do him exact justice, and the depreciating epithet which endeavored to fasten upon him the character of the cheap

and trivial amateur will be forever forgotten. He will portray to the earnest student of his pages the life of a modest and self-respecting man, faithful in the integrity of work set before him, constant and true to the high aims he had in view, retiring to his study and to his home, there, away from the clamor and heat of public office to help work out in silence the problems which should solve the perplexities opposing the growth and advancement of mankind.

As it was in the beginning, so it shall always be, that the moral forces which ultimately move men, the still, small voice of conscience, the idea which liberates a race or establishes a church or redeems a people, like the forces which hold the planets or control the seasons or produce the harvests, work silently and unseen. So neither with noise and clamor is chaos reduced and finally adjusted into the order of a world, nor are the tides with such an accompaniment so controlled by celestial influences, nor does the sap so ascend to nurture and strengthen the mighty oak ; and not by earthquake or by flood, "not by thunder and lightning, but by the soft touch of angels at midnight is the stone rolled away from the door of the sepulchre."

But it is time this eulogy was spoken. I have endeavored not to overstate the character and accomplishments, the personal and permanent influence, of our friend. I neither claim for him as an author beyond the range of *belles-lettres*, nor as a critic of men and books, nor as a journalist and public speaker, any higher position than the one which he so well filled ; but I do certainly claim for him a higher place in American history and a larger and more enduring influence than he would have claimed for himself. In literature, when at his best, he was among the first in quality among American authors ; as a critic, he was learned and philosophical, clear in judgment, and possessed of a most charming skill in expressing with candor, without detraction, his opinions, which left no rancor in any heart ; and, as a journalist, mindful of the fatality of inaccuracy as to his facts, he was logical and uncompromising, but just.

This urbane and lettered man, making his own choice of a private station, expended the talents of his disinterested and gracious nature in the fullest performance of every, even the slightest, duty which devolves upon a citizen of the Republic, both in his larger relations as well as to the town in which he lived.

He was a close student of history and of the characters and

achievements of all great men; he was familiar with the constitution of the State and of the Union, and of the laws which enforce their duties and obligations; he remembered that the cardinal principle of this government is the political equality of each one, but that this political equality carries with it correlative duties; that these duties may vary in each individual in just proportion to his intellectual force and mental equipment; that every civic duty must be judged by its relation to the sphere of morals; that the government of a great people is a business of the most gigantic proportions, and its servants may not be lightly selected, nor with indifference to the public good; that public office is a public service; that the service is a public trust and belongs to no party or faction, but to the whole people; that public office is neither to be actively sought nor lightly declined; that no patriotic citizen will hold it to be less than his highest public moral duty to serve his country, and to give her his best service upon her demand; that the sentiment of domestic patriotism must be cultivated, strengthened, and enlarged; that the decorative days of our history, the birthdays of our great men, the graves of our dead heroes, the commemoration of the great deeds, the common flag, with all that it may mean, must be remembered, in justice to our ancestors, our country, and to our better selves, and celebrated with each returning year; that the three great public instrumentalities of all human progress, the family, the church, and the school, cannot be allowed to decline, but must be sustained at all hazards; that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty; and that it is the fundamental duty of man to first consider his country, to avoid the appearance of evil, and to walk humbly before God. He stood for purity of life, for sincerity of purpose, for stability in morals, for human sympathy controlled by reason, for courage of conviction, for iron will, for common sense in judgment of men and affairs, for chivalric temper, for heroic constancy in work, for the widest and most liberal culture in letters; and with the character derived from these elements, and with these sentiments dictated by his ardent love of country, which he impressed upon all in his public speech and private life, and which he cherished to the last hour in his own soul, he has won the title which, I think, no one will dispute, of the ideal American citizen.

He came and went in a great company. They became and were to the end fellow-workers and personal friends,—Lowell, Curtis, Whittier, Brooks. Their hearts swelled with the same emo-

tions and throbbed in the same measure; their sympathies strengthened the same cause; their activities sought the same ends; they would purify public life, dignify public service, invigorate public spirit, inspire the youth of America with the loftiest sentiments of purity and morals.

As you crossed the threshold when you entered the home of Tennyson, upon the floor of the entrance hall, set in tile in the Welsh dialect, you read these words: —

“Truth against the world.”

It was the text which gave the direction to every effort of these noblest of American citizens in literature and politics, controlled every impulse, and tinged every mood and duty.

It will continue to be well with us if the fruit, from the maturest flowering of the tree of our civilization, that shall grow from the seed which was of their sowing, shall be as sure in its perfection as was the integrity of its origin and the purity of its hope; for they did not despair lest the idea of America or the fortune of the Republic could fail.

“What shall I do, lest life in silence pass?”

“And if it do,

And never prompt the bray of noisy brass,

What need'st thou rue?

Remember, aye the ocean-deeps are mute;

The shallows roar;

Worth is the ocean's: fame is but the bruit

Along the shore.”

“What shall I do to be forever known?”

“Thy duty ever.”

“This did full many who yet slept unknown” —

“Oh, never, never!”

“Think'st thou perchance that they remain unknown

Whom thou know'st not?

By angel trumps in heaven their praise is blown,

Divine their lot.”

“What shall I do to gain eternal life?”

“Discharge aright

The simple dues with which each day is rife,—

Yea, with thy might.

Ere perfect scheme of action thou devise

Will life be fled,

While he who ever acts as conscience cries

Shall live, though dead.”

SOCIALISM AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.

A REPORT MADE AT THE TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION BY F. B. SANBORN,
OF CONCORD, MASS., GENERAL SECRETARY.

[Read at Saratoga, N.Y., Tuesday, Sept. 5, 1893.]

Members of the Association, Ladies and Gentlemen,—In appearing before you, year after year, to unwind and interpret a fold or two more of the endless scroll that we call Social Science, I am frequently reminded of that wise saying of Hippocrates, prefixed to his great book on Medicine (I mean the *Aphorisms*, in which he generalizes so freely): "Life is short, Art long, Occasion fugitive, Practice uncertain of result, Decision difficult: still a man must hold himself ready to do what is needful." True as this is in the care of the sick, it is no less true in those hygienic or therapeutic measures we are called on to take or support in regard to the body politic and social, the study of which is so large a part of our conglomerate science. Time being necessary to the verification of the most undoubted propositions, we can seldom foresee ten years in advance what course we ought to have taken twenty or thirty years ago. Hibernian as this statement must appear, it will be seen as reasonable, upon a little reflection. It is suggested to me by the memory of a difficulty we had in the early Olympiads of our Association. The wayfaring man who then saw our sign up, with "Social Science" blazoned thereon, was apt to think we were socialists,—a name then of ill favor and disagreeable relations. Time has glided past, and now it is quite the fashion to be socialists, even in England, where, as in many other countries of Europe, your secretary has been studying the social sciences since we last met here. We have stood still, as Emerson advises; and the world has not only come round to us, but in some directions is getting far ahead of us. Indeed, the most striking aspect of thought and practice in all parts of Europe to-day is its democratic and socialistic phase. Russia, and even Turkey, are no exceptions; and I was surprised to find Austria, once the stiff bulwark of despotism and reaction, full to the brim of liberal and reformatory sentiment, often registering itself in pronounced ex-

ecutive action. These countries are learning that old parable of the American who said, "Monarchy and aristocracy are great ships, carrying you safe and easy till the gale comes, in which they founder and go to the bottom; but democracy is like a raft,—your feet are always in the water, but you cannot overset." Of all the countries that I visited, the United States seemed to offer the greatest promise of security in its form of government and of prosperity for its people; and I found the French, the Swiss, the Germans, and particularly the English, studying and admiring that noble monument of political wisdom, the American Constitution. It was quoted nearly every night in the House of Commons (the omitted nights the Lords had it up for debate); and when I saw in London our good friend and sagacious interpreter, Mr. Bryce, I told him he was the author most cited of any now living.

I hope we may have with us before this meeting dissolves our honored associate, John Graham Brooks, of Cambridge, who has been making so thorough a study of social questions in Germany, in Scandinavia, and in England, where I found him last month. He has written an exhaustive report to our government on that peculiar work of State socialism, the compulsory insurance (of workmen and the poor) in Germany, of which an abstract and brief commentary is published in the August *Forum*. From this it will appear how steady has been the movement toward measures distinctly socialistic on the part of that stubborn imperial government which has most sharply set itself against the declared socialists of Germany. It was an obscure socialist forty-three years ago who feebly hinted at compulsory insurance, nobody deigning to notice the hint; but for almost ten years it has been the Bismarckian law, and its socialistic results, direct and indirect (by no means all good results), are now very conspicuous. In England a series of measures quite as radical in the same direction are warmly advocated by Charles Booth, Joseph Chamberlain, and several members of the royal commission on labor, of which the Duke of Devonshire is chairman, and a wonderfully active and accomplished person, Geoffrey Drage, is secretary. The English socialists do not seem so aggressive as those of Germany, who made so formidable a display at the last election; but they are impressing their opinions upon legislation and administration quite as strongly of late as the German socialists have done in their country.

Since I left Europe, early in July, there has been convened at

Zürich, in Switzerland, a "congress of socialists," in which sixteen nations were nominally represented by four hundred and twelve delegates, of whom more than one hundred came from Switzerland, ninety-two from Germany, thirty-four from Austria, and sixty-five from England,—three-fourths, that is, from these four countries,—while the other one hundred delegates came from a dozen lands, some even from America. The proceedings were interrupted by a quarrel with certain anarchists, who were finally ejected from the Music Hall of Zürich, where the sessions were held, and where they peacefully closed on the 12th of August. Two events of some interest marked the very end of the congress. Mr. Hobson, a member of the town council of Sheffield and chairman of the English delegates,—described as "a perfect gentleman, in faultless costume,"—invited the next congress, in 1896, to meet in London, adding: "The delegates will then see that Great Britain is much farther forward on the road to socialism than is commonly imagined on the Continent. I hope that we shall all meet again on the banks of the Thames, and that we shall work with a single mind to fill up the valleys and bring low the mountains that still divide the nations, and to create a new world, in which all peoples shall be brothers, all men equal, and where liberty, equality, and fraternity shall reign forever." When this invitation had been given and accepted, Mr. Singer, of the sewing-machine, led an old man to the platform, and presented him to the audience as "Frederic Engel, the founder of socialism." A deep silence prevailed while the octogenarian, furiously applauded by the Germans, said: "I was the earliest socialist in Europe, with Karl Marx for my associate. With him I founded in Paris, in 1843, the Franco-German Review, in which we preached the doctrines of the 'collectivists.' We passed for dangerous Utopians at that time. Half a century has flown, and now our doctrines have become the platform of a party that has branches all over the world. The future belongs to us. Did I hear some say the *International* is dead? It is more alive than ever, and you have just proved the fact. Hurrah for the workingmen of the whole world! Long live the social revolution!" Madame Kulichof, a Russian, who was presiding, then declared in French that the session was closed.

Thus we see that socialism in this form is only fifty years old, the earlier forms having mostly perished, while "collectivism" (State socialism carried to an extreme), having gained many sup-

porters, is now the growing force in the politics of most European nations. Its principles are a mixture of the practicable and the impossible, the philanthropic and the hurtfully revolutionary. On the question of women's labor, for instance, the utterance of the Zürich congress was sound in principle, if somewhat extreme in a few particulars. The subject was introduced by an Austrian woman, Louise Kautsky, who said that women are much more oppressed by capitalists than men,—many of them work sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen hours a day; and she mentioned laundresses compelled to stand more than twenty-four hours at their board and irons. With all that their pay is less than men get. Other women from Vienna, Milan, Stuttgart, and Brussels, supported what Madame Kautsky had said; and a young Scots-woman, Margaret Irwin, made the point that women cannot well form trades-unions, because their work in the shop or the house does not give them the time for it. The law must then come to their aid. "When a woman goes to a shop to buy anything, she pays the same price as a man: why should she not get the same wages if she does the same work?" This was applauded. And the congress resolved that there should be a maximum day of eight hours for women and of six hours for girls under eighteen; that they should have a weekly period of rest, unbroken for thirty-six hours; no night labor; no labor in trades hurtful to health; equal pay for equal work with men; rest from toil for two weeks before and four weeks after confinement; plenty of women inspectors for the work of women, etc.

The voice of the Zürich congress was for political action, like that which the German socialists have lately taken, under the lead of Bebel, Liebknecht, and others, who not long since were in prison, but now in Parliament. Democracy, rather than the more radical system of government now called socialism, is likely to be the outcome of the profound agitation that is going on in all Central and Western Europe. In England this is quite clearly seen. The London *Spectator*, an able weekly, formerly Whig or Liberal, but now siding with the Conservatives or Tory party, said in its issue of August 12:—

While the Liberal ascendancy lasted, the function of the Conservatives was to oppose—sometimes wisely, more often unwisely—the slow but irresistible current of revolution which, under Liberal guidance, was conducting us toward the democratic goal. In that direction we have reached our limits. Our government is

now substantially a complete democracy ; and the Conservatives realize that their true policy is not to thwart the democracy in all its aims, but to guide and educate it.

Then the *Spectator* adds : —

We should not be surprised if the chief disadvantage of democratic rule proved its rigidity and immobility rather than its changeableness ; though, till the first movement against property and outburst of general destructiveness have spent their force, the danger is all on the other side. While this danger threatens us, the mission of Conservatism is to preserve the shelter of a constitution over our heads.

This distrust of the people is characteristic of the educated classes in most parts of Europe ; but there is little real foundation for it in England or in American countries. Nowhere that English is spoken has there ever been, I believe, any "movement against property," nor any "outburst of general destructiveness." In France there may have happened something that could be so described ; but neither English, German, nor American radicalism naturally takes a direction like that. The Teutonic nations are more likely to respect property too much than to rush into pillage and confiscation. Such fears as the *Spectator* expresses are either mere rhetoric, or else they are to be classed with the fears of American slaveholders that emancipation would cause them all to be massacred. Generally speaking, the outbursts of destructiveness in the history of mankind have been more the work of despots, like Tamerlane or Napoleon, than of the masses, who, except in mobs (never very common), seldom are bloodthirsty or piratical.

I paid some attention in various countries of Europe — in Italy, Greece, Hungary, Bavaria, Saxony, Belgium, Holland, and Scotland — to the care of the insane, and their reported increase. No countries were found where insanity was not growing faster than the general population. This seems to be the rule, and the explanation of it has not yet been satisfactorily given. In several countries — notably in Saxony and Scotland — there were asylums and modes of care for the insane better than I remember to have seen in America. The Scotch system of family care for the chronic insane is gradually extending into the continental countries, and finding acceptance wherever it is tried fairly.

Questions of tariff and currency, that have divided our countrymen so much, could not well escape notice in some of their aspects. In Spain we found silver at a small discount, and gold, practically,

not visible in the country. In Greece and Austria the currency is almost wholly paper. In the latter country, however, the time of redeeming the paper in gold is very near, and it may already have occurred. Every European country has its own silver question; but all were looking toward the United States, which had shown so much readiness to pull their chestnuts out of the fire by wasting the money of the American people in buying the silver product of a few mine-owners and smelters. That sort of international outdoor relief seems now coming to an end; and the result will be to transfer the hazards of the silver experiment to the countries of Europe and Asia. I know of hardly an example of State socialism so flagrant as our paternal purchases of Senator Jones's silver,—a combination of compulsory insurance and profit-sharing on which Germany and France gazed with amused amazement.

To redeem the paper gulden of Austria, a great accumulation of gold, mostly coming from the United States, has been made at Vienna and other financial centres. I have seen the sum imported into Austria during the past year estimated at \$60,000,000; and this flow of gold that way may have been one of the causes of monetary stringency here, though evidently not a very important one. The silver question is likely to be a much more pressing one in some parts of Europe and Asia than with us: I mean after the absurd law compelling our treasury department to buy bars of silver every month shall have been repealed, as it soon will be. I do not recall any exhibition of State socialism in Europe—either in actual existence or in near prospect—so extreme as is this provision for a purchase by the government of the product of a small class of capitalists and laborers. In their monopolies governments have commonly compelled the people to buy of them some article of every-day use, in order to increase the revenue. But in this silver purchase we have had for three years a State monopoly turned wrong side out,—compelling the government to buy something from a fraction of the people; and this professedly to keep the article bought from falling in price. The law of supply and demand was thus set up topsy-turvy by this law of Congress. But, since natural laws enforce themselves, the result has been to neutralize the legislative measure.

The poet Gray, writing to his friend Palgrave in 1765, before the modern science of economics was invented, gave him this advice for his grand tour of Europe: "Buy whatever you need to

buy,—I do not mean pictures, medals, gems, drawings, etc., only, but clothes, stockings, shoes, handkerchiefs, little movables,—everything you may want all your life long. But have a care of the custom-house.” This is still good advice, which American travellers usually act upon, so long as their money holds out and the custom-houses are not too rigid. Personally, I passed through many custom-houses with my light equipage,—those of Spain, Italy (twice), France (twice), Switzerland (twice), Bavaria, Austria, Turkey, and Greece twice each, Servia, Germany, Belgium, Holland, and England,—in all cases without forfeiture or the payment of duties. In Turkey and England they are rather scrupulous about admitting books, with which I was commonly well provided. In England it is the copyright question that is involved. In Turkey the religion and politics of the country require to be safeguarded at the custom-house. In entering Constantinople, therefore, I had excluded guide-books and Christian treatises from my Gladstone bag; but I had Homer’s *Iliad*, the Greek Anthology, in the classic tongue, and a French novel or two, the latter lent me by a friend at the Russian legation in Athens. Upon these the wearers of the fez pounced as I landed from the Austrian Lloyd steamer “*Electra*,” lying in the Bosphorus. They opened the classic poems, and looked suspiciously at the books and at me. I said, “That is ancient Greek, not modern,” and they passed them. Then came a French novel or collection of short stories by M. Thibaut,—who calls himself Anatole France,—on the cover of which was written in bold characters the name of my Russian friend. I pointed to that, and said, “It comes from the Russian embassy in Athens.” The suspicious look was changed into one of deference, the book was returned to the valise, and an official hand was extended for baksheesh. Such was my most trying experience with the twenty odd custom-houses through which I passed in seven months. But the annoyance and exaction arising from this form of State socialism is considerable for the people of European nationalities, especially when combined, as it is in several countries, with the octroi or municipal tariffs, from which cities derive a portion of their revenue. From this point of view, the swallowing up of small nationalities in larger ones—as by the uniting of Italy, the imperializing of Germany, and the extension of Russia—is a great advantage; although in the process the taxation of all nations has been much increased. The benefit which an American derives from the unfettered freedom of commerce and travel over forty or

fifty States, welded into one federation, is one that he seldom appreciates fully until he journeys through Europe, where the average distance between national custom-houses is still hardly more than two hundred miles.

The progress of socialism — dreaded as it is in Europe, and accompanied as it must be by some hurtful changes and temporary disorders — is doing much to obliterate those national enmities and nullify those dynastic ambitions and caprices that formerly led to continual warfare between one people and another. The whim of a royal mistress, or the covetousness or spite of a sovereign can no longer involve nations easily in war, and the periods of peace are growing longer with each half-century; while wars, when they occur, are usually shorter and more decisive than in the last century or the first forty years of this one which is now closing in a peace that resembles armed neutrality rather than assured unity among nations. How few were the years between 1700 and 1835 when war was not raging on the continent of Europe! Yet how few the years of active warfare there since the downfall of the last ambitious despot, Louis Napoleon! The war of 1870, which he kindled with his dying breath, lasted less than a year, the Turko-Russian war of 1877 hardly longer; and since then, for fifteen years, there has been nothing that could be seriously called warfare. Any day may set on fire the train of international gunpowder which the European nations have carefully laid from door to door; and we may see all Europe in arms, fighting to the death, as in the murderous reign of the First Napoleon. But the contest would probably be short; and it might be stopped, as it will be one of these days, by the refusal of the multitude to die or be taxed for the worst system now in existence,—that military nightmare which disturbs the rest and saps the industry of all Europe. Great armies and insupportable taxation are the plagues of Europe at present, for which social science thus far has vainly sought a remedy. It seems to be coming in the abhorred form of socialism, which, amid all its errors and atheisms, has nothing comparable to the horrid practical atheism of war. The Zürich socialists, quarrelsome as they were over other questions, were nearly unanimous in their desire for international peace.

No serious student of social science can fail to be interested in the state of religion as he sees it in Europe,—or, indeed, in any part of the world. It is one of the paradoxes of human nature that the religious sentiment, which ought to bind men to-

gether and increase the general stock of virtue and happiness, has been so often — almost perpetually — the fruitful source of wars and vices. Of course, it is false theology and vitiated ecclesiasticism, in the guise of religion, that have generally had this evil result; and these are perceptibly losing their hold on mankind. There is quarrelling enough and persecution enough still going on in the name of God and the saints; but of religious wars and bloody persecutions the world that calls itself civilized seems to be seeing the last. The crusade against the Jews in Eastern Europe, and the Mahometan fury against Christians in Western Asia, derive their cruel force, at least in part, from social and political as well as religious animosity; while the Greek Church in its dealings with Asiatic nations, and the Roman Church in its attitude toward European and American questions, show the modifying influence which social science has gradually gained over theological rancor and spiritual tyranny.

Indeed, the enlightened mind, both of Europe and America, perhaps views with too much indifference the propositions of theology, just as Gray looked on the axioms of mathematics. "It is very possible," he wrote to his friend West, from English Cambridge, in 1736,—"it is very possible that two and two make four; but I would not give four farthings to demonstrate this ever so clearly. And, if these be the profits of life, give me the amusements of it. The people around me, it seems, know all this, and more; and yet I do not know one of them who inspires me with any ambition of being like him." Science and poetry, Darwin and Matthew Arnold, may have said something like this of the Anglican bishops. And even the devout Emerson, in the early years of his mysticism, while praising Augustine and Chrysostom and their English continuator, Jeremy Taylor,—"Taylor, the Shakspeare of divines,"—could say:—

"Yet not for all his faith can see,
Would I that cowed churchman be.
Why should the vest on him allure,
That I could not on me endure?"

It was quite otherwise with us, I am sure, when we joined with the whole community in lamenting the death of our associate, Bishop Brooks, last winter,—the most eminent of our little society who has died since we met last, when the loss of George William Curtis was so recent a grief. Never have we been called to mourn two such members in a single year,—two men so diverse in their

position and their acquirements, yet singularly alike in the simplicity of their characters and the lofty generosity of their aims. It is to the credit of human nature that it recognizes so surely disinterested service and a high purpose across all divisions of opinion in religion and politics, and pays its heartfelt tribute to sincere worth when the toils of this short life are ended. Those friends of Phillips Brooks who had known and admired him from boyhood were hardly prepared, either for his sudden death, or for the instant recognition by millions of men and women of those virtues and graces which they had fancied only intimacy could fully reveal. For his life, without being a cloistered one, had its deep reserves; but it seems the heart has a language of its own, to which mankind never fail to respond. "It is a fault common to almost all our Scotch authors," wrote Beattie to Gray, in 1767, "that they are too metaphysical. I wish they would learn to speak more to the heart and less to the understanding. But, alas! this is a talent which Heaven only can bestow." It had been bestowed on Phillips Brooks, and therefore it was that his loss touches every heart.

And now, with all his faith can see,
Who would not that good Bishop be?

Our discussions are to be enriched by the utterances of another philanthropist, the votary of an older and alien religion, who comes to us from the far East to give us a little of its thought and carry back something of our Western practice; according to the wise proverb, *Ex Oriente lux, ex Occidente frux*. We are to hear, also, of the virtues of the Mahometan, and of many other topics which our programme discloses,—I hope with due attention, and I am sure with much profit.

HEALTH DEPARTMENT ADDRESS.

RECENT PROGRESS IN SURGERY AND MEDICINE.

ADDRESS BY FREDERICK PETERSON, M.D., OF NEW YORK,
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[Read Sept. 6, 1893.]

A great deal of general interest has of late years been taken in medical and surgical subjects by laymen; and this is not surprising, since the advances and discoveries that have been made are such as to command attention because of their novelty and startling character. Surgery, it is true, has always been more or less of an exact science; and even in ancient times very serious operations were successfully undertaken, which are nowadays often considered modern. Thus the Hindus in prehistoric periods practised ovariectomy; and not long ago I saw and examined an ancient Peruvian skull upon which, during life, the operation of trepanning had been performed. The surgeon has to do with objective, tangible things; and his work really differs little from that of the cabinet-maker or joiner, save that, instead of wood, he manipulates living tissues that bleed and inflame. The same character of skill and handiwork is required, though the surgeon must work more delicately, be more cleanly, and be more rapid in his movements.

Surgery having been so exact a science since its earliest origin, its progress has not been perhaps so remarkable as that of Medicine; though there have been epochs in its advance undreamed of in the 'remote ages of the past. Such, for instance, was the discovery of anæsthesia, within fifty years only, making it possible for patients to undergo operations the very pain of which might under former conditions have destroyed their lives. How many hun-

dreds of thousands of human beings suffered before this untold tortures at the hands of the surgeon! We scarcely realize at this day, when ether and chloroform and laughing gas are in requisition for even the most trifling procedures, that so few years have elapsed since their discovery. Now the most delicate and difficult operations may be safely and painlessly carried out, and hours of time taken: whereas before this era they were impossible, or, if undertaken, had to be performed with a swiftness too great for perfect handiwork.

A still more recent and brilliant advance was made, affecting both surgery and medicine alike, when the germ theory of disease was established as a fact beyond dispute. It was rather early in this century that certain of the large parasites of the human body were discovered, and their life histories ascertained,—such, for instance, as the itch-mite, the trichina, and the numerous entozoa that inhabit the intestines of mankind. Some of these, it was found, were derived from too close an association with dogs, and from eating improperly cooked food,—beef, pork, mutton, and fish. With the discovery of the yeast plant by Latour in 1836, and the later brilliant demonstrations by Pasteur of the facts that both fermentation and putrefaction were caused by vegetable germs, arose the microbe theory as to the origin of many contagious and infectious diseases. With this to work upon, these minute invisible parasites were sought for in the blood and tissues of patients suffering from such maladies. Thus the science of bacteriology sprang into existence, and most wonderful have been its revelations of late years. Now scarcely a month passes without some new and immensely important fact bearing upon contagious diseases being brought to light. The microscopic enemies of mankind, known variously as germs, parasites, bacteria, bacilli, or microbes, inhabit our whole environment. No air so pure that it does not contain them, no water so unpolluted that they do not flourish in abundance there. Our very bodies, healthy though they be, are filled with countless millions of bacteria, haunting the mouth and lungs and alimentary canal. It is true that there is an immense variety of these bacteria, and that it is only certain species of them that produce poisons detrimental to health. Each contagious disease has its own particular germ. These diseases are diphtheria, small-pox, measles, scarlet fever, malaria, cholera, typhus, typhoid fever, hydrophobia, tetanus, glanders, relapsing fever, leprosy, lepra, tuberculosis, erysipelas, septicæmia, pneumonia, yellow fever, and

some others, and the microbes causing many of them have been discovered and described. It has now been determined that it is not the microbes themselves that are poisonous, but certain substances that they secrete (called toxins or ptomaines) that poison the blood and nervous system.

Now, as I previously remarked, this discovery of the bacterial cause of many diseases had an immense effect upon both medicine and surgery. When it was learned that air and dust and water were everywhere filled with myriads of invisible germs, and that some species of these, by being inhaled or swallowed, entered and poisoned the blood, producing contagious and infectious fevers; that some were the cause of fermentation, and that putrefaction was absolutely impossible without their presence,—it did not take long for the surgeon to investigate their relation to the wounds he was obliged to make, through which some of these intruders might readily find entrance into the system to its detriment. Never before had he understood why erysipelas so frequently developed in a wound; why blood-poisoning so often followed certain of his operations; why some of his wounds would heal by first intention, while others would suppurate for weeks or show no tendency to heal; why tetanus, or lockjaw, would occasionally supervene; why hospital gangrene would haunt his ward, like a horrid phantom, and could not be dislodged. Some time ago I was looking over the medical history of the War of the Rebellion, to see what relation there was between the havoc and the devastation of that war and the frightful mortality caused by these then unknown and unsuspected enemies that were preying upon the contending armies, in the quiet camps, in the midst of battles, and in the hospitals. They waged frightful war, secret, relentless, continuous, night and day, through these years, against both the Blue and the Gray. The sabres, the bullets, the cannon-balls, accomplished little compared with the deadly germs. Just three times as many soldiers were slain by microbes as were killed in battle. Those who died from wounds infected by these germs (surgical diseases alone) numbered fully one-sixth of those who fell upon the battle-field.

Thus the antiseptic treatment of wounds became an essential part of surgical procedure. This was a marvellous step in advance. To-day to lose a case by infection of wounds with erysipelas, gangrene, or septicæmia, is looked upon as a disgrace by a surgeon, showing him that there has been a defect somewhere in

the absolute cleanliness of his hands or instruments or dressings. Germ-destroying agents are used, such as corrosive sublimate, carbolic acid, iodoform, and the like, for instruments, sponges, dressings, ligatures. The skin of the patient is shaved or scrubbed and bathed with antiseptic solutions. Before operating, the hands of the surgeon, nurses, and assistants must be scrupulously cleansed with brushes, soap, and bactericidal agents.

Besides the advances made through the discovery of anæsthetics and by the antiseptic treatment of wounds, there has been progress in other directions, such as new and better methods of preventing and checking hemorrhage and the invention of new instruments. It is now possible, not only to undertake operations not thought of before, but to practise conservatism in surgery. For instance, amputations are not so frequent as formerly. Limbs are saved under the new conditions that used to be sacrificed. Skin, hair, bones, and teeth are transplanted from one person to another with success. Nerves injured or cut into by accident are nowadays sewed together, much as telegraph wires are repaired, and their functions restored. The feature, however, which distinguishes the surgery of the present day from that of the past is what may be called its visceral character. In other times the surgeon busied himself with the externals, the appendages of the body, with the removal of excrescences, like tumors of the skin, and with amputations of limbs. Now the most vital parts are invaded, the viscera of the abdomen and even those of the chest and head. There are few organs which his knife may not penetrate. Large abdominal tumors are removed. Even organs like the spleen, kidney, and larynx may be successfully extirpated. The pelvic organs are excised. The stomach and intestines may be sewed up when injured, and parts cut out and the ends sewed together as if they were rubber hose. Operations upon abscess and tubercles in the lungs are undertaken, and tumors in dangerous proximity to the heart and great vessels and nerves of the chest are removed with success.

The most striking surgical procedures at this moment are those undertaken upon the brain and spinal cord. We nerve specialists have for some years been making wonderful advances in our knowledge of the anatomy and physiology of the brain and spinal cord, so much so that we are now able to discover and localize with considerable precision the exact spot where some tumor or abscess has formed or some hemorrhage has taken place; and

under our direction the surgeon operates for the removal of the morbid matter. It is, undoubtedly, a dangerous region; but the results justify operative interference in many cases of this kind. A few operations have been undertaken in insanity. Not all forms of insanity are amenable to surgical treatment, of course; but certain forms, such as those due to blows or injuries to the head, afford results under such treatment that lead us to expect considerable success in selected cases. In idiotic children and, in particular, where the idiocy seems to depend upon a premature union of the bones of the skull, thus hampering cerebral growth, a great many operations have been performed,—operations merely upon the skull, such as removing large pieces of bone in order to give the brain more room for expansion. In possibly two or three cases improvement has followed this line of treatment. But it is still in an experimental stage; and I should hesitate to advise surgical interference in these cases, not only because of the small promise of improvement offered, but because of the peculiar fatality of operations upon the heads of children. The majority of these cases die from the operation.

It is doubtful if surgery can make much more advance. Methods of operation and technique will naturally improve, but the limit of operative possibilities seems now to have been reached.

With the large field of medicine, however, the case is different. Medicine, so recently known as an art, is rapidly becoming a science. While everything has always been distinct, visible, objective, tangible, to the surgeon, the physician has had to deal with intangible things, mysterious processes going on in the invisible tissues of the body, morbid changes in the blood, obscure derangements in the organs of circulation, breathing, and digestion, strange discords in the usually harmonious working of the nervous system, a thousand complicated physiological processes whose delicate adjustments might be upset by a thousand different causes. Surgery is a comparatively unimportant part of the science of medicine. It is concerned only with a few gross and palpable morbid conditions, and relates to scarcely a fiftieth part of the sufferers who seek the aid of the healing science. On the other hand, almost all mankind, at one time or another, plead for the physician's aid against the encroachments of disease and infirmity, against the innumerable ills of the flesh, against the "pestilence that walketh in darkness." In order to bring solace to these unhappy victims, it has been necessary to study physiology; to learn the character

of the immediate functions carried on in the organism; to study pathology, which relates to the seat and cause of each and every disease; and, finally, to study therapeutics, which has to do with the arrest of the morbid process and its cure. The number of workers in these various fields has increased from year to year, so that now in a hundred laboratories investigation and research are carried into all these sciences by a thousand workers in all parts of the world; and each day brings forth new possibilities in the way of aid to suffering and diseased humanity. I should like here, had I time, to tell how much of our progress in medicine has been due to the employment of vivisection, which so many thoughtless though well-meaning people decry. It would be easy to demonstrate that thousands of human lives have been saved because of the knowledge gained through experiments scientifically and humanely conducted upon lower animals.

Nor can I stop here to speak of the numberless directions in which progress has been made,—the new anodynes and sleep-producing drugs discovered; the wonderful remedial products from the chemical investigation of coal tar; the valuable studies of both new and old climates and mineral springs; the modern applications of simple water to the cure of many acute and chronic disorders; the perfection of measures for the prevention of diseases of various kinds; the distinct advances in regard to public health, hygienic measures, filtration of water, and disposal of sewage; the researches into the character of food and proper regulation of diet; the vast accumulation of important facts in bacteriology, such as the discoveries of the particular germs and toxins which give rise to many contagious and infectious diseases; the invention of new instruments and the perfection of the old; the greater accuracy of diagnosis, and the like. I shall select at random only a few of the remarkable features of this progress, and of these only the most recent.

You are all familiar with Koch's discovery of the bacillus of consumption, and his later discovery of the toxin made by this bacillus, known as tuberculine, and which promised a year or two ago such happy results to the victims of this disease, yet in active practice failed to be satisfactory. But few of you are aware that this tuberculine, or Koch's lymph, has been continually studied and experimented with until now it looks more promising than ever. I will point out in a few words what has been done with Koch's original lymph. Now, it was learned, not long ago, that

this original tuberculine was a crude substance, composed of an albumose and other substances which must be foreign and deleterious. The albumose was the chief principle, and the true secretion of the tubercular bacilli. The crude lymph injected into the human body caused malaise and fever; but, by separating the valuable principle, it was found that with this no malaise or fever supervened upon injection. To this albumose has been given the name tuberculocidin. Klebs, who first isolated it, and gave it this name, made use of it a short time ago in seventy-five cases of consumption, curing 18 per cent. of the cases. The treatment does not at all interfere with the daily vocations of the patients.

Another remarkable fact has been developed very recently in medical research, and that is the danger of the house-fly. It has been learned as an absolute fact that flies are carriers of germs, and particularly of the germs of Asiatic cholera and tuberculosis. Thus it behooves us to be more than ever active in our warfare upon these domestic pests and disease-carriers.

Again, in the dreadful disease known as tetanus, or lockjaw, which supervenes upon wounds when a certain bacillus chanches thus to find ingress into the system, it is well known that hitherto death was almost sure to result in every case, despite all known means of treatment. But within a few months Tizzoni and Catani, two Italian physicians, have isolated the toxin secreted by the bacillus of tetanus, and with that treated cases of lockjaw with such wonderful success that last week I read an account of the fourteenth case in a series of recoveries by this method of procedure.

I cannot pass over the domain of electricity without reference to its uses in medicine, which have multiplied at equal pace with its progress in industrial and commercial pursuits. As this is a department in which I have done much experimental work, because of the value of electro-therapeutics in my particular line of practice (nervous and mental diseases), I feel that I can speak with authority upon its many and valuable features. In medicine we make use of the electrolytic quality of electricity in dealing with tumors, aneurisms, hairy growths on the face, birth-marks, and the like, with the greatest success. We use the anodyne properties of the galvanic current for the relief of pain, and its stimulating properties for improving the nutrition of parts. Thus it is an excellent remedy for neuralgia, sciatica, and the wasting palsies.

The electric light is coming to be of the greatest service in diagnosis; for, by means of recently invented electrical endoscopes, we can illuminate all the cavities of the body, and closely examine their mucous walls for signs of disease. As an example, I might say that we are now able to light up the interior of the stomach, so that in a dark room we may determine whether it is enlarged or out of position by the diaphanous glow through the abdominal walls; and by means of an arrangement of lenses in a stomach tube, we may at the same time scrutinize with the eye every part of its interior walls. What is known as the cataphoretic property of electricity has been for several years past one of my own fields of experiment. I found that by placing solutions of certain drugs upon the positive pole I was enabled to drive them in through the unbroken skin with a continuous current; for, as is well known, the flow of current is from the positive to the negative pole. Thus I was enabled to introduce cocaine over the nerves involved in severe neuralgias, and to relieve in that way the terrible pain of this malady. Most soluble drugs can be introduced in this way. Thus a new treatment, by local medication, of swellings, tumors, neuralgia, rheumatic joints, and the like, has come into vogue, by which the drugs can be sent at once into the diseased tissues without, as formerly, travelling through the stomach, and reaching the part in the uncertain and roundabout way of the circulation of the blood.

Some of the European physicians of eminence in Paris and Vienna have been in the habit of ascribing wonderful remedial power to magnets. They make use of magnets which lift two to four pounds' weight. Last summer, at the Edison Laboratory in Orange, N.J., Mr. Kennelly and myself made use of the largest magnets known to modern science in a series of experiments upon organic matter,—blood, animals, and man. One of these magnets could lift a ton. We found that magnets have no effect whatever upon the blood, nervous system, or other tissues. Thus, while our experiments were negative, they had the important effect of eradicating from practice an empirical and wholly theoretical method of treatment. During July and August of this summer Mr. Kennelly and I have been investigating, at the Edison Laboratory, the effects upon ourselves of currents alternating from 288 times per second to 3,000 times per second. We made the remarkable discovery that, as the vibrations increased in frequency, a benumbing effect was produced upon sensory nerves. With the highest num-

ber of vibrations a complete loss of sensation resulted in the parts to which the current was applied, so that pricking with needles and knives, and the application of cold and hot water, were not felt at all. As soon as the current was turned off, sensation was instantly restored. It is possible that minor operations, such as amputating a finger, opening a felon, and the like, may be performed without pain, when an alternating current of high frequency is used upon or above the part. The current itself is not painful or disagreeable.

A wide and wholly new field of exploration has recently been opened in what is called auto-intoxication. It has been found that food taken into the stomach and passing into the intestines may there undergo certain changes due to germs of fermentation or putrefaction, resulting in the formation of poisonous substances, which find their way through the intestinal walls into the blood, and thus poison the whole system, giving rise to the most varied symptoms, especially of disorders of the brain and nervous system. It is now certain that many forms of insanity, headache, epilepsy, hysteria, and other nervous disorders are the results of this peculiar self-poisoning, or auto-intoxication. I have been treating many such cases of late with intestinal antiseptics, regulation of diet, and careful attention to the state of the alimentary canal, and with surprising results. In some of my cases of epilepsy I have been enabled by this means alone to reduce the number of attacks per month to less than one-third of the number that patients had before. In many cases of insanity, headache, neurasthenia, and hysteria, the effect of this new treatment has been very remarkable.

I now come to perhaps the most interesting and wonderful of recent events in medical discovery. It relates to what are known as the organic extracts, and their administration as remedies for various diseases. It will be remembered by all of you,—for it had wide circulation in the lay press at the time,—that three or four years ago Professor Brown-Séquard of Paris published the noteworthy results of his experiments with a liquid extract of certain animal glands, popularly known as the Elixir of Life. Old age was to be rejuvenated and surprising improvement to be made under the new treatment in the most varied of chronic diseases. While the Elixir of Life was given little or no credence by most physicians, many at once began to make investigation into its effects, in order to verify or nullify the claims of the discoverer,

as it becomes scientific searchers to do. It would be too much to say that the dreams of Brown-Séquard have been realized ; but it is a fact that his organic extract has considerable value as a therapeutic agent, acting both as a stimulant and tonic. But the merit of this discovery lay not so much in its own intrinsic worth as in its having indicated a new path for medical research. A large number of physicians have been working in this novel field ; and now organic extracts are made from the most divers organs of the body, and hypodermically injected for the relief of innumerable disorders of these respective organs. Thus we have extract of pancreas for the relief of diabetes, extract of kidneys for renal maladies, cardine, or extract of the heart, for cardiac disorders, cerebrine, or extract of the brain, for many nervous disorders, and the like. The extracts are made by taking the desired organ from an animal, such as an ox or sheep, freshly killed, cutting it into small pieces and triturating it with glycerine, afterwards filtering it and obtaining a clear liquid, of which a certain number of drops are administered with a hypodermic syringe as often as is deemed necessary. The preparations are made with strictly antiseptic precautions, in order to prevent the entrance of bacteria. There is no doubt that many of these substances have some therapeutic value ; but, as regards most of them, the evidence is not as yet sufficiently conclusive. But of one extract I wish to speak more fully, because that particular one has achieved marvellous success in the treatment of one or two hitherto absolutely incurable diseases. I allude to extract from thyroid gland.

Now there are two dreadful disorders that may not be, and probably are not, familiar to you. They are myxœdema and cretinism. Myxœdema is a disease of the thyroid gland, which results in a series of peculiar symptoms, such as marked œdematous swelling of the body, particularly of the face, falling out of the hair and teeth, and blunting of the intellectual capacity to such an extent sometimes that the afflicted patient becomes imbecile. The face of the sufferer becomes puffy, expressionless, and waxy. These patients are found in all parts of the world ; and no case was ever cured by any method of treatment until 1891, when a Dr. Murray, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, administered organic extract of the thyroid glands of sheep, upon purely theoretical grounds, and was astounded to observe immediate improvement, and finally cure. Others took the matter up, so that now hundreds of cases of this malady have been cured by this simple means, which until so very

lately was considered absolutely incurable. It has been found that it is not even necessary to administer the extract subcutaneously, but that the chopped up glands may be eaten raw or broiled a little, and the same wonderful cure is produced.

Probably some of you may have heard of the singular idiotic dwarfs, with thick, short necks and puffy faces, that inhabit certain parts of Europe, notably Switzerland, and are called cretins. There are a few to be found in some parts of America. I recollect walking through a village of cretins in a lonely valley in the Harz Mountains, while making a foot-tour one summer twelve years ago. Now, it is known that cretinism is the result of a disease of the thyroid gland beginning in early infancy; and we are just beginning to treat these cretins with extract of the thyroid gland. Already notable results have been obtained, such as two years ago would scarcely have been conceived of. It is not too much to say that we are on the eve of astonishing discoveries in all departments of medical science. I have touched barely upon a few of the most striking events of recent months; but they are such as foreshadow new marvels, miracles one might almost say, yet to appear before our wondering eyes, which will one day place what has hitherto been characterized as an art only, the healing art, among the most beneficent of modern sciences.

DEBATE.

In the discussion following the address of Dr. Peterson, Mr. Sanborn said that his attention had been called in Scotland last summer to cases of the singular disease named *Myxoidema*, to which allusion had been made; and he had visited at Larbert, near Stirling, Dr. John Macpherson, superintendent of the Stirling District Asylum, who had published the case of a patient there cured by him through the treatment known as "thyroid grafting" in 1890-91. Dr. T. S. Clouston, of the Royal Edinburgh Asylum, with whom Dr. Macpherson had resided as physician assistant before taking charge at Larbert, had mentioned this and other cases, saying among other things: —

Medicine has during the past three years made a discovery which will have the effect of preventing one form of mental dis-

ease in the future. *Myxoidema* was only discovered about twenty years ago: it is primarily a bodily disease, but after it has existed for a time certain mental defects and changes show themselves in nearly all cases. In a few of them the mental disturbances are so marked that the patients come within the category of insanity, and are sent to asylums. Soon it was found that this disease depends on the atrophy of a certain gland (the thyroid) in the neck; then the bold experiment was tried by a great London surgeon (Mr. Victor Horsley) of taking a portion of this gland from an animal just killed, and transplanting it under the skin of a patient. Most wonderful and encouraging results followed this. The next step was injecting small quantities of the juice of sheep's glands under the skin of those patients. Still better results followed this. In fact, persons who had been afflicted by this terrible disease for from ten to twenty years were cured by this means. Dr. Macpherson, a recent member of our staff, now at Larbert Asylum, was the first to try this treatment in a case where *myxoidema* had gone on and caused insanity, with the happy result of curing the patient. The next step was to administer the gland or its juice by the mouth. This safe and easy mode of treatment is now being universally used in the disease, which will soon become a thing of the past; for it will in future be treated and cured in its early stages. Our two cases, which came in towards the end of 1892, are both improving, and will soon be well. Such a triumph of medical science over disease gives new heart and hope to every medical man.

While it may not be safe to conclude, with Dr. Clouston, that every form of this malady will yield readily to the new treatment, no doubt a great advance in medicine has here been made. I may add that the disease was first described by Sir William Gull, a distinguished homœopathic physician of England, and has become widely known through the experiments of Victor Horsley, Dr. von Eiselsberg, and Professor Kocher; more recently by the publications of Dr. Byrom Bramwell and one or two American physicians. Dr. G. S. Adams, of the (Homœopathic) State Hospital for Insane at Westboro, Mass., has shown me a case of *myxoidema* in his wards since my return in July, and is treating it successfully. He also directed my attention to the American literature on the subject. I had seen at Larbert one or two patients suffering in this way; and Dr. Macpherson gave me his publication of his first case, which was exhibited before the Medico-Chirurgical Society of Edinburgh, March 2, 1892. This patient first came under Dr. M.'s care in May, 1890, but was not then treated specially. She was again admitted Aug. 22, 1891, and on the same

date in October was first treated by hypodermic grafting with the thyroid gland of a sheep newly killed on the asylum farm at Larbert. Within twelve hours mental improvement followed; and in the following March, when exhibited in Edinburgh, she had well-nigh recovered. I did not gather from Dr. Macpherson that he considered recovery in these cases necessarily permanent,—indeed, I saw a patient there who had been discharged and readmitted, as I understood; but that the method now pursued is of signal benefit there can be no doubt. Other instances of thyroid grafting are cited by Dr. M. as practised by Drs. Bettencourt and Serrano at Lisbon, by Dr. Murray of Newcastle, Eng., and Mr. Fenwick, of the London Hospital. The present method, by feeding the gland on toast, odd as it may seem, has been found very effective.

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION.

BY H. L. WAYLAND, D.D., OF PHILADELPHIA.

[Read Monday, September 5.]

[In lieu of his Annual Address, the retiring President of the Association, H. L. Wayland, D.D., of Philadelphia, who was unavoidably absent, sent a paper on the same topic which Judge Dexter, of Elmira, N.Y., had considered a year before,—Compulsory Arbitration. It was read by Professor Wayland, of New Haven, and was briefly debated afterwards, few of the members being able to see how such a measure could be made practically operative, and an English speaker declaring positively that it could not be made effective in England.]

Recently there was a coal strike, and presently a coal famine, in England. Fortunately, it was in the warm season; but many industries were paralyzed; the ocean-going steamers could not get their supply of coal in the British ports, and had to go to the Continent; in time there was a sympathetic half-strike among the French and Belgians, affecting the Continental supply.

Here is a trunk line which has been earning a fair income and paying a fair wage. The ambitious managers want to control all the coal lands, or they want to extend into new regions and to lease new lines and to absorb the continent. Possibly, these adventurers are less successful than they hoped. In order to pay the expected dividends, they must reduce expenses; and the first field for reduction is wages. Then a strike: the strike extends. The tracks are torn up; the transcontinental traffic is choked. The great station is burned; engines are killed; cars are fired; the State sends the militia; the smoke of gunpowder takes the place of the smoke of peaceful industry; there is war in the streets of the Iron City.

Are all these, like the earthquake and the volcano, a mysterious necessity of nature, or may we seek for a remedy somewhere in the resources of civilized society?

I shall not consider the question from a sentimental point of view. I shall not consider the sufferings of the wage-earner, now

a wage-earner no longer. I shall not depict the wan and wasted faces in his home, nor the coarse and scanty loaf upon his table. I shall speak of the matter in its bearing upon the welfare of the community, of the State, of the commonwealth of nations.

Up to a recent period, I suppose, nine out of ten persons would have said: "We must fall back upon the laws of nature. We must rely upon the law of supply and demand to raise wages when wages are too low, to lower the rate when wages are too high." Men forget that our great business in this world is to counteract the laws of nature by bringing into exercise some other and higher law. It is a law of nature that water will not rise above its level; and yet this law we are constantly contradicting in the provisions which are made in our cities for carrying the damp, somewhat nutritious, not always salubrious fluid to the upper stories of our homes. It is a law of nature that a child brought up in the slums will go to the bad. It is for the humane, it is for the Christian, it is for Charles L. Brace and those in whom he lives again, to resist this law of nature, and to substitute a law above nature.

The laws of supply and demand, the laws of political economy, the moral laws, show what will be — *unless* man or some other supernatural interposes.

According to the law of supply and demand, if two men want work where there is only one day's work to be had, they will bid against each other until their wage will be the very minimum that will maintain a tenuous and precarious connection between soul and body. It is our business to modify, to reverse the law, to find opportunity for both men to work for a living wage, to be to these two competing starvelings intelligence, resource, bravery, so that both shall find work, for the benefit of their homes and the benefit of the human race, and without loss to the employer.

Suppose that a difference arises between any two men: we at once regard it as a case for arbitration. The law has provided judges, jury, officials, all of whom, in theory, are impartial, incorrupt, intelligent. Does not this suggest a remedy in labor disputes? and is it not wonderful that we have so long allowed ourselves to be ignorant of what is under our very eyes? Every court is a hall of arbitration. Over every court-house door the gilded statue of Justice with the even balances and the bandaged eyes is an object-lesson in arbitration.

Every one accedes to all this. We all say, "This is excellent. We must persuade employer and employed to submit their case,

on the one side and on the other, to arbitrament; and, when the arbitration has taken place, we must persuade them to accept it."

But what if they will not accept it? What if they say, as a strong and wealthy employer is very apt to say, "There is nothing to arbitrate," a reply which, but for the magnitude of the interests involved and the seriousness of the results, would be delightfully absurd. "Nothing to arbitrate!" Was there ever a more felicitous example of taking the thing to be proved as a part of the proof? The very question at issue, the very question which needs arbitration, is, "Is there anything to arbitrate?" As well might a man against whom a suit at law is brought say: "Oh, I shall not go to the court! There is no case to submit to the judge." Or, on the other hand, suppose the employed, mad with hunger, badly led, say, "There is nothing to arbitrate."

All this suggests an additional word that is necessary, in order to find in arbitration a remedy. That word is *Compulsory*. What we need is an arbitration which shall take the place of strike and of lock-out, which shall not wait to be called upon by the one side or the other, or both, but which shall unhesitatingly summon the employer and the employed to its bar, which shall promptly pronounce its judgment, and which shall have all the power of the State at its back for making this arbitration effectual, final, imperative.

In fact, there is no real arbitration but *compulsory*. The words of Washington are in point: "Influence is not government." Influence is not arbitration; advice is not arbitration; suggestion is not arbitration. There is need of authority.

But men say: "Arbitration is excellent, provided it is voluntary. There is a natural repugnance to the word *compulsory*." Very likely. I suppose there is the same objection to the compulsory element in our courts at law. But we do not, on this account, leave them to be voluntary in their action. If A regards himself as having a case against B, he does not say to B, "Would you mind calling around at the court-house to-morrow at 10 A.M., so that we can talk this matter over with the judge and the sheriff and the jury?" And, after a decision has been reached, it is not left to the voluntary compliance of the one party or the other. It is understood that the decision of a court is final, so far as anything may be considered final. That is to say, unless somewhere, in some undiscovered region of the universe,—somewhere beyond, it may be, Orion and the Pleiades,—there is some court of yet later appeal.

When a gentleman is suspected of having murdered another gentleman or a lady, perhaps his wife, the proceedings that follow are not entirely voluntary, and are not left for their sanction to the simple stress of public opinion.

But the question may arise: "Why is it that a remedy that has so much to commend it should not long ago have been universally adopted? There must be reasons against compulsory arbitration."

First of all, I should reckon that mingling of ignorance, selfishness, and cowardice, which we call conservatism, "the conviction of mankind that the state of things into which they are born is a part of the order of the universe, as natural, let us say, as that the sun should go around the earth."

When conservatism has so far recovered the use of its (supposed) mind as to be equal to utterance, it gasps, "Compulsory arbitration is paternalism."

Paternalism is a spectre which seems to stand by the bedside of a large portion of the human race, depriving them of their repose at the midnight hour. A few years ago, at the request of the Charity Organization of New York, I went with a few friends to Washington, to try to induce Congress to introduce the Postal Savings Bank. I had an interview with the chairman of the subcommittee of the House Committee on Post-offices and Post Roads, to whom the matter of the Postal Savings Bank had been referred. This was a gentleman named Jones from Texas. The one idea which occupied the cavity in this gentleman's economy, which is usually assigned to the mind, was a dread of paternalism. "We don't want a paternal government," was his one utterance. Governor Wouter Von Twiller never arrived at any conclusion, because he conceived of everything on so gigantic a scale that it was impossible for him to turn it over and look at both sides of it. I should apprehend in the case of the excellent Mr. Jones, from Texas, that his difficulty lay not so much in the gigantic scale on which he conceived all things as in the limited area of his intellectual domicile.

Whether paternalism is good or bad depends partly on who it is that is the father. If it is a hot-headed, hare-brained, young German Kaiser who proposes to be our father, that is one thing. But it is a different thing if 65,000,000 Americans say, "We will be our own father."

Next to paternalism there is another word which awakens the

shuddering horror of the conservative. It is the word "Socialism," which, curiously enough, men have somehow got mixed up in their minds with Communism and Anarchy. Rational Socialism I take to be the State—that is, the organized body—doing for the individual what he cannot do for himself, or, at any rate, cannot do as well. The individual man can do some things better than any one can do them for him. He can choose his wife, he can choose his religion, better than the State can choose for him. But, on the other hand, he cannot carry his letters from Maine to New Orleans, or administer justice between man and man, or put out fires, or provide for the distribution of his estate among his heirs after he shall be dead.

All government is Socialism. Socialism and Anarchy are the two poles: the acme of good government is in finding the judicious mean. Anarchy means every man using for his own aggrandizement all his physical force, his resources of courage, unscrupulousness, combination, wealth. There have never been bred among the most pestiferous hot-beds of the slums more aggravated Anarchists than the men, among the living and the dead, who, by superior wiles and by the dexterous use of courts and bribed legislatures and in disregard of law, have gathered in one railroad after another, until the transportation of a continent lay at their feet.

But I trust we have ceased to be frightened by names. Thinking men no longer esteem it a reproach to be called Socialists, and that Compulsory Arbitration may be associated with Socialism will not weigh in the slightest degree in the mind of any independent and thoughtful student of Social Science.

It is alleged again that compulsory arbitration is hostile to freedom of contract. "You do not allow two persons to make a contract free from interference." Freedom is a fascinating but delusive word. There may easily be freedom in name where freedom in fact does not exist. Blackbeard might say: "I do not interfere with your freedom: you have your choice. You may join our band, or you may walk the plank. Do not think for a moment that I would constrain you."

The highwayman may say: "Far be it from me to violate for an instant the sacred privileges of freedom. You are quite at liberty. Pray feel yourself entirely unconstrained. You will give me your watch and the contents of your purse, or—the revolver and the sand-bag."

If the Irish landlord has all the land there is, he may say to the tenant: "Contract is perfectly free: do not take the land unless you want it. Of course, if you take it, you will pay me the rent."

In the infancy of the industries, the operative could carry on all the processes involved in his trade. He could spin and weave. He had his loom, which, if necessary, with a little trouble, he could transport from one village to another. The shoemaker made an entire shoe. If his labor was not in demand in one place, he could easily shoulder his bench, and with his tools in his basket walk to another place where there was more demand for his craft.

But now the workingman knows but a single process; and for the exercise of this segment of a trade he is dependent upon a vast, complicated, expensive system of machinery. Freedom of contract is at an end. And, with the increase of improvements in machinery, which more and more enable the employer to dispense with the human hand, the dependence of the operative is the more complete; freedom of contract has long since ceased to be anything but a name. Compulsory arbitration does not violate freedom of contract: rather, it re-creates and re-inaugurates it.

"Compulsory arbitration interferes with the sacred right of private property." I do not know how it is that we have come to look with such superstitious veneration upon property. Property comes first. The river which is the water supply of Philadelphia is polluted by the drainage of houses and factories and villages and towns: the right to drain into the Schuylkill has somehow got itself considered one of the sacred rights of property. The physicians tell us that within a limited number of years seven thousand persons have needlessly died of typhoid in the city,—a sacrifice of human life upon the altar of Property. Property is treated with a deference and a delicacy that is not awarded to life. The city authorities, after approaching the subject with adequate deliberation, request the property-holder to cease from poisoning the stream. After some months they again invite him to the discharge of this delightful duty. Meanwhile children grow pallid and die, and women mourn over their dead; but the right of property is safe.

I doubt whether in material things there is an absolute right of property. I do not think that any one can lay his hand upon anything material, and say, "This is absolutely mine, without regard to the needs and claims of my fellow-men, without regard to the dominant right of the State." To the question, "Shall I not do

what I will with mine own?" the answer is much less obvious than has been currently imagined.

Mr. Gladstone has had the clearness to see that the welfare of the human race is the highest consideration. When he enacted that the contract between landlord and tenant might be revised by a land-court, and the terms of the lease modified; when he provided that the owner should sell to the tenant at a price to be fixed not by the one nor by the other, but by an independent and impartial tribunal,—he shed new light upon freedom of contract and the right of property.

"But it is impossible! We can, indeed, *declare* that the employed ought to be content with lower wages or ought to receive higher; but we cannot enforce our decision. We cannot compel the employed to work at a reduced wage or the owner to carry on his works. Compulsory arbitration is impossible."

The word *impossible* is very elastic. It would be more truthful if, instead of *impossible*, we should say *difficult*, *disagreeable*. The word *impossible* has no place in the vocabulary of a nation which has conquered a continent and emancipated a race. I am sure that somewhere in the storehouse of the most inventive of nations there will be found some means of achieving the impossible. Suppose, for example, that the employer should refuse to accept the judgment of the arbitrators: then the State, standing behind the arbitrators, may say, "Very good: then we will appoint a competent receiver who will take your works and will employ the best professional skill that the country affords, and will run your mill, or your mine, and will pay such a rate of wages as has been fixed, and will hand over to you the remaining income." Or a receiver will find out by actual experiment that the rate of wages fixed by the arbitrators is too high. When the owners of mines in Ohio, as a result of some difficulty with their employed, closed the mines for an indefinite term of years, inflicting measureless suffering, depriving of value the homes which the miners had erected for themselves, and all the houses and stores which had been erected in reliance of the working of the mines, surely it was far within the province of the State to carry on this mine in the interest, not of the employed alone, nor of the employer alone, but of the community and of the human race.

On the other hand, if the employed, under bad advice, say, "We will not accept this award, we will not work for the wages which you regard as sufficient," then, of course, the State could

not imprison five thousand men, nor could it compel them to work. But it could say, "Since you decline to work for the wage which has been regarded as sufficient by an impartial board, you must give way to those who are willing to work for the wages which you refuse; and the men who take your place shall be defended by the whole power of the State." And, in saying this, the State would have behind it public sentiment, without which, in a republican government, laws and arms are alike futile, the public sentiment and the sympathy which now, in case of a dispute, go with the employed and the strikers, from a feeling that they have not been fairly dealt with, that their claims have not been adequately considered.

You may say that the State cannot do this; that it would be impossible for the State, with frugality and with success, to carry on ship-building, iron-working, cotton-weaving, and coal-mining. What! The State, that in the war organized and fed and clothed a million men, that ran railroads, and that will presently be the express company for the country, and will operate the telegraphs!

The objector urges that France had in one year 19,271 cases for arbitration; and he argues that, if the State undertakes all this, it will have its hands very full. Perhaps; and yet I have little fear but that the genius of Americans will respond to every demand, as a year or two of war sufficed to call into existence at the North and at the South the highest military and executive genius in great abundance.

But, in fact, the moment it is known that the State is prepared to act in the premises, that very knowledge will largely obviate the necessity for its action. Last year there were 7,000 murders in the United States, and 7,000 men who ought to have been hung. You may say: "A large job for the State to hang 7,000 men. The hemp fields of Missouri would scarcely suffice." But if the State should make a business of executing justice upon 7,000 murderers, presently there would not be 7,000 murderers who would demand *hanging*.

"Impossible!" But already the courts have declared it possible, and have inaugurated the new era of Compulsory Arbitration. They have undertaken to arbitrate between railroad employers and employed, and have executed their decision with the whole force of the United States.

Compulsory arbitration is not altogether an untried experiment. Colonel Carroll D. Wright,—formerly the honored President of

the Association,— chief of the United States Labor Bureau in his invaluable pamphlet upon "Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration," compiled from material in the possession of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, by direction of the Massachusetts legislature, justly remarks :—

Back of all conciliation, there must be arbitration. The time generally will come when no friendly offices are sufficient to enable capital and labor to see alike. Self-interest renders it impossible for either to decide fairly, and something more than a master of ceremonies, or a conciliator, is needed. There must be power to determine as well as hear. That is, arbitration must intervene; and its decisions accomplish what conciliation is powerless to bring about.

There are circumstances in which the awards can and should be enforced at law; and, under a scheme that contemplates a code of working rules like those adopted at Wolverhampton, it is perfectly feasible.

The same pamphlet states that in France, where at the request of the workmen of Lyons, and by the command of the First Napoleon, Courts of Arbitration and Conciliation were established by law in 1806, "arbitration is compulsory upon the application of either, and the decisions of the court can be enforced the same as those of any other court of law."

Governor Bishop, of Ohio, in his message of 1880, says, "Legislation can only aid in bringing about this certainly desirable system of preventing strikes, by making such settlements legally binding upon both parties, when voluntarily entered into by both." This is a step toward compulsory arbitration. It supposes arbitration to be compulsory when voluntarily entered into by both parties. The next step will be to make its decision final and binding (whether invoked by both parties or by either, or by none) in the interests of the public.

I quote a further sentence from Colonel Wright: "It seems reasonable to suppose that, if the decision of a board of industrial arbitration was by law to partake of the character of an award, and become a decision or judgment of a court of record, there being no legislative power to compel parties to resort to such boards for the settlement of disputes, such law would embarrass rather than facilitate voluntary attempts to secure arbitration." With this sentiment I quite agree; and, therefore, I hold that there should be such legislative power to compel a resort to the

Board of Arbitration, and that the decisions should be clothed with all the authority of any other court of law.

A bill was introduced into the Pennsylvania legislature last winter "to establish boards of arbitration to settle all questions of wages and other matters of variance between capital and labor."

I have no doubt that there is a real though unexpressed objection to compulsory arbitration in the fact that many an employer does not wish to have the rate of his profits known. This objection can be obviated, as in England under the income tax, by having the experts who make the investigation sworn to secrecy.

That there are difficulties I do not deny. Has any good thing ever been attempted that there were not difficulties? And not difficulties alone. Every great result has been gained in the face of impossibilities. Ocean steam navigation was an impossibility. The sending of several currents of electricity on the same wire in opposite directions was a sheer impossibility, involving a violation of the very essential laws of nature. Wonderful how many impossibilities we have seen become commonplaces! And perhaps just while we are pronouncing Compulsory Arbitration absolutely impossible and absurd and inconceivable, it will have become an accomplished fact.

A century ago, if nations had a difference, war was the one resort. We have lived to see the two great English-speaking nations in three instances substitute peaceful arbitration.

You say that the project of Compulsory Arbitration belongs to an ideal state of society, that it cannot be made actual and real. Suffer me to quote from J. R. Lowell: "I am one of those who believe that the Real will never have a solid foundation until it rests upon the Ideal."

And so I have no doubt that objection after objection might be brought up. But those who urge these objections seem to go on the theory that there are no objections to the state of armed neutrality prevailing throughout the industrial world,—an armed neutrality diversified by not infrequent war.

Compulsory Arbitration (which is, in fact, the only real arbitration) is possible, is beneficent, is just, is sure to come, is involved in the logic of the situation. Surely, if the State is to come in at the finish with the bayonet, it may well come in at the start with the balances.

I. PAPERS OF THE FINANCE DEPARTMENT.

I. THE THREE FACTORS THAT PRODUCE WEALTH,—CAPITAL, LABOR, MANAGEMENT.

ADDRESS BY F. J. KINGSBURY, LL.D., CHAIRMAN OF THE DEPARTMENT.

The factors which enter into the production of wealth are three ; namely, capital, labor, and management. All are absolutely essential. Capital furnishes the raw material which is to be increased in value or to which value is to be given, the tools with which or the means by which this result is to be accomplished, and the place in which the work is done or the change made,—at least, in all those cases where a place is required. Labor is the human force that effects the change of form or place which gives the increase of value. Management (another term in this case for human intellect or brain power) directs what these changes shall be, and in what manner they shall be accomplished. All three factors must act together : either by itself is inert.

Capital, the material on which the force is to act, must, before it can be said to have value, be subjected to changes and processes emanating from the hand and mind of man. The fruits of the earth must be gathered, if not planted ; the grain must be sown and reaped ; the metals dug and smelted ; the fish caught and cured. And all things must be prepared for use and transported to the place where they are wanted before they can be said to have any value further than that which may depend on the speculative possibility of their being so treated. The simple exercise of physical force in and of itself neither produces value nor has a tendency to produce it. It is true that a man may be paid for piling up bricks in one place, then taking them down and carrying them to another place and piling them up again : he may in this way exert all the muscles that would be brought into play in erecting a house. And this may be done under circumstances which result for the time being in a moral and physical advan-

tage to the laborer. As what the philanthropists call a "work-test," it is all that could be desired. It also has the hygienic benefit of healthy muscular exercise, and the ethical value of cultivating a habit of industry. But it is quite clear that here is no addition to wealth. And the advantages that do accrue do so mainly because the force exerted is required and directed by and in obedience to a human will.

Again, it is obvious that mere brain power without the material to act upon, without the instrumentalities through which to act, is utterly incapable of producing value. We may sit down and think as much as we please: unless something is done, nothing happens. So also it may be perceived that either two of the factors acting together is helpless without the third.

The statement is frequently made that all value is the product of labor. Adam Smith says, "Labor is the fund which originally supplies a nation with its wealth." McCulloch says, "Labor is the only source of wealth." All the early writers, in one form or another, say the same thing. But, if we examine the elementary writers, or even the dictionaries, we may see what their idea is of the meaning of the word "labor" in this connection. It means all that a man can do either with his muscle or his brain. It combines two of the factors. Even with this understanding of the word, the statement is at least very incomplete; for it leaves out the function of capital, without which that of labor has no subject-matter on which to exert itself. However, letting that pass, the serious difficulty is that this is not the popular and commonly accepted idea of the word "labor." The popular idea is that it means manual labor or personal muscular exertion, and that alone. When the President refers in his recent message to "those of our countrymen who labor," that is what he means, and not "labor" as used by the writers and defined in the dictionary. Now, taking the scientific statement of the scholar, that all value is the product of labor, and then giving the popular meaning to the word "labor," the popular mind has drawn the conclusion that hand-labor or muscular exertion is the producer of all value, and has added the corollary that hand labor is therefore entitled to the value thus produced.

This, perhaps, would not be a very serious blunder, were it not for the fact that it has been accepted by many well-meaning persons, who ought to see farther and know better, but whose zeal has altogether outstripped their knowledge, and whose sympathies have

made havoc of their judgment. On this crude misconception of the meaning of words they have built up ethic and philanthropic systems; and the weaker ones have lost heart, and the stronger ones grown desperate, because the hard sense of humanity does not accept their theories. Also, through their influence, these ideas have reacted and are reacting on the laborers themselves, with rather lamentable results. It is true that people with these views usually belong to what is called the "rose-water" school; but they are, for the most part, good people, who mean well, and deserve to be patiently considered. I say for the most part, because it is exactly these specious, deceiving theories that delight the soul of demagogues and professional agitators, who seem to have a wonderfully keen scent for a respectable fallacy, and are always ready to make the most of it. Of such is not the kingdom of heaven.

It is a very general complaint of the present time that the ordinary workman, the person commonly understood by the word "laborer," puts so little mind into his or her work,—that it is perfunctory to the last degree; concerns itself very little with results, but expends its efforts in a function whose sole end is to escape blame or actual discharge, and to get along with the least possible exertion. Doubtless more than one cause is at work here; but this mistaken notion of the value of mere muscular service is one of the influences responsible. The laborers, because they are really essential, immediately rush to the conclusion that they are all-important. I dare say most of you have heard of the boy who blew the organ-bellows, and spoke boastingly of the music as the joint product of himself and the organist. When the latter mildly remonstrated, he took his revenge by stopping in the middle of the next piece, and saying, "We'll see now who makes the music." Now in a hand-blown organ that boy, or some boy, was an absolute necessity; but almost any boy would do, and a motor would be still better, so that, while both functions were essential, their comparative value was widely different.

Of course, all three of the functions named—owner of capital, laborer, and manager—may be frequently united in the same person; but in this simple form of civilization the subject presents no problems that require investigation. It is only in the more complex and artificial life, where these functions come to be exercised by different persons, that the proper adjustment of their relations becomes a matter of importance. And the fact is that, although all three factors—capital, labor, and management—are essential,

and must act together, by far the most important (perhaps because the most rare and hardest to get) is that of management. The early writers altogether ignore this factor, blending its function either with that of capital or of labor, regarding the capitalist as the manager (which, in simple forms of industry, he usually was, and often laborer as well) or else regarding the management as simply part of the labor paid for by the capitalist. In more recent times a truer appreciation of this function has arisen, but even yet has not been so absorbed into the general fund of knowledge as to bear practical fruits; and it needs to be constantly dwelt upon, set forth, reiterated, and explained, until it shall become a common possession of those who act as well as of those who think. Merely giving a passing mention to the conspicuous instances of inventors and artists, whose exceptional position hardly comes within the scope of our present purpose, and still who belong very distinctly to the class that creates value by brain-power, we have to do with that great number of every-day people that keep the wheels of the business world in motion,—the class whom Carlyle so aptly names “captains of industry.”

The function of the manager is to bring capital and labor together in relations that shall be mutually profitable. President Walker, after speaking of the fact that the early economists drew their illustrations from a very primitive life, where the bow and spear figured prominently, says:—

But when, in the development of industry, the forms of production become almost infinitely numerous and complicated; when many persons of all degrees of skill and strength must be joined in labor, each in his place contributing to a result which he very imperfectly, if at all, comprehends; when the materials to be used are brought from distant fields, and the products are in turn to be scattered by the agencies of commerce over vast regions, the consumers constituting an ill-defined or undefined body, personally unknown to the producer or any immediate agent of his,—then a reason for an employer exists which is wholly in addition to that existing in a primitive condition of industry. The mere possession of capital no longer constitutes the one qualification for employing labor; and, on the other hand, the laborer no longer looks to the employer to furnish merely food and the tools and materials of the trade, but to furnish also technical skill, commercial knowledge, and power of administration, to assume responsibilities and provide against contingencies, to shape and direct production, and to organize and control the industrial machinery. And, moreover, so much more important and difficult are the last specified duties of the employer, so much rarer are the abilities they require, that he

who can perform these will find it easy to perform those : if he be the man to conduct business, capital to purchase food, tools, and material, will not, under our modern system of credit, long be wanting to him.

On the other hand, without these higher qualifications, the capitalist will employ labor at the risk (almost the certainty) of total or partial loss. The employer thus rises to be master of the situation. It is no longer true that a man becomes an employer because he is a capitalist : men command capital because they have the qualifications to profitably employ labor. To these captains of industry capital and labor alike resort for the opportunity to perform their several functions. Now, all this is evident to any man who looks carefully on our modern industry. Yet the economists, having made their analysis of production in a primitive state, wholly neglect these later developed duties of the employer, this new and far higher function, and insist on regarding the capitalist himself as the employer. They resolve the entire industrial community into capitalists and laborers, and divide the whole product between the two. To the contrary, I hold that no theory of distribution of wealth in modern history can be complete which fails to make account of the employing class, as distinguished in its idea, and largely also in its *personnel*, from the capitalist class.

Elsewhere Mr. Walker says, "Bad business management is the heaviest possible tax on production ; and, while the incapable employer gets little for himself, the laborer loses heavily in the rate or regularity of his wages." And he might have added, that the owner of the capital loses his income, and usually in such cases his principal also. Another writer says : —

It is doubtful if either the owner of capital or the owner of labor appreciates at its full value their obligation to and dependence upon the manager. The business of managing capital is open to every man. It requires no capital belonging to the man himself, but the capacity to manage is an absolute necessity. How many masons are there, for instance, who would undertake to make themselves responsible for the wages of fifty other masons, and find profitable employment for them ? Is there one in every fifty ? If not, it will be seen at once that the price of the labor of men of that sort must be greater than the average of the fifty. If it were no more difficult and no more rare to find a man who could profitably manage fifty masons so as to make their labor productive than to find the fifty masons, then the wages of such men would be no higher than those of the other masons. Why should they be ? But, if it is more difficult to find such men, then, why shouldn't they be ?

Managing skill not only directs labor so that it shall be profitable, but it constantly creates new opportunities for labor. It seeks out new industries, it enlarges the bounds of the old. It gives new and attractive forms to products. It creates new desires

in the purchasing class. In short, it raises industry from the barbaric to the civilized state. Without it industrial society would be but an aggregate of individuals, each employed in simply supplying his absolute wants. We talk a great deal about the value of inventions, and almost as much about the poverty of inventors. The reason of the latter is obvious. Without business management invention is worthless, capital is useless, labor is unproductive. We can therefore afford to reward liberally the manager. If I am a capitalist, I can afford to let the manager take a large part of all the profit on my money, beyond what I could get were it not for his management, and yet be the gainer. If I am a laborer, I can afford to sell my labor to him for only a little more than I could get, were it not for his management, and yet be the gainer. If he stops managing for us, we shall very soon discover how much we are willing to pay to get him back. It will be an expensive discovery, however; and we had much better avoid making it.

Capital, having a more intelligent representation than labor, has been first to see and appreciate this value of management. Capital is content with very small returns, and is willing or, at any rate, feels the necessity upon it for yielding a very liberal share to management; while labor, less wisely advised, shows a constant disposition to quarrel with its own bread and butter by throwing all sorts of obstacles in the way of management.

I will notice but one other point bearing on the relative value of the manager in the production of wealth; and that is the instinctive confidence with which the whole community, capitalists and laborers alike, turn to him for help, rely upon him, and hold him responsible,—lie down upon him, so to speak,—especially in time of trouble. We frequently hear the assertion that the public or the State owes it to every laboring man that he should be provided with remunerative employment. Without attempting to discuss the question how far this position is sound in all its breadth, it is certainly a very desirable end to be gained, and one worthy of our best efforts.

But how is this desired end to be brought about? Labor acknowledges its inability in the very terms of the demand. Capital, as such, is utterly powerless, and would soon disappear entirely under any forced attempt to apply it for this purpose. What the demand really means is this: that the manager should throw himself into the breach; that he should find something to do which the world wants done or which he may be able to persuade it that it wants; that he should find a way to do it; that he should persuade the owner of capital that it can be done, and done with

profit; that he should find the means of bringing his product to the point of consumption; that he should discriminate between those who are to be trusted and those who are not (although dealing largely with persons at a distance, many of whom he has never seen); that he should carry all this responsibility on his shoulders, and achieve success in the face of vigorous competition; insure against every species of loss, and, finally, have enough left to reward those liberally who, with more or less faithfulness, but without any serious responsibility, have lent their muscular efforts to the accomplishment of tasks which his genius, energy, foresight, and self-denial have provided for them.

There can be no profit-sharing if there are no profits to share, and the question whether there are profits to share is entirely dependent on management. Co-operation is sometimes spoken of as an endeavor to avoid the expenses of management. If there is any way of getting the management and avoiding the expense, that is doubtless a good thing; but, should it be done, this is really a present by the manager of his services, and cannot be depended on as a business arrangement.

Why cannot any dozen men club together and start a business? The answer may be made, For want of capital. It is true that one of the offices of management is to find capital; but, if there is among the dozen any one with managing capacity of a sort which makes success reasonably probable, capital is seldom wanting. The real difficulty is lack of managing power. It is to be understood that mere intellect, or intelligence, is not by any means synonymous with business management. This is a gift by itself, as distinct as that of the inventor, the artist, or the poet, and is often found without being associated with any great depth of general intelligence or intellectual acumen.

President Walker is inclined to believe that a considerable part of the reward of management is not paid in money, but is derived from the sense of social position and the intellectual pleasure of directing affairs. My own experience is that in every community the business which pays best is apt to be looked upon as being most highly respectable. But I do think that whenever, by increased intelligence among workmen and more mental activity infused into their labors, the proportion of managers to the whole number shall have largely increased, their compensation will have diminished in like ratio, and they will have perforce to accept the honor instead of the profit. Perhaps we both mean the same

thing. I am inclined to think we do. But the time is so far off when either hope is likely to be realized that the question whether we agree is not of the slightest consequence.

The moral of all this is : First, for the writers and thinkers on economic subjects that they bear fully in mind the two senses in which the word "labor" is used, and the liability to be either misled or misunderstood when this distinction is lost sight of in thinking or not made fully clear and apparent in writing. And, second, for the laborer himself that he fully understand that all physical force must be united with brain power, or mental effort, in order to produce value ; that into whatever he may do he put as much brains as the subject-matter is capable of ; that he constantly seek his own brain development in the line of his calling ; and that he strive to make himself, so far as in him lies, a true entrepreneur. Third, that the man who furnishes the capital and the man who furnishes the muscle and the man who furnishes the brains should each see as clearly as may be their relation to each other, their necessity to each other, and the entire interdependence which exists between them and is absolutely essential to their success.

2. BIMETALLISM, OR THE DOUBLE STANDARD.

BY JACOB L. GREENE, OF HARTFORD.

[Read Sept. 6, 1893.]

It is not a grateful task to offer an elementary thesis in this presence; but the solution of the problem of bimetallism does not lie in any new data or hitherto undiscovered facts, for there are none. It lies rather in such plain statement and in such comprehensive grouping of known and fundamental facts as will let them give their light without confusion or obscurity, and reach their common focus without refraction. The average man, impatient of prolonged attention and careful thought, all too readily assumes that the key to the answer lies in some obscure principle of finance, hidden away in hopelessly complex facts impossible of apprehension by the unskilled, and so gives ready assent to any strongly asserted plausibility; or, starting from the too common postulate that all human actions and interests finally head up in political acts as their highest expression and ultimate form, and are therefore capable of complete regulation and remedy only by political action, he turns to the legislature, and asks for an edict to settle the matter out of hand. But the answer lies in a patient recognition of facts so commonplace that their controlling force is often overlooked,—the plain facts of every-day trade and of the use of money and other currency commonly spoken of as money.

The problem of the double standard is to make two metals of different physical qualities, of different utilities, of widely and irregularly differing cost, and of widely different exchangeable values for equal quantities, perform equally satisfactory, perfectly interchangeable, and, therefore, absolutely equal and concurrent service as money, both commercial and legal; that is, to make them, however unequal themselves, equal as measures of all values of things exchangeable, as currency in effecting exchanges, in discharge of commercial balances, and in liquidation of all contracts and judgments expressed in terms of money,—the cost and exchangeable value of one of which metals has fallen with great

rapidity within very recent times, while the conditions plainly in sight affecting its cost and value indubitably promise to send the two metals progressively apart. It is the question of making some arbitrary but large number of ounces of silver, determined upon a merely momentary ratio of cost and value, or else by legislative fiat regardless of that ratio, play precisely the same and a constantly interchangeable and equally satisfactory part with one ounce of gold in the exchanges of the country and of the world, and in the liquidation of contracts, of making each metal do the same work indifferently, equally, always, everywhere, without choice between them, and to keep both in equal use and demand. It is the question of making an admittedly inferior agent perform an identical function in commercial and legal relations with an admittedly superior one by somehow making it everywhere equally effective and equally acceptable. The inability of the inferior to make its own unaided way commercially is recognized in the nature of the method relied on to effect its proposed status.

This method is to procure the national legislature to assume and to decree that a given arbitrary number of ounces of silver is now, always will, must, and shall be equal in exchangeable value and legal efficiency to an ounce of gold; that it shall be so taken and held in all exchanges and liquidations, whether voluntary or involuntary; and that the minted aliquot parts of the assumed number of ounces of silver and of the ounce of gold shall be equally and indifferently measurers of all values, including their own and each other's, of equal value in the market and before the law, and of equal effect as tender,—to be of equal value in the market because equal in effect as tender; each metal to be freely coined on demand by the owner of either, thus giving each the apparently equal chance, the remedy for any preference between them in the minds of men being the legislative "Thou shalt not."

Can the method accomplish the end proposed? Does the actual and effective power of legislation extend that far?

What is money? It is some sort of valuable property, of such peculiar and general acceptability that it readily exchanges for any and every other commodity, and therefore comes to measure in the terms of its natural or conventional divisions or denominations the exchangeable value of every commodity, whether property or service, for which as currency it is exchangeable. Logically and in point of fact, its use as currency precedes its use as a measurer of values; and this latter use, as well as its still later

artificial legal use as tender, grows out of its use first as an actual and common currency, as acceptable anywhere in exchange for all other property because acceptable everywhere for any property.

What is the origin of money? It is born of trade. What is its relation? It is itself a part of trade and an instrument of all trade. And what is trade? It is the voluntary exchange of commodities for reciprocal advantage. What is the primary, invariable, and eternal fact of trade? It is that one commodity is never parted with by its possessor except for another of equal value. That is the moral law of trade. No one owning a piece of property or capable of rendering a service willingly parts with the one or renders the other—unless in charity—without receiving another piece of property or a definite service of at least equal exchangeable value, and which for some then present reason is more desired by the recipient than that parted with by him in the exchange. Property for property; actual value for actual value; substance for substance; something else valuable for every valuable something, and that according to the free will and judgment of the respective owners,—that, and only that, is trade, its essence, its form and its law, its unalterable condition.

And if, for any reason, one of the commodities involved in the exchange be not at hand for instant manual delivery, and can be delivered only at a distant place or to a representative empowered to receive it; or if delivery of the return commodity be forborne to a future date,—in any such case the person entitled to it may, for a compensating advantage of some sort, be willing to receive in place thereof a good and sufficient contract therefor, a formal paper evidence of the transaction, a title-deed to the thing yet to be delivered, to be fully executed or liquidated at the agreed time and place by the thing itself, failing which damages may be had; that is, credit on the one side and debt on the other,—credit on the part of him who parts with his property, expecting to receive the return parcel to the exchange elsewhere or elsewhen; credit founded on the faith that the desired piece of property for which he has taken the contract or title-deed will be delivered at the specified time and place. It is debt on the part of him who has received his something in the exchange, but has not yet rendered his something else in return. And these facts furnish the definition of every credit and every debt. Every true credit represents something, some valuable property, parted with in an exchange, which is to be completed later on and elsewhere by the delivery

of the agreed and equally valuable something else ; and every honest debt represents the something else necessary to complete the agreed exchange in which the something has been already received. That is the essential fact of every debt, no matter what its form of origin,—whether it arise in the exchange of one kind of property for another kind or in the exchange of a certain quantity of a certain kind of property for a like quantity of the same kind of property to be delivered in the future. Borrowing, as distinguished from renting or hiring, is simply an exchange of two quantities of the same property, the delivery of one of which, by the lender, is immediate, and the delivery of the other of which, by the borrower, is postponed to an agreed date and place. It is trade, and nothing else.

Or the owners of the things exchanged may effect their purpose by an exchange of contracts for or title-deeds to these things respectively, delivery and possession to be had elsewhere and at another time in both cases, to the great convenience of both parties.

But in any and every case it is the properties owned by each and desired by the other that are exchanged ; and the credit or faith attached to any paper instrument of the transaction is simply the belief that it will be duly solved by the delivery of the property itself, as agreed. There is no other credit, or faith, known among men in their commercial and financial relations. Any other use of the term is idle breath, and covers either a gambling speculation or a specious cheat.

These propositions cover the whole essence and method of all trade and commerce, whether it be the limited and petty barter between individuals or that between the products of communities or nations massed in the hands of their merchants for those multifarious exchanges which are commerce, domestic or international, on the grand scale, involving as their incidents and instruments transportation, insurance, and those elaborate and refined systems of credit by which the one mass is balanced against the other, and simply the difference in value is transferred from the one side to the other, in some acceptable form of property used as a currency. This it is which bewilders the unfamiliar mind by its magnitude and the multiplicity of its instruments and detail, and so obscures its essential and perpetual simplicity that men believe it really follows some hidden law, and that traders in multitude may do something else than that which each man does,—that somehow

something is exchanged for no something else, or no title-deed to something else, and that the paper evidence of debt is something apart from, and valuable apart from, the property it pledges to give for that already received.

The obvious converse of these propositions brings us forward a step. As all commerce is the free exchange of valuable commodities, and without such exchange there is no commerce, so nothing but a valuable commodity, and at its exchangeable value, can enter into an exchange or into commerce. And as every debt represents only the postponed completion of the exchange of properties, and nothing but property can satisfy the debt and complete the exchange, so no form or evidence of debt can enter into voluntary transactions between men unless it is a good and sufficient contract for or title-deed to a piece of actual property; and it can enter into the exchange or transaction only at the actual known or supposed value of the property to which it carries the right of eventual possession to transfer which it was uttered. It is the property, and not the very convenient paper, which is traded for. That evidence of debt which does not convey and effectually secure the possession of the something else is not exchangeable for the something. When men lose faith in its ability to bring the promised property, it is waste paper, whether it be the note of an individual bankrupt, or "continental money" or French assignats.

It follows from the facts of all trade that, whatever the world of commerce uses as money (that which is itself universally acceptable for any commodity one wishes to part with in order to secure the something else, because one is sure that it will, without loss of value, exchange for any particular commodity he may at any time desire, and in the terms of which the values of all commodities are therefore expressed) must itself be property, else it will not buy property. And it has been, must, and will be of a sort the most convenient and effective to its purpose under all the circumstances of its use for the time being. General and permanent utility, desirability, the narrowest possible range of fluctuation in value, probable future steadiness and practical permanence of value, great durability, and a minimum of bulk with capacity for ready division, are some of the characteristics which qualify any kind of property to serve as a common currency, and therefore as a measurer of values, and have determined its adoption as such in all ages. As between any two substances,—two kinds of property, differing from each other in respect of these things and their consequent

cost of use,— it is impossible that there should not be a choice in the minds of men using them. The one must, of physical and unalterable necessity, be preferable to the other for such use. The whole history of money has been the progressive disuse of the primary, crude, bulky, and perishable forms of property as currency, and the natural selection and gradual and general, but at first perhaps unconventional or extra-legal, adoption of more desirable forms for that purpose. New and isolated communities, having no outside commerce, have been compelled to use sometimes as money (even in recent times) forms of property as singular as, and sometimes identical with, those of the primitive tribes whose methods and instruments of exchange and traffic furnished the terminology which persists to this day. But, as commerce has become extended in area and scope, spreads over wider fields and embraces more articles and greater quantities, and becomes complex by the multiplicity of personal relations and services involved, it searches for and uses the less variable, more refined, convenient, accurate, and therefore less expensive instrument.

In the presence of the more valuable and convenient, the less valuable and convenient will not do, and is never called to do, that complete work which the more valuable and more convenient does more readily, more accurately and certainly, and less expensively. The less valuable and convenient thing will never, in actual commerce, measure the value of the more valuable and convenient. It will itself be measured in the terms and quantities of the most valuable and most desired. It will, therefore, never measure the values of other commodities. They will be measured in the divisions of quantity of that most valuable thing which itself measures the value of the less valuable. The most acceptable form of money is the measure of every other value, whether it be of some other so-called money or of some other commodity. There never was any other measure in the business world, there never can be any other. It is a physical and psychological impossibility. The best form of currency, the form most acceptable to the commercial world, was, is, and eternally will be the sole and absolute measure of all values coming in contact with it until difficulty, inconvenience, loss, expense, and diminishing trade are at a premium among business men. So long as human nature retains the elements and is accomplishing the fact of progression, the superior will always be the standard as against the inferior. The inferior cannot be other than subordinate and subsidiary. It

will do the full work of the superior only in its absence, and then only on the terms of its own conversion into the superior; that is, at such discount as covers the risk and cost of and pays a profit on its use in place of the superior. And, whenever coins of the inferior metal have been sought for and preferred, it has been because they, for the time being, contained a quantity of metal in excess of the ratio of their nominal exchangeability with the coins of the superior metal, and were therefore worth more to take out of local circulation for use in arts or for foreign trade at their actual exchangeable value by weight than for domestic trade by count at nominal value.

Now, how far and in what wise do separate communities, nations, and countries come under the common operation and effect of this law or fact, and what is their individual share in it? Or, rather, how far, if at all, are they exempt from it? Can they escape it? Can they take themselves out from under its absolute domination?

Money is merchandise,—merchandise which for its special quality has taken on a wider function than other merchandise, but which took on that function solely in virtue of its merchantable quality, and can retain that function only so long as it retains that quality in a superior degree. In the world's market money buys by the quantity and quality and present value of its substance, precisely as does any other merchandise, and no matter what its substance for the time being may be. In international exchanges coins do not pass as coins. They are not counted. The substance is weighed for quantity and tested for quality, exactly as iron, wheat, and beef are. Local coining sufficiently certifies to the citizens of that country the proper quality and the conventional divisions of quantity or denominations, so that counting the locally coined divisions sufficiently ascertains the quantity for local purposes. But, whether abroad or at home, it is still the quantity, however ascertained, that does the business in virtue of its merchantable value. Coinage is of purely local use and convenience. Away from home, it certifies nothing sufficiently to answer the demands of a commerce in which slight fractions of value make the difference between loss and gain.

So long as commerce is purely local, its money can be, and often has been, a kind of property of only locally superior value and convenience. And so long as that kind of property is actually superior locally, and it is not brought into competition with out-

side better money, it will perform the function of money truly, however clumsily and inadequately. It will measure other values and exchange for them, whether it be itself cattle, cowries, or bunches of shingles.

But, when localities and peoples begin to trade with each other, some form of property equally acceptable to each, of superior adaptability to the purpose in each, will come to be used as the common measurer of the values of the various commodities of each, because freely accepted in exchange therefor. And that thing which most freely of all exchanges for and measures, in its own convenient divisions of quantity, the values of these diverse commodities in and for international exchange, by that very fact fixes also, in its own terms, their exchangeable values for every locality within the countries concerned in the commerce. For the trade of each locality or community becomes simply a part of the commerce of the whole. And, as all local prices of commodities dealt in between communities are controlled by and constantly regulated to the prices of those commodities at the centres of that exchange, so will those local prices necessarily find expression in the money used to fix prices at those centres, and in no other. That thing becomes money the terms of which measure all values throughout those countries, because only through its use do all the commodities of those countries pass to their final interchange. Hence it is the money which as currency is most readily, freely, safely, and inexpensively exchanged for their commodities throughout those countries. And, if in any of those countries an inferior kind of property be locally used for money, it will be so used only at the inconvenience and expense of casting its market value in the terms of the better money of the commercial world, and the exchange of that better money into the poorer local money, with such addition for the risk of further depreciation and for profit on the transaction as the immediate conditions may require. It is only the best money which really measures the values of all commodities subject to interchange. It is the best money which as currency buys most readily, at least loss and the cheapest, and which is, therefore, the cheapest money. It is only the best money which settles the final balance. Therefore is it the money that measures. The inferior money may be used exclusively as a local currency, but it will not be used to measure by; and prices locally expressed in its nominal terms will mark up or down as it marks down or up in the measure of the best, the prices in that remaining unchanged.

We hear much of the desirability of a cheap money for the people, and of the promised efficacy of the double standard in procuring it. What is dearness and what is cheapness in money? It is a question of the cost at which it performs its functions of measuring values and exchanging for them either directly or by settlement of balances. It is purely a question of the economy with which it does its work. The cheap money is that which does its work at least cost, which is the same thing as saying with widest and readiest acceptance, with least hindrance and least friction. Dear money is that which costs the users the most to use. And it is not the commodity which is most abundant, of which the greatest bulk can be produced at least cost, that makes a cheap money by doing its work cheaply: exactly the contrary. It is not a question of the cost of a given bulk of the article, not a question of a cheap material, but of the cheapness of its service, of the relative cost at which it does its work. Otherwise, the Spartan currency would be a cheaper, and therefore better, money than either gold or silver. The inferior substance, no matter how dignified by law or made venerable by custom, will and can play only an inferior and subordinate and expensive part. Cost is not affected by sentiment. Transportation and storage and handling cost by weight and bulk.

Now, touching the legislative assistance proposed for the inferior metal commodity, let us ask, What can the statute law of any country or of all countries effect in this matter? How far is true commerce, free exchange, controllable by legislation? Can legislation abrogate or materially modify a single iota of its essential facts and conditions? Can it touch exchangeable values? Can it change human nature, its needs, rights, and essential methods? Can it compel the exchange of something for nothing, of a whole for a fraction, of the superior for the inferior, on terms of the latter's own dictation? And, if it could do all these things within its own sovereignty, can it reach and control all the parties concerned?

Commerce is not the product of statute law. Its methods and its instruments are not creations of law: they are born of its own unalterable elements and facts. The statute can recognize, sanction, and declare them, and provide remedy for the effectual protection of the personal and property rights growing thereout. That is the most and best it can do, all it can do that is beneficial. It can obstruct, it can make costly, it can burden commerce

with burdens alien to its nature. It can rob and destroy. But, wherever commerce is and survives, it is there and in being by virtue of obedience to its own inherent laws and by the use of its own instruments, and not by virtue, but in spite, of statutes undertaking to modify or control their operation. Law is an outside instrument of commerce, so far as it understands and its provisions harmonize with the facts of trade. It is not its foundation nor its ruler.

The precise operation by which it is proposed to effect the equality of silver with gold as a standard and as a currency, through the power of the law, is to declare it a legal tender for unlimited amounts, and then allow its unlimited coinage; that is, by compelling its local use as unlimited legal tender currency to force commerce to use it as a local measure of values. But, as the only use of silver as currency which the statute can compel is as legal tender in discharge of debts payable here, so long as the better gold is in sufficient supply for local metal currency uses, and especially so long as the silver supply is mainly held by the government, and its creditors prefer and it is ready and willing to pay the better money, practically excluding silver from wide circulation, the silver will be used in reality only as a subsidiary or token coinage in petty trade, and so pass readily at its nominal coin value. Under these conditions its unlimited legal tender function is wholly unused. Whenever that function is generally resorted to, either voluntarily or of necessity, then silver will be at once substituted for gold in the currency, and will no longer buy at its nominal value as a token coinage, but at its commercial value as coined merchandise, and the more valuable gold, no longer counting coin for coin with silver, will be taken out of circulation, leaving the depreciated money to pay its debts. While government coins silver on its own account, and thus holds the supply, and refuses or fails to use it as a legal metal tender, it protects us from the silver as general currency and from the loss of gold. But if it must receive silver in unlimited quantity from any and every owner and purchaser of it, and return it without cost in coins of unlimited effect as tender, but of inferior commercial value or convenience, thus entirely losing control of the application of the tender function, and handing it over with the inferior coins to persons immensely interested in applying it, or, if government continues to exhaust its stock of gold by buying silver or otherwise until it has to refuse gold and resort to its

silver coin as actual tender, then in either case silver becomes at once the sole domestic metallic currency. But, even so, it cannot make free commerce use it except on its own terms and as a merchandise currency; and, as such, it will not finally measure values unless it is the best currency of outside commerce as well as of our own.

The legal tender function of money is a special, artificial, and localized use, growing out of and supplementing its commercial use by extending its measurement of values to the measurement of damages, and extending its currency use, the application of its merchantable value, to the liquidation of damages and of contracts made in its terms. As relating to the matter of damages, it is in the nature of a remedy. As relating to contracts for money, it declares what commodity is meant or will solve the contract by delivery.

The extent of the misapprehension respecting the rank and potency of the legal tender function was well illustrated by its use as the sole definition of money at a recent notable convention of advocates of silver. One of the speakers declared that "money is not gold or silver, but the instrument by which debts are legally paid." And this declaration is further instructive as showing the historic continuity of the greenback, or fiat money, theory with that of the legislative equality of silver with gold. Both theories assume a peculiar efficacy in the legal tender function to be decreed by the legislature: that political force can override the unchangeable terms and conditions upon which men consent to deal with each other; that the measurement of values is a legal, and not a commercial operation; that the commercial value and use of money depends upon and results from the artificial and secondary office assigned it by the legislature; that what it declares legal tender is therefore, *ex vi termini*, money of full and perfect commercial efficiency, which premises being granted, the question of the number of standards passes, of course, into a limitless range,—from gold to potatoes.

It is not strange there should be such confusion abroad when the men composing the Supreme Court of the United States have, by a large majority, declared that it is within the constitutional competency and official morality of the national legislature to decree that the man who has parted with something on a contract for the future delivery of something else may, under all circumstances and conditions, be compelled to receive, not that some-

thing else, not even another piece of property than that stipulated, but, instead of either, another evidence of somebody else's debt,—another contract for the delivery of something else. True, it was the evidence of the debt of the United States which was being considered as the substitute for the property agreed. But as yet, under the paper tender, the man had received nothing; and still his claim against his debtor was cancelled in law. And the court avers that it is wholly within the legislative competency to declare what thing or instrument may and shall be used as legal tender. Wherefore it is competent and legally proper to legislate that one evidence of debt may be liquidated by some other evidence of debt, *ad infinitum*, and the something else for which something was parted with be thus eternally postponed; and the second, third, or one-thousandth such pretended liquidation and actual postponement rests upon and also lacks just the same basis in fact and in morals as the first.

Legislation can, while that decision stands, make anything a mere legal debt-paying currency. It cannot fix its value: commerce alone can do that. It cannot make the standard by which values are measured in the commercial world, nor prevent the values as measured and established by it from being universal, nor enable the local legislative currency to perform its intended work until it is itself first measured and valued and discounted in the terms of the money of that commercial world. It is not the suffrages of men in their political capacity, but in their commercial capacity, that make the money of the merchant. It is not the legal tender fiat of a government, but its voluntary acceptance among men, that makes the money of the wider realm. It is not as citizens, but as traders, not in our political capacity, but in our commercial relations, that we, every one of us, use money. We can get rid of our gold: the world will gladly take it; but we cannot help having our values measured in it by the world which uses both it and our other commodities.

Another mist beclouds the general thinking,—the ambitious assertion of the possibility of a purely American system of currency and money wholly independent of and different from foreign systems of money, a sort of financial jingoism.

But it is not with any foreign system, not with the money of any foreign government as such, that American money comes into correlation and by the side of which it must do its work. It is not with pounds, shillings, and pence, francs, florins, or roubles.

These are not the essence of money, but merely its local denominations. It is not a question of these, nor yet whether these express quantitative divisions of gold, silver, or iron. It is a question of what is the money substance in the exchangeable value of which and by the use of which as currency the commerce of the countries issuing any and all of these local coinages of that or any other substance is measured and carried on with each other and therefore within themselves, actually, if not nominally. These countries may or may not be governmentally treating as their local money the money of commerce. If they are so treating it, still it is not with it as British money or as French money or any other national money that we come in contact. It is with it as the money of commerce which these peoples have adopted as their own, because it is the money of that world of trade which they and we are a part,—a part not by virtue of civil legislation, but by their share in its commercial transactions. We are a part of that world by virtue of the transactions of our people in it. We are living its life, doing its work, using its methods and instruments, not as a government, not as a nation in its official capacity, but as a people dealing with the peoples of the world in personal relation. From that connection, and all of form and substance that it implies, no power can free us until we cease to trade. Our system of money, as dealers in that world, will be actually the system of money of that world, no matter in what nominal terms the local law may compel us to keep our books and draft our notes and discharge our debts to each other. Our legislature may set up another system and decree another money as tender. It will not be, therefore, the system nor the money of the world of trade, nor ours in dealing with it. We are a part of that world, but only a part; and a part is not greater than the whole, and does not dominate it. We can neither separate from it nor rule it. We cannot sell in it without also buying in it: we cannot buy in it without also selling in it. We have to come to daily and hourly free, willing agreement with it for each side of the transaction. And because we are in it and of it, and because by reason of that fact we are what we are as a producing and commercial people, our whole internal commerce is simply a part of that greater whole, follows its laws, conforms to its life, uses its methods and instruments,—in fact, whatever it may do in name (directly, if allowed; indirectly and by costly translation, if it must) because not otherwise can it remain a part of the whole, and because it

can have no existence except as a part of the whole. We do not live to ourselves. We live to and with all the peoples of the whole earth. And commerce means agreement with them and common use of common instruments, and not our own arbitrary way. Commerce is the agreement of individuals, scattered through the habitable earth, maybe. And in the end and at bottom the law and the power of normal individual life and action are greater and more enduring than the decree of any multitude, howsoever framed. So liberty grows, and man leads men.

The actual inferiority of silver as a currency in this country has been abundantly shown by the extremely small amount of its use both during the years that it was a legal tender currency, first for an unlimited and then for a limited amount, and after it became again an unlimited tender in 1878, coined at the rate of \$2,500,000 a month. Notwithstanding the abundance and growing cheapness of the metal, it has been impossible to get more than a very small amount of it into circulation. It is not the kind of property people very eagerly desire in exchange for their property. Nor has the accumulation for these years of uncoined bullion at the rate of 4,500,000 ounces a month made this property more attractive. The men who owned this property as it came from the mines, and who have made our government a customer through legislation for that much more of it than commerce will use either as merchandise or currency, themselves prefer the gold in which they immediately make the government redeem its notes issued to them for the purchase of their silver. The silver has not been accepted of commerce: its purchase has simply caused the utterance of Treasury notes, nominally calling for coined gold or silver indifferently; but, so long as silver is not acceptable and gold is in supply, these notes in effect call only for the gold which commerce does accept, and which the silver-mine-owners therefore want, and which the government cannot withhold without suspending. And the acute stage of the problem is reached now that that supply of gold is so reduced that the limit to the operation has become plainly visible, and the business world therefore stands to wait its solution,—to know whether the dollars it would venture in its enterprises will come back at one hundred cents or fifty, and withholding these dollars until that answer is made. The issue of Treasury notes for the purchase of silver has veiled the true character of the operation. The cashing of the notes in gold by the sellers of silver reveals that character. We have been swapping our gold

for their silver. So does an indirection always carry and conceal a practical fraud ; and so have we allowed that to be done by indirection which in direct terms no one would have dared to propose. Thus has our gold been made to bear, in fact, most of the burden of currency and all of the asserted legal tender function of silver, which has been mainly useless, and, when useful at all, has been simply subsidiary throughout. And thus have we learned both that there is and has been in this country actually but one standard, and that one gold ; and that, whatever silver producers wish other men to think, they themselves desire gold in exchange for their product, and have been most industriously getting it, and getting it out of the country which cannot use their silver,—for commerce will not take it at the price.

Doubtless much of the confused popular thinking or feeling upon the matter of a double standard has been due to the supposed need for an increased volume of money, an abundant money, which has been so strenuously alleged, and generally accepted without real examination, because of the general attractiveness of the idea, and because of the apparently implied idea, that, if it is only abundant, it can be more easily had,—that is, without earning it or without giving so much or so valuable property for an equal value of it,—forgetful that, if it takes less to get it with, it will also buy less when we have got it ; that, other things being equal, increase in abundance, in volume, means decrease in purchasing power, in exchangeable value in money, and in every other commodity, and that, consequently, the more there is, the more will be required to accomplish the same transactions. The use of money as actual currency is relatively diminishing constantly, and will continue to do so. Any money enters into commerce purely as currency,—that is, as merchandise ; and, conversely, all merchandise and the bankable credits made against it are currency in the commercial world to the extent of the demand for it in the market for the time being. By the use of bank checks, bank bills, bills of exchange, postal and telegraphic transfers, the whole business world is brought into almost as close contact as neighbors across the street. By their use the exchange of the commodities of one country for those of another is effected, and only the balance is remitted in the metal used as money. The New York merchant who buys goods in London does not send over money to pay for them. He buys a bill of exchange against some wheat or cotton or meat or other property, or against securities, that London merchants have bought

here, and remits that; and the one property is exchanged for the other. Commerce furnishes its own more convenient currency of this sort to the extent to which the commodities exchanged balance each other, and falls back upon metallic merchandise, metal currency, only to eke out the deficiency on the side which has least of other things to sell. And this use of a purely commercial currency, the instrument of credit for things sold, increases in volume and efficiency with increased volume and variety of product, with every increased facility for intercommunication and every improvement in the machinery of commerce. And what is true as between nations is equally true as between communities in our own country. The transfer of money as currency from one commercial centre to another is generally limited to the adjustment of balances. Bank bills, checks and drafts against goods or products sold, furnish the main currency of daily domestic commerce, and even very largely and increasingly for retail trade and all personal uses. So conveniently and cheaply does this sort of currency serve the needs of business that, so long as it is in good credit, securely based upon and a good title-deed to the requisite property, it is preferred in use above the best metal. And so common is its use in place of money that in popular apprehension and speech it stands for money; and to borrow money no longer means borrowing the coin itself, but the commercial currency, the use of a commercial credit for the required amount. Perhaps no small part of the confusion of ideas about money arises from the fact that the great bulk of the business of the civilized world, its commerce and its financial transactions, is effected through the use of this purely commercial currency. And using its many forms so constantly as money, speaking of them as money, borrowing and paying them as money, seeing them while in good credit perform so admirably the currency office of money, and seeing money itself perform no other visible office than that of currency, men often fail to discriminate the final test of money,—its measuring ability,—and forget that, while all money is currency, not all currency can be raised to the rank of full money. The law may decree it: the world will not so use it.

The inconvenience and cost of silver in use as currency would be greatly intensified by the adjustment of its coinage to its true present ratio to gold, necessarily implied in the idea of a double standard, increasing the bulk and weight of coins fully two thirds, with the certainty of future readjustments in the same direction.

In which connection it may be said that, if it were true that the government fiat settled the commercial rank and the purchasing power of legal tender money, the obviously true way to make silver coins a convenient currency and superior money would be by such legislative reduction of the coinage ratio as would make the silver pieces at least no larger than those of gold of like denomination. That would be equality by legislation. The further scaling down of either or both gold and silver pieces without impairing their purchasing power would be equally within legislative competency.

To sum up what we have been trying to say :—

Let but the people clearly understand these plain, necessary facts of human life : that property sells only for other property, and that nothing but property can buy other property, and that therefore money must be property ; that, while all merchantable commodities and the credits against them are in effect currency, nothing but the commodity most desired and most acceptable of all and most readily exchangeable for all will or can measure the values of all the rest, and be, in fact, the final, standard money ; that no credit currency is good for anything except as it is a good and satisfactory title-deed to the property it promises to deliver ; that the principal currency function of any money is to settle balances in the exchange of other commodities ; that the great world of commerce uses, and will use, as its money only the best money ; that we, as a part of that world, must have our values measured in its money, whether we will or not ; that we must use its money as our money or pay the continual loss and cost of using a poorer one ; and that our only power of choice is not as to what money we will have all our values measured in and use to settle our balances with, but only as to what we will use as the basis of our purely domestic currency ; that the best money is the cheapest, because most effective at least cost ; and, lastly, that no matter how abundant anything we may call money may be, so long as it is worth anything, it cannot be had except by giving for it its full commercial value in some sort of property or service ; and that in no way can that money get for its possessor more than its commercial value entitles it to,—let but these simple facts be clearly seized, and the idea of a double standard, of two measures that cannot but measure differently, of an inferior and unacceptable thing to do identical work with the superior and acceptable thing, of using as a concurrent and indistinguishable measure fluctuating silver, which has got to be first measured itself in gold always and

everywhere, and buy only by that measure, will drop from the category of political problems ; and commerce will be left to deal with its own instruments according to its exigencies and according to both their potencies and their limitations.

3. THE PRESENT STATUS OF SILVER.

BY DR. CHARLES B. SPAHR, OF NEW YORK.

My paper to-day will be as short as possible. Nothing is more uninteresting than a long joint debate in which the issue is not joined; and, in preparing a paper in advance of the discussion, it is as impossible for an advocate of bimetallism to join issue with an advocate of monometallism as for an advocate of free trade to join issue with an advocate of protection. We have seen monometallism advocated on the ground that gold is the invariable unit of value, but this position is repudiated by all scientific monometallists. We have seen monometallism advocated on the ground that gold has been during this generation a truer measure of value than silver; but this is repudiated by the most careful monometallist statisticians, such as Soetbeer and Giffen. We have seen monometallism advocated on the ground that labor, and not property, is the true measure of value, and that it is just that debtors should return more property than was borrowed; but this was repudiated by all the classic monometallists, and was never heard of until American monometallists were driven to adopt it by the exigencies of practical politics. We have seen it advocated on the ground that a dear dollar makes wages high, and that the laboring classes would be worse paid if we returned to the double standard; but this position also was repudiated by the classic economists, who held that the product of labor would be divided between employer and employed in the same ratio, whether the dollar became dearer or cheaper. We have seen monometallism advocated on the ground that the use of bank checks and paper currency has so enormously increased since 1873 that the supply of gold alone is as adequate to currency needs to-day as the supply of both metals was twenty years ago; but this position, again, is repudiated by the best monometallist statisticians. We have even seen it advocated that the free coinage of silver would be an injury to the debtors who demand it and furnish a bonus to the banks which oppose it; but this position has never received the scientific recognition to entitle it to repudiation. Not knowing in advance, then, upon

what ground monometallism is to be advocated to-day, it is impossible for me to write in advance an answer.

My paper, therefore, will be the briefest possible review of the facts which within the last twenty years has made bimetallists out of the overwhelming majority of persons who have studied this question. For, gentlemen, let it be stated in advance that, while there have been many great advocates of monometallism, when monometallism meant gold monometallism for some countries and silver monometallism for others, universal gold monometallism, such as the bankers of Austria and America are now forcing upon us, is practically without scientific standing. A generation ago, when the output of gold became tenfold what it had been, and threatened real injury to the creditor classes, there was, indeed, an almost unanimous sentiment in favor of monometallism; but, when the production of gold began to decline, in the early seventies, and silver to be demonetized, the current of scientific sentiment turned in favor of bimetallism, and has been rising higher and higher ever since. The revolution of opinion has been quite marked in Germany, where Wagner and Schaeffle, the two economists of the widest fame, are both bimetallists. It has, however, been most striking in Great Britain, where Professor Foxwell, of Cambridge, in a letter written in 1890 to M. de Laveleye, described the opinions of his colleagues in the chairs of political economy in Great Britain, as follows:—

University of Cambridge, Professor Alfred Marshall, bimetalist; Professor Sidgwick, bimetalist; Edinburgh, Professor Nicholson, author of an excellent book on the subject, Vice-President of the Bimetallic League; Oxford, Thorold Rogers (now dead), admits the scarcity of gold, but rejects bimetallism; University College of London, H. S. Foxwell, Vice-President of the Bimetallic League; Nottingham, Professor J. E. Symes, bimetalist; Liverpool, Professor E. G. Gonner, Vice-President of the Bimetallic League; Manchester, Professor J. E. Munro, admits the bimetallic theory; London, King's College, Professor Edgeworth, inclines toward bimetallism. . . . Whoever refuses to admit that a fixed ratio between gold and silver can be established and maintained by international treaty is no longer considered among us an economist.

Such a revolution in economic sentiment is without a parallel, yet, if we examine closely, there is no real conflict between the positions of bimetallic economists to-day and monometallist economists two decades ago. All have agreed that the unit of value

ought to have uniform purchasing power, and advocated such increase in the world's currency as would secure this. Jevons, the last of the great monometallists, writing ten years ago, said :—

Experience would prevent us from imagining that the late fall in prices will be continued or repeated without an intervening rise. I am far from denying that, if the Italian government decide to carry into effect M. Luzatti's threat of buying gold at all hazards, and if the like course be taken by the United States and France, not to speak of Germany, then there might be considerable disturbance of values for a time; but is it likely that such proceedings will be taken by rational statesmen and rational parliaments? It is really too absurd to suppose that any country will insist upon having a gold currency at any cost, regardless of the fact that it will thereby injure its own trade and commerce in the getting.

Since this was written, not only Italy, but the United States, Austria, Hungary, and Roumania, have done that which Jevons declared it incredible that rational parliaments should do. All debtor nations, and forced to buy gold abroad, they have nevertheless insisted upon having gold at whatever loss to their own trade, and made their debts payable exclusively in the scarcer and dearer metal. There is no real conflict between Jevons's advocacy of gold monometallism for half of Christendom, while the remaining half use silver and paper, and the demand of bimetallists to-day that both metals must be used by all Christendom, in order to furnish an honest or adequate currency. Jevons's definition of an honest currency was the same as ours. It was a currency which restored to the creditor the same amount of products as he had loaned. He had no word in defence of a currency which restored either more or less. So, too, with Mr. Giffen, the most eminent of living monometallists, and a man so extreme in his monometallism that he refuses the name monometallist to any of the members of the British Gold and Silver Commission. He admits the evils to trade that have come from the adoption of the gold standard by the countries which before had silver. In the volume published last year he said :—

Much of the great currency mischiefs for many years past has arisen from the fact that governments have not left the thing alone. The primary offender in this matter was, perhaps, Germany, which made a mistake, as I believe, in substituting gold for silver as the standard money of the country. . . . To some extent Italy has also been an offender in this matter, the resumption of

specie payment in that country on a gold basis being entirely a work of superfluity: the resumption on a silver basis would have been preferable.

He, too, believed that this increasing the strain on gold had stopped; but since he wrote Austria has discarded silver and established gold monometallism, while the creditor classes in the United States, in the name of "honest money," are demanding that the United States shall take the same step. Between the monometallism of science urged in the past and the monometallism of greed urged to-day there is no moral relationship. There have been in science but two definitions of honest currency: one, the money stipulated in the contract; the other, the money which will return to the creditor the same amount of property which he loaned. With either of these definitions universal gold monometallism is a dishonest system. The bulk of the world's indebtedness was contracted, payable in either gold or silver. For legislation to make it payable in gold alone was a violation of all existing contracts, making their fulfilment indefinitely harder for debtors. No man who believes that the government should keep hands off from the currency, and simply enforce contracts, dares claim anything else. If we take the other definition of honest money, the dishonesty of universal gold standard money is yet greater. Mr. Giffen admits that the increase in the supply of both metals has been insufficient to prevent a rise in the value of gold and a corresponding fall in the value of all other kinds of property. At such a time to demonetize the more plentiful metal, and to compel the payment of debts in the less plentiful alone, is the heaping of a legal wrong on the top of a natural wrong which it was the duty of governments to counteract.

The questions, then, which I shall attempt to answer, are: What has been the falling off in the supply of gold? What has been the increase in the governmental demand for it? What has been the effect of these changes upon the value of gold? What can one nation do to restore the use of both metals?

First, then, as to the change in the gold supply. At the Paris Conference of 1867, when every one favored an international gold standard, there was some reason why every one should favor it. During the two decades preceding the trouble with the currency had been rather that too much than that too little gold and silver had been mined, and there had been reason for the fear that the

unit of value was falling in value. What the increase in production had amounted to is shown by the following condensation of Soetbeer's tables:—

	<i>Annual production of gold.</i>	<i>Annual production of silver.</i>
1831-1850 . . .	\$26,000,000	\$30,000,000
1851-1870 . . .	136,000,000	48,000,000

It appears thus that the yearly production of gold alone had become two and a half times as great as the production of both the precious metals had been during the earlier part of the century. Although this enormous influx of money was accompanied by an unprecedented increase in wealth and a still more unprecedented increase of wages, the creditor classes suffered some injury; for the money in which they were being paid represented appreciably less property than the money they had loaned. Under such circumstances the argument in favor of an international gold standard was a telling one. Since 1873, however, this argument has entirely disappeared. The world's commerce has gone on expanding; while the supply of gold available for currency, instead of expanding with it, has actually fallen off, and the non-monetary consumption of gold has enormously increased. It may be permitted me to recall Soetbeer's figures upon this point. Between 1851 and 1870, says Soetbeer, the new supply of gold available for currency averaged \$92,000,000 a year; between 1871 and 1881 it had fallen to \$24,000,000.* Mr. Giffen, "Case against Bimetallism" (page 85), goes even beyond Soetbeer in his admissions upon this point. Here is what he says:—

About two-thirds of the gold annually produced is taken for the arts; and if the consumption of India is included, as being either for simple hoarding or for the arts, and in no case for the purpose of circulating money, then *the demand for gold for non-monetary purposes appears almost equal to the entire annual production.*

Too great emphasis cannot be given this statement, when one finds in the most scholarly of the monometallist papers of New York City such a solution of the silver question as the following:—

* Soetbeer's table condensed is as follows:—

<i>Period.</i>	<i>Production of gold.</i>	<i>Non-monetary consumption.</i>	<i>Used for money and reserves.</i>
1851-70	\$136,000,000	\$44,000,000	\$92,000,000
1881-85	104,000,000	80,000,000	24,000,000

The simple fact is that, if we need more money, we can supply our deficiency with gold just as easily as with silver. Suppose that we take the present Sherman Law and substitute the word "gold" for "silver" wherever it occurs, making the proper change in the number of ounces purchased. . . . Such a law would give us everything in the way of additional currency that we get under the Sherman Law. There is nobody so dull that he cannot see that.

In its misconception of the facts at issue this editorial differs in no way from the whole body of monometallist attacks upon the Bland Bill and the Sherman Act. The United States is using \$50,000,000 of silver a year to supply its need of more currency.* The annual supply of gold available for money uses is estimated at \$24,000,000 by Soetbeer, and at next to nothing by Giffen. Austria and Russia have already joined Western Europe in the scramble for this \$24,000,000 or less, and it is gravely proposed that the United States shall put in an additional demand for \$50,000,000! Adam Smith once contemplated the possibility of gold becoming as valuable as diamonds. Apparently, such a consummation would not seem a catastrophe to the reckless spokesmen of the creditor classes, who are demanding that the United States shall use gold where it is now using silver.

Precisely at the time of this falling off in the supply of gold, and because of this falling off, one nation after another has discarded silver, and demanded exclusively the metal which was growing scarcer. From the point of view of the self-interest of the nations this policy was an absurdity, but it was not an absurdity from the point of view of the classes which direct national policy.

The currency problem represents, not a conflict of opinions, but a conflict of interests. The policy that is an absurdity for the nation embodies the most obvious self-interest of the creditor classes; and these classes despotically rule the governments everywhere except in the United States and Great Britain. These classes, which a generation ago, when silver became the scarcer metal, demanded an exclusively silver standard and actually secured it in Holland and Belgium, have been demanding an exclusively gold standard ever since gold became the scarcer metal. Here is the record of their success:—

1872. Norway, Sweden, and Denmark substitute the gold standard for the silver standard.

1873. The United States unconsciously demonetizes silver.

* As prices have not risen, there is no evidence that this issue is excessive.

Germany substitutes the gold standard for the silver standard, and begins to sell silver. The Belgium Parliament authorizes the government to suspend the coinage of silver.

1874. France and the entire Latin Union suspend the free coinage of silver, France substituting the gold standard for a double standard.

1875. Holland, having suspended the coinage of silver in 1873, now formally demonetizes it, and substitutes the gold standard both for herself and her East Indian colonies.

1873-75. The Bank of France retires \$350,000,000 of paper money, and greatly increases its gold reserve.

1879. The United States resumes specie payments in gold.

1883. Italy purchases gold to resume specie payments.

1891. Austria, which for several years has had a paper currency payable in silver, but above par in silver bullion, openly abandons the silver standard, and substitutes gold.

Not only, then, has the production of gold fallen off since 1870, and its non-monetary consumption enormously increased, but all these nations have added to the governmental demand for it.

What, now, has been the effect of all these changes in increasing the value of money and decreasing the money value of all other forms of property? Here it may be repeated that confessedly the unit of value ought not to increase in value. All the classic economists have recognized this. If the efficiency of his labor increases, that increase belongs to the laborer, and does not increase his obligation to his creditor or the obligations of other debtors to their creditors. Only in so far as the creditors take part in labor are they entitled to benefit by its increasing efficiency. In so far as they are creditors,—*i.e.*, holders of property produced by past labor,—they are only entitled to the property which that labor produced: the property produced by present and future labor belongs to those participating in its production. This brings us back to the real point to be considered. It is not labor that is borrowed and loaned, but property,—the products of labor. Nothing is clearer, therefore, than that the unit in which debts are measured ought constantly to represent the same amount of property, or products of labor. To determine how far we have departed from this honest standard, I will cite Giffen, Soetbeer, and Sauerbeck. Mr. Giffen in his essay, "The Growth of Capital," states that, while the money value of the capital of the United Kingdom had increased 44 per cent. during the decade 1865-75,

it increased but $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the decade 1875-85. "Something," he says, "must have happened to diminish the rate of the accumulation of capital as expressed in money." This something he finds to be the appreciation of gold. In 1885 he estimated that the same amount of gold represented 15 per cent. more property than in 1875. This change of 15 per cent. during the decade corresponds to a change of nearly 30 per cent. during the two decades since the demonetization of silver. In other words, the appreciation of gold has added nearly 30 per cent. to the amount of property which creditors may require of debtors in discharge of obligations.

Soetbeer's evidence is substantially the same. Soetbeer took as his standard of comparison the prices of 114 articles in Hamburg during the four worst years at the middle of the century (1847-50). From that time until the demonetization of silver, in 1873, prices rose 38 per cent. Since 1873 the course of prices has been as follows:—

	<i>Index number of general prices.</i>	<i>Price of silver per ounce in terms of gold.</i>
1873	138.28	\$1.298
1876	128.33	1.156
1879	117.10	1.123
1882	122.14	1.136
1885	108.72	1.065
1888	101.93	.939
1890	108.13	1.046

The examination of this table shows that since 1873 silver has not fallen in value, but gold has risen. In 1890 an ounce of silver would buy fully as much as in 1873.

The other table is that of Sauerbeck, preferable simply because it takes as its basis the average price of commodities during the twenty-five years between 1853 and 1877, when most of the debts of the world were contracted, and when prices were normal as compared with the earlier part of the century. During this period prices remained about the same, showing a slight rise until 1873. Sauerbeck's investigation covered forty-five staple articles in the English market.

			<i>Silver.</i>
Average price	1873	111	97.4
"	" 1878	87	86.4
"	" 1880	88	85.9
"	" 1890	72	78.4

This means that it takes as much wealth to-day to pay a debt of \$72 as it took to pay a debt of \$111 in 1872. Or, to change our basis from the single year 1873 to the period 1853-77, the size of every debt has been increased in the ratio of 100 to 72.

For the legislative wrong we demand a legislative remedy. The \$20,000,000,000 of public debt existing in 1873 now represents 30 per cent. more property than it did then. In other words, the holders of this debt have been enriched to the extent of \$7,000,000,000. Do you wonder that the sentiment of money-lenders has been unanimous in favor of these changes? \$7,000,000,000 is equivalent to \$7,000 apiece for a million families. Do you wonder that John G. Carlisle, when representing a non-money-lending constituency, denounced this increase in the dollar's value as "the greatest crime of this or any other age"?

For we have only entered upon the appreciation in the value of gold which gold monometallism will necessitate. Cutting off half the supply from which new money can be coined means that this appreciation in the value of money will go on year after year; and the farm-owners, the factory owners, the merchants, and the laborers will every year have to pay a larger amount of property to satisfy the claims of the money-lenders.

The wrong is evident, and that it will increase is evident. The question that remains is, What can one great nation do to right the wrong, and give to the nations of the earth an honest currency, expanding somewhat in proportion to the needs of trade?

What did France do in the way of keeping the two metals together? is the first question that occurs to every one. The British Gold and Silver Commission practically agreed that France did maintain the two metals at substantially the same ratio. Mr. Giffen, however, has attacked the findings of this commission, and has argued that one of the two metals was always at a premium. Here is his argument:—

In 1886, in a paper read at the Bankers' Institute, I published the figures of the actual premium on gold in Paris on the first of each month for the years 1820-1847,—the greater portion of the period,—which placed the fact beyond doubt that gold and silver did not pass in all that time at the legal ratio, but that gold varied in price, usually between one-half per cent. and two per cent. premium, with not very frequent and not very lengthened lapses below one-half per cent., and not one date being mentioned on which there was not a premium of some sort. These premiums

were quite sufficient to make the practice different from the law. At anything over even one-quarter per cent. premium for gold,* no man alive would pay a debt in gold that he could pay in silver without a premium; and consequently the demand for gold for standard and for unlimited legal tender in France was all this time in suspense. . . . When I wrote the paper for the Bankers' Institute, I had no figures for the period from 1803 to 1820 before me; but I may now refer to the ratios of Soetbeer.

Here follow portions of Soetbeer's tables giving the ratio between the average prices of gold and silver bullion in the London market between 1803 and 1873. The French ratio is 1 to 15½, and the extreme variations during each decade are as follows:—

1803	1 : 15.41	1849	1 : 15.78
1808	1 : 16.08	1850	1 : 15.78
1813	1 : 16.25	1859	1 : 15.70
1814	1 : 15.04	1861	1 : 15.19
1820	1 : 15.62	1862	1 : 15.35
1821	1 : 15.95	1869	1 : 15.60
1832	1 : 15.72	1871	1 : 15.57
1833	1 : 15.93	1873	1 : 15.92
1843	1 : 15.93		

These tables are likewise published by bimetallists, to prove that the free coinage of both gold and silver in France did keep the coins of the two metals at par with each other, and thus established a bimetallic standard. The facts, then, are agreed upon. What about the conclusions? A moment's consideration will show how far afield Mr. Giffen has gone in maintaining that France was mistaken in believing that she had had the concurrent circulation of the two metals under her bimetallic law. The points he fails to consider are these: (1) Soetbeer's prices are London prices; (2) they are the prices of silver bullion, and not of coined silver, and coinage in France, though free, was subject to mint charges. The extreme ratio in the price of silver bullion in London, it will be noticed, was reached during the Napoleonic wars, when trade between England and France was practically suspended. In 1833, when the next lowest ratio was reached, the lowest price of silver in London was 58¾ pence an ounce, while the French mint price was 60½. We do not know what was the cost of carrying silver in wagons and ships from London to Paris; but we know that to-day the cost of shipping gold is ⅔ of 1 per cent., and the cost of ship-

* Or even one-hundredth of one per cent.

ping silver half a century ago was probably four times as much. To say that silver coin was not at par with gold in France because silver bullion was $3\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. cheaper than gold in London is as bad reasoning as if one should say that gold coin in Australia was not at par with itself in 1852, because the price of gold bullion in Australia fell to 60 shillings an ounce, while the mint price in London was 77 shillings $10\frac{1}{2}$ pence. If the cost of transporting gold bullion from Australia to London accounts for its discount of 20 per cent. in Australia, surely the cost of transporting silver bullion from London to Paris more than half accounts for the discount of $3\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. in London.

The other half of the discount is accounted for by the charge for mintage in France. Up to 1835, this was $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for silver and $\frac{3}{10}$ per cent. for gold. Unless silver coin had been worth $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. more than silver bullion in Paris, the bullion would not have been brought to the mint; and yet there is but a single year during the bimetallic period when even Mr. Giffen's tables show that gold bullion averaged $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. dearer than silver bullion.

Even this, however, is not the most decisive point. Throughout this entire period both gold and silver were brought to the French mint and coined. Even in the year 1833, when Mr. Giffen says that gold in Paris was at a premium, averaging nearly 1.6 per cent. above silver, \$1,500,000 in gold twenty-franc pieces were issued.* Mr. Giffen says with truth that "at anything more than one-quarter per cent. premium for gold [or even one-hundredth per cent.], no man alive would pay a debt in gold which he could pay in silver without a premium"; and it is equally true that, if gold were at any premium whatever, no man alive would pay over one-quarter per cent. to get it coined, for the coin would have simply its bullion value. During the period from 1820 to 1847, \$60,000,000 in gold was issued from the French mint; and, in the decade following 1847, \$127,000,000 in silver was issued, showing not only that neither metal reached such a premium that its old coins were converted into bullion, but also that neither metal reached such a premium as to prevent its owners from paying for the privilege of adding it to the coinage.

The period during which France held the two metals at the

* There were slight premiums at the money brokers whenever either metal was peculiarly in demand, in the same way that silver currency was at a premium of 1 per cent. over gold during our panic this summer. These premiums, however, did not affect the parity of the two metals in general circulation.

legal rates was one in which the fluctuations in their supply was much greater than has been known since 1873. During the first part of the century three times as much silver was produced as gold. About 1850 the production of gold suddenly increased tenfold. Had it been excluded from coinage, its market value must have fallen to correspond with the increase in its supply relative to the demand. Yet France, by giving to this new gold the same interest-bearing and debt-paying powers as silver, kept its market value the same as silver. This parity must have continued so long as any silver remained in circulation in France, and until the increasing needs of French commerce proved unable to absorb the new gold in its currency without a considerable rise in prices. The manner in which the bimetallic law kept the two metals at par is perhaps best described by the words of Michael Chevalier, who wrote as follows, in 1859, about the continued parity of gold and silver at the old ratio, in spite of the gold discoveries in 1848. Chevalier said :—

One is surprised at first that a production of gold so vast, so colossal, as has been noted, in comparison with what had been seen before, has not yet caused a lower ratio of gold to the other precious metal. The surprise increases if one takes account of the relatively enormous proportions which the demand for silver has taken in the European markets, or, better, the markets of the Occident for the Orient. But there is intervening a powerful cause which temporarily holds back gold in its fall. France offers thus far an indefinitely great market upon the basis of 1 kilogram of gold for $15\frac{1}{2}$ of silver. For the stranger who owes a Frenchman a certain number of francs—that is, a certain number of times $4\frac{1}{2}$ grams of silver—acquits himself legally by giving him the same number of times 29 centigrams of gold, a quantity $15\frac{1}{2}$ times as small. Whenever the merchant in precious metals wishes to exchange his gold for silver, he obtains almost the same terms; for, in addition to the quantity indicated by the ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, he has only to pay the premium, and by force up to this present that has been met, and must remain so for some time yet, for a reason easy to perceive. So long as there remains much silver in France, people residing there, to whom the pieces of metal come, ought to esteem themselves happy to exchange it for gold at a premium very small over the ratio established by the law of 1803, since for the payments they have to make they cannot make their creditors take it for more than the proportion of gold indicated by the law 1 to $15\frac{1}{2}$. For the same reason it will be impossible at London, at Brussels, and Hamburg, at New York, or any place, on the general market for gold to be worth much less than $15\frac{1}{2}$ its weight in silver.

There is no mystery whatever in the manner in which France kept gold and silver money at par, when the production of gold became three times as great as that of silver instead of one-third as great. When each metal can be turned into money on demand, its value is fixed by the laws governing the value of money. If the supply of either metal is greater than the currency needs after the other metal has been withdrawn, it must depreciate in somewhat the same way that excessive issues of bank-notes or government paper would depreciate. But at the present time the supply of both metals is by Giffen's confession inadequate to the world's increasing currency needs, and the supply of either metal alone must for a long time prove inadequate to the currency needs of this country.

What France did a generation ago the United States could probably do to-day, as the circumstances are less trying. The production of silver in proportion to the production of gold, is only one-half as great as it was during the first part of the century. Then the ratio was 3 to 1: now it is 3 to 2 (\$180,000,000 of silver to \$120,000,000 of gold). The non-monetary consumption of silver (including India's consumption) is estimated by Mr. Giffen at "about one-half of the annual production," leaving less than \$100,000,000 to be used as money. For some years after 1855 the coinage of France alone exceeded this amount (Laveleye, "*La Monnaie et le Bimétallisme International*," p. 103), without any perceptible inflation of prices. When we take into account, therefore, the normal demand for subsidiary silver in Europe and for standard silver in South America, it is doubtful if the available silver supply exceeds the normal monetary demands of the United States. The Secretary of the Treasury estimates that for the past decade we have added \$60,000,000 a year to our currency; and, while Mr. Taussig is probably right in urging that the Treasury overestimates the additions to our gold supply, yet, as these have been years of falling prices, the supply has not been normal. It will not do, indeed, to affirm that the United States is a more powerful factor in the monetary situation than France, because its population so greatly exceeds that of France. The French people use more money than the American people to transact the same amount of business, and their supply of money is to-day about the same as ours. Yet the fact that our population is increasing more than one million a year, while hers is stationary, enables America to absorb new currency without inflation to an extent that France

could not. Whether or not, however, the United States can perpetually keep silver at a par with gold is not the question. It is not within the power of any generation to solve the problems of the future. It is its duty to right its own wrongs, and leave the future free to right its wrongs. Even if in the United States, as in France, the new currency should increase at the rate of \$100,000,000 a year, while our needs are but \$80,000,000, the loss of \$20,000,000 of gold a year would still require twenty years to exhaust our supply. Meanwhile bimetallism would be established, and international co-operation to make it perpetual would be infinitely easier to secure. Even if such co-operation were still refused, we should nevertheless have restored the use of both metals to the currency of the world, furnishing honest money to discharge the obligations of the past, and adequate money to transact the business of the future.

[It seems well to print here a recent speech of Mr. Carlisle, of Kentucky, Secretary of the United States Treasury, who as a member of Congress was an earnest advocate of the free coinage of silver, and perhaps of bimetallism. The responsibilities of financial administration appear to have shown him how difficult it is to maintain theories, however ancient or popular, against the steady current of commercial and financial fact. He therefore declares himself, in this speech, on the side of international rather than national money; and this seems to agree with the action taken by Congress since the debate at Saratoga, and with the present purpose of the American people. A singular result of the repeal of the silver-purchase law by Congress was a slight advance in the market price of that metal, although our government had ceased to buy the commodity to the extent of 4,000,000 ounces a month. The price has now fallen again.]

[FROM A SPEECH OF SECRETARY CARLISLE, NEW YORK,
NOV. 21, 1893.]

Mr. Carlisle said that money and its representatives constitute the tools of trade, and it is not possible to do perfect work with imperfect instruments; if it is attempted, the consequences will not fall upon you alone, but must be felt sooner or later in every part

of the land. But our commercial interests are not confined to our own country: they extend to every quarter of the globe, and our people buy and sell in nearly every market of the civilized world. Prices are fixed in the markets of countries having a gold standard or measure of value, either by express provision of law or by a public policy which keeps their silver coins equal in exchangeable value to the gold coins at the legally established ratio. The value of our trade with the people of other countries during the last fiscal year was more than \$1,700,000,000, and more than \$1,100,000,000 of this was with the people of Europe; while with the whole of Asia it amounted to a little over \$100,000,000, and with all the countries of South America, excluding Brazil, which has a single gold standard, it was only \$46,000,000. While it would be unfair to attribute this unequal distribution of our trade with the outside world to the character of their fiscal legislation, I think it may be safely asserted that this country could not long maintain its present position as one of the most conspicuous and important members of the great community of commercial nations which now control the trade of the world unless we preserve a monetary system substantially, at least, in accord with the monetary systems of the other principal nations.

There can be no international legal tender without an international agreement; but there must, from the very necessities of the case, always be a common basis upon which bargains are made and a common currency in which balances are settled. No one nation can determine for the others what that basis shall be or what that currency shall be. The stamp on its coins attests their weight and fineness; but it adds nothing whatever to their intrinsic value, and nothing whatever to their exchangeable value in the markets of the world. Gold is the only international money, and all trade balances are settled in gold. It is useless for the advocates of a different system to insist that this ought not to be so: it is so, and we cannot change the fact. But the gold eagle and double eagle are not accepted at a particular valuation in these settlements simply because the United States of America have declared by law that they shall be legal tender at their nominal value; but solely because the bullion contained in them, if uncoined, would be worth everywhere the same amount. This is a great and powerful government; but there is one thing it cannot do,—it cannot create money.

The country has recently heard a great deal about bimetallism and a double standard, and it is possible that these subjects will continue to be discussed to some extent in the future. For my part, I have never been able to understand what is meant by a double standard, or double measure of value; and I have never found any one who could tell me. To my mind it seems as absurd to contend that there should be two different standards, or measures of value, as it would be to insist upon having two yardsticks of different lengths or two gallons of different dimensions. If

there were two standards, or measures, not equal in value, it is evident that one of them must be a false measure; and, if they were of equal value, it is evident that, no matter what the law might declare, there would be in fact but one measure, although composed of two different kinds of material. Whatever that actual standard may be, as established by the laws of trade and finance,—whether it be so many grains of fine gold or so many grains of fine silver,—it is the duty of the government to conform to it in the payment of its obligations and in all its dealings with the people.

Mr. Carlisle said it did not follow from this that nothing shall circulate or be recognized as money or currency except gold or paper issued against gold, nor that prices of commodities will be or ought to be fixed on the hypothesis that gold is the only money in the world. But it does follow that no part of our currency should be permitted to depreciate below the recognized standard. It must be remembered, however, that it is the function and duty of the legislative department to establish the policy of the government upon this and all other subjects, and to clothe the executive with the necessary authority and means to carry it out. When the authority and means are granted, the executive department is responsible for the manner in which the law is executed; but beyond this it has no power to act, and, consequently, no duty to perform.

Gentlemen, the question whether the obligations of the United States will be paid in coin current in all the markets in the world has already been settled; and it has, in my opinion, been settled for all time to come. It has been settled, not by any specific act of Congress prescribing the exact mode of payment, but by the spirit and obvious purpose of the whole body of existing legislation upon the subject, and by the deliberate judgment of the American people and the declared purpose of those who have been intrusted with the execution of the laws. The disposition and ability of the government to maintain its own credit at the highest possible standard, and to preserve the integrity of all the forms of currency in circulation among the people, cannot be reasonably doubted, and ought not to be subjects of serious controversy hereafter.

I would not have it inferred, however, that silver is to have no place in our monetary system. What is to be the ultimate fate of this metal remains for time to determine. One nation alone cannot hope to maintain for it a fixed relation with gold. It is enough to say at present that we have already on hand a stock of silver, coined and uncoined, sufficient to meet all the probable requirements of the country for many years to come. The mints of the United States have coined 419,332,750 standard silver dollars; and we now have 140,699,760 fine ounces of silver bullion, which, at the ratio of 16 to 1, would make \$181,914,841, or \$601,247,391 in the aggregate. Besides this, we have \$76,977,002 in subsidiary silver coin, which is legal tender to the amount of \$10. Our total stock of gold coin and gold bullion is \$659,167,949. The five countries constituting the Latin Monetary Union, with a combined

population of more than 80,000,000, exclusive of their colonial possessions, have \$975,000,000 in gold, \$725,000,000 of full legal tender silver, and \$95,000,000 of subsidiary silver coins; and yet they found it necessary several years ago to discontinue the coinage of legal tender silver, and enter into an arrangement by which each country agreed to redeem in gold all its own legal tender silver coins, when presented by any other member of the Union. Thus gold has been made to support a limited quantity of silver coin at par in France, Belgium, Italy, Greece, and Switzerland, as it has been required to do in the United States since 1878, and as it must continue to do hereafter, here and elsewhere, unless a great change shall occur in the relative values of the two metals.

As the largest silver-producing country in the world, and having so heavy a volume of silver money on hand, the United States must be interested in every measure designed to enhance the value of silver and increase its use as money. But, recognizing the impossibility of acting alone, the country is to be congratulated upon the fact that we have at last placed ourselves in a position which enables us to preserve our own monetary system intact, and exercise a potent influence in any movement that may be hereafter made for the permanent adjustment of this very important and difficult question.

It is a great mistake to suppose that the supporters of our recent legislation upon this subject were animated by any feeling of hostility to the continued use of silver as money to the largest possible extent consistent with the stability of our currency and the preservation of the public faith. The wisest and safest friends of that metal are those who have had the sagacity to foresee the inevitable effect of its continuous accumulation in the form of bullion in the vaults of the Treasury, and the courage to remove from the statute book an experimental law which from the time of its enactment was a constant menace to the welfare of the whole country.

II. SOCIAL ECONOMY PAPERS.

I. PHASES OF SOCIAL ECONOMY.

BY F. B. SANBORN, OF CONCORD, MASS., CHAIRMAN OF THE
DEPARTMENT.

[Delivered Friday, Sept. 8, 1893.]

Members of the Association.—The term Social Economy, chosen some twenty years ago to designate our new department, as it detached itself from the broad field of the parent Department,—Trade and Finance,—is itself so broad that only a few of its subdivisions can be considered at one of our short sessions. Permit me, therefore, to speak of two or three of these alone: those, namely, having a certain connection with each other—Co-operative Banks and Benefit Societies; the form of cheap labor colloquially known as “sweating”; and that mode of poor-relief which exacts or offers labor in exchange for alms or subsistence. If the line of connection among these three topics is not obvious, I may say that co-operation, in the manner first named, tends to keep the laborer from the plane on which “sweating” occurs; and that this last is apt to lead down to the still lower economical plane where the toiler, through weakness or despair, or else in the lazy desire to live without labor, casts himself on the charity, official or personal, of the community. The three related subjects are increasingly brought into notice, both in this country, where we seem to be undergoing one of those habitual depressions of industry that have almost regularly marked our national career of prosperity, and still more in those lands of older civilization where I have studied social science of late. The second one, which last year was the object of special research by our Department Secretary (unfortunately detained from this meeting by illness) and by others, whose results were published in the last number of our Journal, will presently be considered in a brief report. One branch of the first-named topic will also be treated practically by

our associate from Connecticut, Mr. Hotchkiss, to whom we always listen with profit and pleasure. Let me begin, then, by some remarks on those excellent stimulants of industry and frugality, the American Building Associations, or co-operative banks, which were first brought to the notice of our Association by the late Josiah Quincy, of Boston, in 1874.

Twenty years ago these popular forms of co-operation in borrowing and investment were little known to the economists of our country, although they had then existed for forty years in Pennsylvania, and had extended to Delaware, Maryland, and Ohio. Probably there were in 1873 600 of these small societies in the whole United States, possibly 1,000. At present, according to the careful researches of our associate and former President (Mr. Carroll D. Wright), there are at least 5,860 Building Associations and Co-operative Banks; that is, they have nearly been multiplied by ten in this period of twenty years. Pennsylvania alone, with 1,100 associations, has more than existed in the whole country in 1873. The total membership is now estimated by Mr. Wright at 1,655,456; the net assets, at the enormous sum of \$497,000,000, or not quite \$300 for each member. Ohio is credited with 723 associations (227,535 members), Illinois with 518 associations (146,571 members), while Pennsylvania, leading all the States, has 255,000 members.

It will naturally be asked, How are these little banks (in their aggregate so big) standing the stress of the hard times? It is too early to answer this question fully; but all the accounts seem to say they are far less exposed to disaster than the more conspicuous banks of deposit, loan, and discount that have occupied the attention of the public for the past four months. I have heard from Cincinnati and Chicago, as well as from New England; and everywhere it is said that the Co-operative Banks are standing the shock well. Some few have been mismanaged, some have been unlucky; but, on the whole, the report is good. The laws have been amended in the last few years, and now are in better form for the protection of both investors and borrowers than ever before. The methods of management also seem to have been made more equitable, particularly in the computation of interest; and although there is, and apparently always will be, much litigation, as between shareholders and the associations, the important questions seem to be settled with much fairness by the courts, which understand the subject better than formerly, when the business, in

most States, was quite novel. All this enables the associations to endure better the shock of the present panic.

In order to guard their legitimate interests and their modest methods from the prevailing tendency to gamble in savings and investments, the local Building Associations have formed State Leagues in more than a dozen States, including the three great ones lately mentioned, and also New York, Massachusetts, Michigan, Indiana, Missouri, and Iowa. These Leagues held a convention at Chicago on the 27th of June last; and this was the occasion of Mr. Wright's submitting the statistics just cited of the number and value of the associations in the United States. At the same meeting Judge Dexter of Elmira, who has done so much to place these institutions on a sound legal footing, gave an address as president, from which I may quote a few passages:—

"In a suburb of Philadelphia, in 1831, the Oxford Provident Building Association was formed. The business methods pursued were simple and safe. From that beginning until this time there have been constant changes in the scheme upon which these associations were organized, working out an evolution in methods, and bringing to pass the standard schemes which we find existing to-day. One feature alone remains unchanged,—that no loans can be made to a shareholder for a larger sum than the matured value of the shares held by him. In the early days the associations were conducted without the aid of legislation, through the medium of trustees. As their number increased, legislation was sought, that they might become incorporated. The first legislation was simple and crude in its provisions, and admitted the incorporation of associations of far different aims. But these defects were not fully apprehended. The scheming and designing were not attracted by the opportunities for forming associations with the genuine name, but conducted primarily for the benefit of its organizers and managers."

In a recent letter Judge Dexter adds, what is specially noteworthy in the present crisis of financial affairs, . . . "This financial crisis is thoroughly proving the value of the *local* Building and Loan Associations: they are superior to the ordinary savings-banks in many ways. The savings-banks, in a time like this, seem to be the most dangerous point after distrust is once aroused in the community. Each one of them is apt to become a hoarder of cash; it ceases to make new loans, and is inclined to call in available loans: whereas our Co-operative Banks hoard no cash,

continue to make loans as usual (when rightly organized), and can have no run made upon them. When the same interest can be taken by the State and by public-spirited men in the genuine Building and Loan Association that has long been taken in the savings-banks, it will fast supplant them.

"But the one fight which we have on hand continually is with the spurious kind, ever springing up, that thrive upon the reputation of the genuine ones; and the difficulty in dealing with the spurious (of course, I allude to the so-called National Associations)* is this: it will take four or five years, in some cases six or seven, for their shareholders to become thoroughly cognizant of the fact that these Nationals cannot fulfil the promises they have made."

The justice of this last remark is seen by the calamitous history of the miscalled "fraternal" assessment and endowment orders, which have had such a career in Massachusetts during the past five years. Although the principle on which these swindling and foolish concerns were based is so unsound that any financier could see its hollowness in a moment, yet the people were deluded thereby; partly because the mischievous result did not appear for a few years, and partly because attorneys, otherwise reputable, were hired at large fees, to pretend that two and two did not *always* make four, but by "fraternal" handling might be induced to make five, six, or even ten. This mercenary arithmetic, this travesty of the Good Samaritan, using soft soap instead of oil and wine, and picking the penny out of the poor man's pocket instead of giving it for his support, is now at an end in Massachusetts, while the men who fell among thieves and their lawyers are now haunting the offices of another set of lawyers to get back a fraction of the money they invested.

The allusion above made to dangerous forms of spurious co-operation will derive force also from the result of the existing panic, for already these "national" investment companies are pushing their investors into difficulties.

Taking advantage of the well-earned popularity of the local Building Associations, the organizers of the spurious kind had much success at first in drawing capital, in small sums, to their enterprises; and it required great effort to prevent legal license from being given to what was scarcely better in principle or result than the old-fashioned lottery. In some States this license was

* See Note on page 52.

given, and lawyers and editors were found ready to maintain that these lottery and speculative schemes were proper and useful. That combination of fraud and delusion could not long impose on the good sense of our people, but its ill effects have perhaps injured a little the popularity of the sound Co-operative Banks.

The comparison has just been made with savings-banks in time of panic. If now we consider how the Co-operative Banks compare at such a time with the ordinary banks of deposit and discount, another point in favor of the small and safe institutions will appear. Had the small savings of the 1,600,000 shareholders in Building and Loan Associations been in the national banks, the panic would have caused a "run" on most banks, and many more suspensions would have occurred. But in a well-managed building association a "run" can yield little, because the members know that their money is mostly loaned on real estate mortgages, safe enough, but not readily payable. Consequently, the managers are not vexed with demands for the impossible, seldom even for the unreasonable, so that, instead of adding to the panic by their action, they lessen it by lending money as freely as before, if the security is good. And, in fact, while bank after bank has gone down or temporarily suspended in many parts of the country, the Building Associations have gone on lending money and declaring dividends as before. Should the panic continue, they will lose income, and have less to divide among their shareholders; but, when good times come round again, they will go on as before.

Perhaps in no part of the United States have these Co-operative Banks been better managed than in Massachusetts, where they were late and cautiously introduced in 1877, against the decided opposition of the savings-banks,—in that State exceptionally strong,—but where they now exist to the number of nearly 120, with assets of \$15,000,000, 50,000 members, and a yearly income of between \$4,500,000 and \$5,000,000, each member holding an average of 7 shares, while his average property in the associations is about \$275. This is the result of a little more than fifteen years' trial of this form of co-operation. Nowhere else have these statistics been more carefully gathered than in Boston by Mr. D. Eldredge; although the *Ledger Newspaper* in Philadelphia, the *Co-operative News* of Cincinnati, the *Home and Fireside* of Port Huron, and the Boston *Herald* have done much to spread a knowledge of the facts on this subject.

In regard to the sweating system, it will be enough here to say

that the deeper causes of its prevalence have not been removed, and cannot easily be overcome. These are the extreme tendency of people to flock to large cities, and the ease with which underpaid labor can now be transported from one country to another. This last is also the main reason why tramping has become an evil so much more noticeable in most countries than formerly.

Coming now to our third topic,—the relief of the wandering and unemployed poor by casual labor,—I have first to mention a very striking and valuable paper on this subject by Professor McCook of Hartford, in a recent magazine, the *Forum*. Like Mr. Charles Booth in England, Mr. McCook has adopted the only truly satisfactory method of gathering facts on these intricate questions of labor and pauperism; that is, by collecting individual instances, carefully sifted and classed, in areas small or large, and drawing inductive, not deductive, conclusions therefrom. Reasoning thus produced is likely to be sound, so far as it goes; while the more common way of arguing from loose aggregates of figures, collected by several persons, upon no uniform system, and bunched together by other persons, who have oftentimes no real conception of the facts behind the figures, will generally lead to absurdities.

There is no one subject connected with the care of the poor—not even the much debated one of outdoor relief—upon which more thought and anxiety are now expended, in all civilized countries, than this employment of the casual and wandering laborer. Legislation, or inquiries preliminary to law-making, have been everywhere going on in regard to it; and yet the evil and perplexity attending it seem only to increase. Our American tramp laws, for some reason, do not seem to operate effectively; the labor colonies of Germany, though productive of good, are also inadequate; and I could hear of no country in Europe that had really solved the hard problem.

Two experiments in Switzerland, however, deserve some notice, because both are recent, and are tried in one of the countries most favorable to success in enterprises of this sort. They are not State experiments, but have been managed by private charity, although with some favor from the public authorities. The first is a rural colony, in the midst of forests and swamps, in the central Canton of Berne, the *Arbeiterheim* at Tannenhof, near the town of Champion; the second is a city workshop at Lausanne, the chief town of the Canton Vaud. Both were begun in the year 1889,—neither on a large scale; and, though both have prospered

to some extent, they are far from solving the problem of unemployed or unwilling labor even in the little republic of Switzerland. For it must be recognized that much of the unemployed labor in most countries is also unwilling; that there are myriads of able-bodied persons, quite capable of work, who have no intention of working if they can continue to exist, in what to them is a sort of comfort, without hard labor. To sift these out from the mass of really industrious but unemployed men and women can only be done by the public authorities, and is one of the indispensable things *to be* done which requires the co-operation of private charity with public restraint and relief,—a fact not always taken into account by those who write and speak on this theme.

While I was in Switzerland last summer, a group of self-styled “Anarchists” in Geneva were circulating a tract (a sort of catechism), setting forth their opinions, and a view of what blessings anarchy will bring about, from which a passage may be translated to show one phase of the coming millennium:—

In society as it now stands, the idle rich, from the height of their wealth insulting the hardships of the people, demoralize labor by setting an example of idleness. Yet the idle workmen are truly only unconscious rebels against the requirements of our present labor system. But when the conditions of life shall change,—when labor becomes less brutalizing, more attractive,—then you will see these idlers go to work with as much energy and intelligence as other folks. In the republic of anarchy, the thing will be to make toil as little tiresome and as pleasing as possible. Nor will this be difficult, thanks to the improvement of machinery, the discoveries of science, and the vast forces that nature places at the service of man. Mankind, feeling themselves enfranchised, will have a heartfelt joy at seeing they can live in comfort. This joy will change their character, and the majority of men will cheerfully go to work. By virtue of the comfort they will enjoy, their strength and capacity will revive, and then they will not remain idle. Others, incapable of giving themselves to persistent labor, will pass much of their time in rambling round, resting, staying in the house, etc. But do you suppose that, if they do not work with the hand, the brain therefore remains idle? No: the mind is at work, and it is possible these idlers will make wonderful discoveries or will plan works of art. Now, if we should try to make folks work, we must resort to compulsion, to policemen, to prisons, and to the other horrors which we suffer to-day. So, to get rid of a few harmless idlers, we should set up others a thousand-fold worse.

What does the hard-headed Swiss citizen of some property say to all this dream of Arcadia? Why, this, which I translate from the *Gazette* of Lausanne, in which have lately appeared many valuable essays on the relief of the poor, the German scheme of compulsory insurance, and the silver question :—

Let the workingmen themselves raise funds for the relief of accidental and inevitable idleness, just as they now, in case of a strike, give money to maintain voluntary and artificial idleness. The English trades-unions have disbursed nearly \$18,000,000 in aid of men who refused to work. Why have not the Swiss socialists done something similar? Because, to do that, they must renounce their socialist utopias, stop dreaming, and come down from the clouds to the earth, and, instead of discussing the suppression of war and criminal courts, take hold of topics that interest the workingmen more directly. That would make less noise, but would be more to the purpose.

To point out the way practically, a few philanthropists in Lausanne opened four years ago a wood-yard, or rough workshop, for men where relief is given for labor, and where, in the first three years of the experiment, sixteen thousand men (or men who made sixteen thousand appearances) did something more than sixty thousand hours' work, or less than four hours to each man. Its results have been esteemed so good that a like establishment is opened at Geneva, and a corresponding one for women exists at Lausanne since September, 1890. But these enterprises can only show the way: they are and always must be insufficient to meet the needs of a sudden panic such as we now have, or a long-lasting depression of credit, such as we may have hereafter.

An experienced and observing man, Rev. S. A. Barnett, of Whitechapel, London, went round the world two years since, and has recently published his observations on pauperism in the United States, Japan, and India. What he says of this country is either so trite or based on such slight observations that we need not much heed his counsel; but his remarks on India are more important. He says :—

India has no poor law, yet the chief concern of government is the preservation of life among two hundred million of poor people. . . . The fact that there are in India four hundred thousand jewellers and only three hundred thousand smiths is eloquent as to one cause of poverty. . . . Landlordism is very often a means of oppression. "What is most wanted," said an official in 1878, "is some ready means of enabling the tenant to resist illegal restraint,

and to prove and maintain his occupying right." Government does much to relieve the people, . . . but might perhaps be more helpful if it did less for them and took less from them.

Here we have a near approach to Jefferson's maxim, "The world is governed too much."

With these facts and suggestions I leave the department to take up the subjects specially assigned for consideration this morning, the last of our annual session.

NOTE. (See page 47.)

Since the Saratoga Meeting, the Comptroller of the Currency at Washington, in the performance of official duty (which some of his predecessors seem to have neglected), has called the attention of the managers of the so-called "National" Loan Associations to the provisions of Section 5243, Revised Statutes, which are as follows:—

All banks not organized and transacting business under the national currency laws, or under this title, and *all persons or corporations doing the business of bankers, brokers, or savings institutions*, except savings-banks authorized by Congress to use the word "national" as a part of their corporate name, are prohibited from using the word "national" as a portion of the name or title of such bank, corporation, firm, or partnership; and any violation of this prohibition committed after the third day of September, 1873, shall subject the party chargeable therewith to a penalty of fifty dollars for each day during which day it is permitted or repeated.

Comptroller Eckels says further:—

Under the above statute this office, supported by the opinion of the Solicitor of the Treasury, has held that building, loan, and savings associations are prohibited from using the word "national" as a part of their title. Your immediate attention is called to your violation of its provisions and the penalty therefor. If the matter is not remedied at once, it will be necessary to refer it to the United States District Attorney of your district for immediate action.

This notice from the Comptroller has led the *National Building and Loan Herald* to speak as follows:—

This edict of the national currency clipper has created quite a sensation, as might have been expected. The associations have always known of this clause in the national banking act, but have not thought seriously of any attempt being made to enforce it. There is no doubt that the law did not contemplate Building and Loan Associations at the time it was enacted, or they would have been mentioned. There is no use in denying that these associations are savings institutions, but hardly of the kind considered by the law. The association is a regular corporation, issuing its shares of stock, and does not do either a banking or savings-bank business, as ordinarily understood. The business of co-operative banking was in existence before the national banking act was passed; and the spirit of the law was not violated in the use of the term "national," as the intent of its use was to distinguish between a local and a national undertak-

ing, and not to convey the impression that the associations were under governmental supervision.

The law, being a penal statute, must be strictly construed against the defendant by the party enforcing it; yet where is the association that wants to enter martyrdom at \$50 per diem for the purpose of making a test case? It is a rule of law that, to interpret a law, the court is allowed to consider whether or not it was in the mind of the legislature to reach such cases as the case under consideration. But the associations are all rather timid about fighting Uncle Sam, as a matter of course. The law, if it be found applicable in the case of the loan associations, will affect about seventy-five of the general companies, or about 25 per cent. of their entire number.

The editor of the Cincinnati *Co-operative News*, in the interest of the genuine and local Building, Loan, and Savings Associations, makes these judicious remarks (December 1) on the action of Mr. Eckels: —

The term "national," as applied to these concerns, may infringe upon the statute; but it is not a misnomer, for they do work a national scheme. But the term "building and loan association," as used by them, is a misnomer, and is used to defraud. There should be legislation adopted speedily, either by Congress or the State legislatures, forbidding the use of this term except by genuine building loan societies. In a certain sense, the Comptroller's ruling is unfortunate; for these institutions are now so well advertised as wildcat schemes that the term "national" in their titles is sufficient to put the public on the guard against them. They will now appear under names which will not distinguish them from genuine associations, and this will enable them to entrap many persons without arousing their suspicions. But this ruling marks another decided step forward toward the time when all such bogus schemes will be driven out of existence.

2. MUTUAL BENEFIT SOCIETIES IN CONNECTICUT.

BY S. M. HOTCHKISS, OF HARTFORD, CT.

[Read Friday, September 8.]

While Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of Connecticut, I made a thorough investigation of the Fraternal Mutual Benefit Associations of the State. This presented a new field of systematic statistical work, akin to what has been accomplished in England and Germany. It did not undertake actuarial computation, as was done in England, but included conditions and details of management, medical examinations, average age, graded dues, sex of members, religious, national, and race qualifications. Briefly stated, the result showed 386 Fraternal Mutual Benefit societies of all kinds, with 974 branches, or lodges, having a total membership on the 31st of December, 1891, of 126,613, of which 118,613 were men, and 8,000 were women.

The ratio of membership, as classified by towns, to population in the State, is about one in seven, or 13.66 per cent. In other words, about one in seven of the population, men, women, and children, is a member of an insurance or benefit order. The ratio of the total membership, classified by towns and unclassified, is about one in six. If to the membership reported should be added that of the Masonic societies, the Elks, the Patrons of Husbandry, and other societies, not co-operative benefit, and therefore not included herein, the total would be in excess of the total male adult population of the State. But, as one person is often a member of more than one society, it follows that the number of men in Connecticut not connected with societies, benefit or otherwise, is quite large.

By the term "Mutual Benefit Society" we mean a society of persons meeting at stated intervals for mutual advancement and improvement, and the payment, in case of sickness, accident, or death, of a certain specified sum. It will be seen that this does

not include fraternal societies which are not bound to pay certain sums in case of sickness, accident, or death. The Freemasons and the Order of Elks are samples of benevolent societies which are not necessarily benefit societies.

The primitive form is that of the society that pays only sick or funeral benefits. The modern form does not necessarily pay the sick benefit, but pays the benefit at death. In these societies the sum is comparatively large, equivalent in many cases to the sums paid by some forms of policies in the ordinary life insurance companies.

The types of all the societies existing in Connecticut are found in the old English Friendly societies, the earliest benefit societies on record. The motive for the organization of such societies was the same here as that which led to their formation among English workingmen a century and more ago. Sick Benefit societies grew out of a manly desire for independence, and to escape the stigma of pauperism in case of adversity. Funeral Benefit societies grew out of the sentiment which regarded the pauper's burial and the pauper's grave as a reproach to the living and to the dead. From these crude beginnings has developed, by the slow but logical process of evolution, the transition from a mere provision for the burial of the head of the family to substantial life insurance provision for the widow and the orphans.

Unaffiliated Societies.

These societies conveniently divide themselves into two classes; namely, Affiliated and Unaffiliated. To most people the interesting and rapidly increasing unaffiliated societies afford the deepest present interest, because they are generally voluntary organizations of lower paid workmen and mechanics for self-help, from which have grown the larger organizations which include the benefits of insurance, and because they afford protection from want to the class of people who would otherwise be obliged to rely upon public charity in adversity.

In 1891 there were 267 of these societies in the State, having a membership of 21,869. The average cost of sick insurance to the amount of five dollars weekly, for three months in the year, and the average funeral benefit of \$75, was \$4.50 annually per member. The accumulated fund amounted to \$191,386.97, including the real estate owned by six societies. A few societies held mortgages on

real estate, and the interest on railroad bonds owned by one society amounted to a sum sufficient to meet its annual outlay. Most of the funds are invested in savings-banks. These societies are of the simplest kind. All of their affairs are managed in the most economical way. Even the officers who collect dues and assessments and keep the records rarely receive any compensation. In the few exceptional cases, such compensation is merely nominal. In some cases, only annual meetings are held, and these at the house of a member or at some convenient place for which no charge is made. The assessments therefore are only just sufficient to pay the losses by sickness or death. The form of organization is so crude that in many shop societies the dues are collected by "passing the hat," to use their colloquial expression, in the circle or shop society where the assessment is made for the benefit of the sick or deceased brother.

The tendency to mutual aid to which American conditions give rise is strikingly illustrated by these simple societies for the most primary form of fraternal help. They are found almost exclusively among the working people, and especially the lower paid mechanics. They are variously designated as shop societies, neighborhood societies, etc. In one city the society is called after the name of the street upon which the members hold their meetings. In some the number of members is limited; and the societies are called fifties or hundreds, as the case may be. It is interesting to note that these societies are common among the lowest grade of foreign workmen who have come to our shores. They are common among the Americans, Scandinavians, Italians, Hungarians, Poles, Bavarians, and French Canadians; and all occupations are represented. The investigation developed the fact that these circles are common among the Italian workmen who are hurled along morning and evening in the work-trains on our railroads, and engage in performing a large part of the hard labor in the State. It was a matter of interest to trace these societies among these forbidding classes. Among the Italians they are very numerous. They are accumulating funds, and in several instances have acquired real estate.

Among the Hungarians and Poles who have recently appeared in the State it was found that these circles existed; but no one could be found who understood their language and had the influence to persuade them to confide in the agents of the Bureau, until the confidence of their priests was won, and through them

the interesting facts brought to light. Some societies only admit members who belong to their religious sect.

The unaffiliated societies have no regular medical examination, but imposition is rare. Shop-mates and fellow-laborers who are called upon to provide the funds, as well as neighbors who are curious to know the real condition of health of those entitled to sick benefits, enable these simple societies, with their limited membership, to guard against the admission of impostors and the chronic sick. In some cases, as high as ten dollars per week is paid ; but the average weekly payment is five dollars. These sums cannot be secured for every week in the year. Some societies pay the full benefit for twenty-six weeks, and then a reduced amount, usually one-half, for the remaining twenty-six weeks, with one dollar per week the second year in cases of protracted illness. Death benefits range from twenty-five to three hundred dollars. Watchers are provided for the sick, sometimes from the membership, and often by hiring nurses. Several societies pay fifty to seventy-five dollars on the death of a member's wife. 51 out of the 267 societies admit both sexes : 6 admit only women. One society, under the management of women, admits both men and women.

Societies Auxiliary to other Organizations.

Some circles are auxiliaries to life and sick and death benefit societies. The Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, Ancient Order of United Workmen, Royal Arcanum, etc., have their auxiliaries. One interesting series of societies is that of the Good Fellows societies, found only in New Haven, Conn. Their peculiarities are limitation of membership, the maximum number generally being thirty, minimum of expense and of attention required of members, no accumulation of surplus, necessary funds being asked from the members only when needed to pay benefits, which are collected by a modified form of "passing the hat." Most of these societies have an age limit, usually from sixteen to sixty years. In some societies medicines and medical attendance are furnished by the society under contract by the year. This is a favorite method among German societies. The plan meets with some opposition, however, from the medical societies.

Affiliated Societies.

The affiliated societies draw many recruits from the crude organizations of the unaffiliated societies; but, as will be shown hereafter, their membership is widely distributed among persons engaged in various pursuits of life. They have increased rapidly during the last decade. Full statistics relating to all of these societies may be found in the report of the Bureau for 1891.

One of the earliest Mutual Benefit societies founded in this country was an offshoot of the Manchester United Aid Fellows, which came here in 1821, and in a few years was transformed into the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. It was the earliest of which we have any record in Connecticut, dating back to the thirties. It is true that we also derive from England the more modern form of these societies, which insures comparatively large sums upon the lives of their members. This form of society is of recent adoption. The first in Connecticut that paid what might be called life insurance was the Odd Fellows Mutual Aid Association, a society having State jurisdiction only, which was organized in 1867. The Ancient Order of United Workmen was founded in Pennsylvania during the same year, but did not transact business in Connecticut until thirteen or fourteen years ago. This society is of the same class, and pays two thousand dollars at death. To protect these societies from imposition and fraud, various safeguards have been adopted. Societies that pay only sick and funeral benefits require a rigid medical examination. Inquiry is made as to the moral character and physical condition of the applicant, and in exceptional cases examination is required by a physician. But the necessity for careful medical examination even in these societies has led to a movement looking to safer regulations in the admission of members.

The societies which pay life insurance require rigid medical examination as to the physical condition and family history of the applicant. Applicants have often been refused membership in some of these orders, who have been accepted by regular life insurance companies. Thirty-three of the forty-six life orders require medical examinations.

Graded Assessments.

The necessity for graded assessments and dues has been rapidly forcing itself upon the societies. One of the largest of these orders, the Royal Arcanum, has always had graded assessments. The Knights of Honor, a large order, which had a level assessment from its organization, has recently partially changed for the graded assessment, with the evident purpose of making the reform complete. The largest order in the United States which pays life insurance, having a good foothold in Connecticut, the Ancient Order of United Workmen, has a level assessment, but has adopted expedients to prevent a serious increase of mortality in the future. One of these is a plan for limited territorial jurisdiction, by which the supreme lodge fixes the number of assessments which can be levied in each jurisdiction in any one year, with the aid of what are called "equalizing assessments." This plan gives New England the advantage of its low death-rate by reason of its better class of members, etc., and makes New York, the West, and the South pay the death-rates due to their greater mortality.

It appears that the most successful Mutual Benefit societies are those which have unlimited territory, except limitation as to healthful districts, and are not restricted to any nationality or religious persuasion. There are societies with sectarian requirements, as well as societies in which birth in Germany, Italy, Ireland, or Sweden, respectively, is a requirement for membership. These societies lead a precarious existence. Some have already ceased to exist.

Accumulated Fund.

But few of these societies make any decided effort to accumulate a fund. On the 31st of December, 1891, the total in all societies was \$1,150,980.03, or a per capita of \$9.09. This sum was, in most cases, invested in first mortgages on real estate and in savings-bank deposits. At four per cent. it would yield an annual income of \$46,039.20. The purpose is evident on the part of the membership of these societies to depend less upon accumulated funds, with the dangers incident to their proper investment and care, and more upon the cultivation of confidence in each other's ability and willingness to pay the necessary as-

sessments and dues as they are required to meet the exigencies of the societies as they arise. This confidence is attained to a wonderful degree.

Management.

The societies which have been most democratic in the government and management of their affairs seem to have been the most successful. Macaulay says, "The guard for the evils of democracy is more democracy." It seems most fitting that the grand supreme bodies which make the laws for the subordinate bodies consist wholly of representatives of the subordinate lodges instead of life members or of people who vote because they hold or have held office in the governing body. The present tendency is in this direction. The Mutual Benefit societies bond their financial officers, and their funds are guarded by a system of checks, by which money is paid out only after passing through the hands of several officers; and reports are always required in open lodge concerning all receipts and disbursements. There is, therefore, little danger of serious loss.

These societies, so far as I am informed, are opposed to any form of State supervision; and one of the first difficulties which we had to overcome in pursuing the investigation was to convince the societies that we were not engaged in a scheme to bring about intervention by the State in management of their affairs.

It does not appear that the death of the endowment orders has injured the Mutual Benefit associations.

Average Age.

The average age of members of the forty-six societies has decreased from thirty-seven years and nine months in 1887 to thirty-six years and three months in 1891, an average decrease per year of four months and fifteen days. The percentage of members in societies reporting average age of all the forty-six societies for 1887 is 67.95 per cent., and for 1891, 68.78 per cent.

In the three classes of societies, Life, Sick, and Funeral Benefit and Endowment, of the 97,410 members for whom occupation is reported, 14,757, or 15.15 per cent., are in business, 5,279, or 5.42 per cent., in the professions, 872, or .89 per cent., in agricultural pursuits, 41,808, or 42.92 per cent., are well-paid mechanics, 20,226, or 20.76 per cent., are lower-paid workmen, 7,877, or 8.09

per cent., are clerks, 5,366, or 5.51 per cent., are housewives, and 1,225, or 1.26 per cent., are workingwomen.

The percentage in each class of society is made clear by the following table:—

PERCENTAGES OF MEMBERS BY OCCUPATIONS IN EACH CLASS OF SOCIETIES, AND IN ALL SOCIETIES, IN 1891, EXCEPT TRADES-UNIONS.

PER CENT. BY OCCUPATION.	Life Societies.	Sick and Funeral Benefit Societies.	Endowment Societies.	In all Societies.
Totals, ...	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
In Business, ...	27.86	10.33	20.31	15.15
In the Professions, . . .	8.83	4.27	3.90	5.42
Farmers, ...	.35	1.13	—	.89
Well-paid Mechanics, . .	34.69	45.73	46.14	42.92
Lower-paid Workmen, . .	15.28	22.93	16.68	20.76
Clerks, ...	11.24	7.05	5.91	8.09
Housewives, ...	1.75	6.81	6.58	5.51
Workingwomen, ...	—	1.75	.48	1.26

But very few of the laboring people can accumulate sufficient money to meet the peremptory calls for food, shelter, and clothing for themselves and families, and have enough left to pay the premium required for policies in the regular life insurance companies of the present day; but multitudes who cannot do this can and do pay small sums into a common fund, which is available in the dread hour when sickness or death overtakes them, which provides medicines and necessary care for the sick, and decent and respectable burial when death ends the struggle. Added to this, in many of these societies they may obtain life insurance to a considerable sum, at a cost within their means, for the benefit of the widow and orphans.

It is evident that the influence of this movement among the working people is of the utmost value, not only to the participant in the benefits of the societies themselves, but to local communities and the State. The industrial people of Connecticut, by their

manly efforts to provide for themselves and their families' relief in sickness, and the benefits of life insurance on the mutual aid principle, have, in a practical and satisfactory way, disclosed the fact that they do not propose to be dependent upon the State for any scheme of workingmen's pension, like that put in operation in Germany; but, with true American independence and grit, by helping themselves and each other, they propose to make State aid and public charity in their behalf unnecessary, except in cases properly coming under the care of the humane institutions of the State.

3. THE SWEATING SYSTEM IN THE YEAR 1893.

A REPORT FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL ECONOMY.

[Made Sept. 8, 1893.]

The so-called "Sweating System" formed the subject of a day's debate in this department a year ago; and the reports then presented, by Mr. Joseph Lee and others in Europe and America, were the fullest exhibition, at that time, of the causes and results of the mixed conditions of tenement-house and city-workshop labor, especially when performed by women, which had ever been given in America. In the year since elapsed, although the laws for the regulation of this miserable and often most pitiable toil have been fairly well enforced,—at least in America,—it may be doubted whether the situation, as a whole, has been greatly changed for the better. Such, at any rate, is the impression, so far as London is concerned, of the well-informed writer who has lately, in a London monthly, reviewed the events of the year ended in June last.* The pressure for extreme cheapness, in clothing particularly, has brought the wages of sewing-women in the English cities considerably below what they were in the days when Thomas Hood stirred the hearts of the compassionate, all over the world, by his "Song of the Shirt." It is true, perhaps, that the pittance now earned by these industrious women will buy more than it would fifty years since, when the corn-laws oppressed the British people; but, on the other hand, rents have risen, and the standard of living, even among the very poor, is higher than in Hood's time. The burden now falls, in London and in some American cities, on women of different race from those who bore it in 1840-1850; but wherever it falls it is a dismal and shameful load for civilization to carry. The crowding of laborers into large towns—now much worse than it was half a century ago—intensifies the habit and the attendant evils, which it is agreed to call

* See the *Nineteenth Century* for August, where Mr. W. H. Wilkins has a painful but instructive article on the sweated industries of London in 1893.

the "Sweating System," although we still lack a concise definition of what that term includes and excludes.

In that remarkable series of Blue-Books which come forth from the office of Mr. Geoffrey Drage (Secretary of the English Royal Commission on Labor) we find one dated June, 1893,—a "Digest of the Evidence of Representatives of Co-operative Societies, and of Public Officials,"—which contains the following statement of Sidney Webb, one of the London County Council and an advanced radical:—

Both parties in England recognize the expediency of extending the Factory Acts. In any future amendment it is of the highest importance that the interests of the well-organized trades should not be considered to the entire exclusion of the more degraded industries, which these acts can now scarcely be said to reach. The condition of industries that are carried on in domestic workshops is the worst. They come under the Factory Acts, so far as persons outside the occupier's family are employed in them for wages; but, owing to the small number of inspectors, they are not inspected, and generally not even registered. It is in these workshops, especially in the clothing and furniture trades, in the East End of London, that the evils of the sweating system prevail; and some of the worst cases are those where the home work is done directly for the export merchants. Mr. Sidney Buxton's proposal to make the owner of the houses where the work is done responsible for their sanitary condition, should be adopted. . . . Desirable as it is to assist the transition from home work to a universal factory system, it would be inexpedient to abolish domestic workshops by act of Parliament; nor should the employment of married women be definitely prohibited, though it is in many respects an evil, and has a very prejudicial effect on the wages of adult male workers. A shortening and regulation of the hours of labor is expedient and practicable.

Mr. Charles Booth, well known for his careful studies of the facts of poverty and pauperism in London, agreed mainly with Mr. Webb, and defined "sweating" as the "driving of labor in such a way as to get the maximum of work for the minimum of pay." He suggested that all workshops should be registered,—the certificate to set forth the space occupied, the number of persons employed, the nature of their employment, etc. Wages in the sweated trades vary now from good pay down to nothing. Women are paid at a piece-rate varying from a penny (two cents) to about threepence an hour. Rent in East London varies from five to six

shillings a week for two rooms, and 7s. 6d. for three rooms, the last-named price being about \$1.85.

The writer in the *Nineteenth Century*, already cited, dwells on the intense competition, not only between the too numerous workmen and workwomen who throng London and have their multitude constantly swollen by new arrivals from the continent and the rural districts, but also between the employers and contractors. These last, in lowering the price of the goods in which they deal, are compelled to find their profit in obtaining ill-paid and over-worked service ; and the competition of trade, which makes this necessary, is matched by the disastrous rivalry of one poor man or woman with every other. From this vicious circle of competition there seems no easy escape,—a fact that causes the legal remedies for the sanitary harm done by “sweating” to appear but slight alleviations of an evil that the tendencies of civilization are steadily increasing. We notice this discouraging aspect of the subject less in America ; yet even here it thrusts itself forward for consideration, whenever we look beyond palliatives to some final and efficacious corrective of a situation, which all who observe it—even those who in a measure profit by it—must regret and deplore.

In turning to the American phase of this subject, it is fair to assume, although the exact facts are not known to our Department, that the results of legal regulation of “sweating” workshops in New York have been better in the year past than before. The fear of cholera, apart from other motives, would naturally lead to a better inspection and sanitary condition of the tenement houses where so much of this cheap work is done ; nor are the difficulties in the way of controlling the worst features of the business so great in New York as in London. In Massachusetts there has been a more complete examination of the tenement houses (notably in Boston) than ever before ; and Mr. H. G. Wadlin, who last year read so important a paper on the Boston situation, has just published the result of this examination in that city. It was begun when we met here last year, and the time since has been no more than enough to bring so thorough a task to completion. The general facts shown may be thus stated :—

The estimated population of Boston at the time of the inquiry being 465,000, the number actually found in rented tenements was 311,396, two-thirds of the whole. Of these, many lived in comfort, and even in something like rural surroundings, but no less than,

37,613 were in tenements whose outside sanitary condition was bad,—in some cases atrociously bad. As to inside sanitary condition, 38,311 were living in unclean surroundings, 26,097 with bad ventilation, and more than 26,000 with imperfect light. That is to say, about a tenth part of the dwellers in Boston were wretchedly housed; and it is in these quarters that "sweating" more frequently takes place. Such being the original situation, we shall now be well prepared to see what State inspection has done to correct the evils of tenement-house manufacturing in Boston. Mr. Wade, Chief of the State police charged with this duty, said in his annual report of January, 1893 :—

The obnoxious system is not wholly uprooted; but, substantially, the sweating system of manufacture has been brought under control. The work of detecting sweat-shops and private work-rooms has not been easy; and, but for the aid received from the manufacturers of clothing, health inspectors, and others, it could not have been accomplished. . . . One inspector in two and one-half months has driven out 29 sweat-shops. During the year at least 1,000 tenement houses have been visited by the inspectors. A great many improvements were made; yet the law gave very little power to compel private families to keep their apartments clean, and the continual change of residence made it often impossible to keep track of the class who make clothing. But since June 11, 1892, when the law was amended, so as to oblige all families where the finishing of clothing was carried on to obtain a license, there has been a radical change. . . . Knowing that most of these people were dependent on finishing clothing for their support, and the refusal of a license meant hardship to them, the inspectors have tried by every means to have them or their landlords comply with the law; and it was only when they could not succeed that a license was refused. The conditions of the license were very simple, namely: (1) absolute cleanliness of apartments and surroundings; (2) no rooms used as sleeping apartments to be used also for finishing wearing apparel for sale, and no such articles to be allowed, while finishing, to remain therein; (3) notice to be at once sent to the inspector in case of removal, or of any infectious disease in the family licensed or any family in the same building; (4) no person not of the family to be employed in finishing clothing intended for sale.

It is clear that, if these conditions are strictly enforced, the evils of sweated clothing will be mostly removed; although none of them directly touch the matter of cheapness, which is a vital point. Indirectly, however, the cost of clothing so manufactured must be somewhat raised by these conditions, unless the piece-price given

is forced down correspondingly. Whether this happens, we have no means of knowing. As to the sanitary result, Mr. Wade thus reports:—

The license has been a means of making improvement, not only in the family condition by compelling them to keep clean, but also in their homes, by forcing landlords to renovate their buildings by lime-washing, painting, etc. There has been a general cleaning up in most places licensed. Landlords know that, if they do not comply with the law, licenses will be refused the tenants, who will be obliged to move in order to secure one, so that self-interest teaches them to make the repairs rather than lose their tenants, and possibly the rent.

Inspector Griffin, in the same volume from which this is quoted, declares that the law of 1892 has done even more good than was expected, reacting upon the evil conditions of tenement-house labor in New York. On this point his testimony is important, and may be commended to the attention of the New York authorities. Speaking of the Massachusetts law, he says:—

That it has decreased the amount of clothing made in filthy New York tenement houses, and consequently given a greater amount of work to all classes engaged in its manufacture, in clean and healthy workshops in New England, cannot be denied. Some of the largest clothing merchants of Boston have sent statements for the past year that 20% is the largest amount of clothing any of them have sent to New York (to be finished). During the earlier visits to New York last winter (January, 1892) Boston clothing was discovered in tenement houses there whose revolting outside appearance was nothing to the filth and destitution within. In some of them (visited at night) there was found a whole lair of human beings littered along the floor,—sometimes ten or twelve; some clothed, some half-naked,—men, women, and children huddled promiscuously together. Some of their beds consisted of a heap of rags; there was very little furniture in the room, the sole article of comfort being a smouldering fire; and, for want of sufficient fuel and clothing, every aperture through which air might procure admission was closed; the air was stifling, and everything appeared dirty. The clothing they were making was furnished them by contractors, who had their own clean workshops, which, they pretended, was the only place where their clothing was made. The garments found in these tenement houses were privately marked, traced from there to Boston, and the name of the contractor was furnished to the merchant. These merchants are now sending a large part of such clothing, mostly of the cheaper grades, “down East to be made” (that is, to Maine).

During the last visit to New York no Boston clothing was found in tenement houses; but some was discovered in shops in the rear, lacking in sanitary conveniences, overcrowded, dirty, and liable to breed disease. . . . The sweating law that now exists in New York, which is rigorously enforced by the State inspectors, should in due time drive out all tenement-house sweat-shops there, and regulate and clean all other shops.

It is plain from this frank statement that the New York administration had not last winter reached that efficiency that Boston thinks desirable. Perhaps it has since done so. Speaking of Boston alone, Inspector Griffin adds: "There is one thing which will always stand as a barrier to any scheme for the ultimate abolition of not only these tenement houses and the sweating system, but also of a great many more evils which surround us; that is, unrestricted emigration. If all the people who now fill these miserable rookeries could be educated and placed in comfortable houses, their places would be immediately filled by thousands as dirty, as poor, and as ignorant as these are." This remark is universal in London, no less than in the larger American cities.

The lack of women inspectors, of which the English writer cited* complains, is partly supplied in America, where women are more employed in public offices than in England. Mr. Drage, above mentioned as the Secretary of the English Labor Commission, was the first official to employ women frequently as government clerks, two years ago. When he presented their names at the Treasury for payment, there was some question whether the British Constitution would allow it; but good sense prevailed, and it will not be long, probably, before women will be factory inspectors in England, as they are in New England. It is to them that we must look for the most searching examination of tenement houses and the shameful conditions of toil that still largely prevail among women and children in large cities. Indeed, Mr. Gladstone's government has consented to appoint two women inspectors for all Great Britain, with its thirty-five millions of people, precisely as many as Massachusetts now has for two and one-half millions. One of these is stationed at London, the other at Glasgow,—the two largest cities on the island. Mr. Wilkins says of the women's work in London: "The first thing necessary is to increase the number of inspectors, and appoint women inspectors

* See the article in the *Nineteenth Century* for August, 1893, already cited, and which is worth a careful reading by all students of social economy.

in all the industries where women are employed. None but a woman can understand a woman's weakness, a woman's need." He adds that sanitary workshops under the eye of the clergy are soon to be opened at Whitechapel and elsewhere.

DEBATE IN THE SOCIAL ECONOMY DEPARTMENT.

The papers of this Department were briefly discussed by the members present; but no report was made of the debates, except in the case of a Brahman monk from Madras, who was invited by the chairman to speak of the criticism made by the Rev. S. Barnett on the poverty and public charity of British India. Vive Kananda, the monk mentioned,—who was on his way to the Parliament of Religions in Chicago, where he afterward spoke acceptably on the religion of his nation, being introduced by the chairman, said that the poverty of the people of India could scarcely be exaggerated, and had not been overdrawn by Mr. Barnett; nor was he at fault in criticising the measures of the government, by which the poor were overtaxed. The introduction of British manufactures into India had produced the sad effect of destroying in a great degree the native hand-manufactures; and by this the people were thrown back on agriculture for a subsistence, in circumstances that made it practically impossible to support themselves abundantly. Many of them had but one meal a day, and that of very bad quality oftentimes. The native princes, as a rule, did little to improve this condition; and the English government, though better than formerly in this respect, also took too little care of 280,000,000 of their poorest subjects. What was needed was instruction in modern industries and better modes of living; and his own errand in America was to learn from a people so practical lessons in these matters which he could impart to his people on his return. His life as a monk led him into all parts of India, and he had seen with his own eyes the wretched state of the people. Education was given to the rich, but very seldom to the poor; and such was the incessant toil of their days that they had little time or strength for anything but the supply of their physical wants in the plainest manner. Spiritually, they were well taught by their priests and monks; but, practically, they need

to learn much. The fall in silver had rather benefited than injured the poor; for it had reduced the importation of British manufactures, and given a little more variety to the industries of India. The condition of women in India did not appear to him so bad as the missionaries sometimes describe it. The burning of widows has long been forbidden by English law; yet many widows still commit suicide in other ways, on the death of their husbands, not being allowed to remarry, and finding life hard and poor. The practice of medicine is now common among the native Indians, but the poor could not profit much by that on account of their poverty.*

* Vive Kananda had previously spoken in the debate on the Silver Question, in the Finance Department, and was heard on both occasions with great attention, contributing much to the interest of the two meetings which he attended. He still (December 20) remains in the United States, though his countryman, P. C. Mozoomdar, who spoke at our Saratoga Meeting of 1883, and again visited America this year, has returned to India.

III. PAPERS OF THE JURISPRUDENCE DEPARTMENT.

DEBATE ON CRIME AND PUNISHMENT.

[OCCURRING THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 7.]

I. REFORMATION OR RETRIBUTION?

BY EUGENE SMITH, ESQ., OF NEW YORK.

The development of a system of criminal law is necessarily governed by its underlying *aim*. The question, What is the end aimed at in the punishment of crime? must be solved before any criminal code can possibly be constructed; for that solution, fixing the aim, forms the very basis upon which the superstructure and all its parts are reared. The determination of the end or aim of punishment, therefore, antedated all existing criminal law, and must of necessity have controlled its entire evolution.

Our criminal codes are of very ancient origin, and are the product of a continuous growth through the centuries. Hence we should expect to find their animating aim formulated in a remote antiquity. It requires no difficult research to justify this expectation: the end proposed in the treatment of crime and of criminals by public authority, in the maintenance of prisons, and in all the administrative machinery of criminal law, is patent in all the penal codes from the dawn of civilization down to our own days.

That end is *retributive punishment*. The offender against law has committed a wrong for which he must be made to suffer. The violated majesty of the law must be vindicated by an act of avenging justice. The criminal must atone for his crime by undergoing a painful and retributive experience,—an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.

This conception of vengeance as the animating principle of punishment is not written in the codes only: it is so imbedded in the language that it appears in all those common words which relate to the public treatment and repression of crime. The whole

criminal law is known as the *penal* law. Expiation for crime, the penalty of crime, retribution for crime, atonement for crime, are expressive, by the common usage of speech, of the end legitimately aimed at by the government in dealing with criminals. They suggest the return blow dealt the convict by the State. Even the special science devoted to the philosophical treatment of crime and of criminals was christened Penology, the science of penalties. Through this nomenclature, the retributive theory is traced back etymologically to the beginnings of civilization; and it has held universal sway down to the modern age. One change only crosses the current of history. Originally, the injured person and his relatives were the ministers of vengeance: later the State assumed the avenging function. But retribution has continued the avowed aim of all criminal law and the principle of its evolution through thousands of years.

It is interesting to observe the process of evolution upon this fundamental, cardinal theory of retributive justice. The more flagrant the crime, the heavier must be the penalty exacted. Beginning with petty misdemeanors, the price of expiation is a pecuniary fine. As the offence rises in magnitude, the retaliation, rising in proportional degree, becomes imprisonment for days, for years, for life, and finally culminates in the death penalty. In elaborating this system, the penal codes have assumed to classify all crimes under precise definitions and to attach to each crime its prescribed penalty, aiming to so apportion the severity of the penalty to the guilt of the crime as to make them equivalents. This equilibrium of guilt on one hand and suffering on the other has been presented as the ideal of retributive justice in criminal law.

The whole system is based upon certain assumptions which are utterly false: it assumes that the degree of guilt in an individual can be measured by the application of a generic definition to the offence he has committed. Definitions are necessarily general, crimes are always special; definitions deal with externals and the objective, guilt is always subjective and personal. To weigh the amount of criminality in any given case is a most subtle problem in psychology. It involves questions of environment, of heredity, of temptation, of moral strength or weakness in the offender, of native disposition and capacity,—innumerable subjective questions which are beyond the reach of human cognizance. The same is true of the penalties. If two cases of exactly equal guilt could

be discovered, it by no means follows that each should receive the same penalty. In the one case, the punishment, falling on a sensitive nature, might cause intense suffering and shame; in the other case, the same punishment might be borne with stoical indifference. In the one, it might lead to amendment; in the other, to defiance. The weight of the penalty as well as of the crime is a subjective quantity, not mensurable by any fixed code. The attempt to mete out proportional justice in cases infinitely varying, each case involving a complexity of recondite and unknown factors, through a system of exact definitions and fixed penalties, is the most desperately hopeless enterprise human ingenuity has ever undertaken.

If a code affixing prescribed penalties to defined crimes is defended not on retributive, but on prudential, grounds, as exerting a deterrent or preventive influence against the commission of crime, that position is equally untenable. If penalties purporting to be just are seen to be glaringly unjust, they cannot prove highly deterrent. For instance, a thief stealing a watch, in ignorance of its value, commits petit larceny, provided the watch is worth only \$24, and his punishment is imprisonment for not more than one year; but, if the watch is worth \$26, his offence is grand larceny, and punishable by imprisonment for not less than two nor more than five years; should the watch happen to be worth more than \$500, he must undergo an imprisonment of not less than five nor more than ten years. This instance fairly illustrates the unavoidable absurdity of attaching fixed penalties to defined crimes. The greater the value of the property stolen, the greater does the law presume the crime to be. Hence fixed lines of value must of necessity be drawn; and, in drawing those lines at \$25 and \$500, the fault is not so much with the law as with the vicious theory on which the law is based,—the theory, namely, that it is *possible* to measure human guilt by hard and fast rules. In the case supposed the thief stole the watch with no means of knowing its value; and yet that value, which is a pure accident, having no possible bearing on the extent of the crime, is made the sole measure of the retributive punishment.

Aside from the inherent impossibility of constructing an equitable code of law on the retributive plan, added difficulties of a practical kind arise in administering penal laws. The imperative necessity of providing some elasticity to the system of retributive punishment, so that it can be made to fit varying individual cases,

has been met by vesting a large discretion in the magistrate at the trial. Thus the penalty for defined offences is fixed by the law, sometimes, in an alternative form,—fine or imprisonment, or both, a fine not exceeding \$1,000; in other cases, the term of imprisonment is set between limits, as not less than two nor more than five years. In all these instances, the law softens its extreme rigor by committing to the magistrate a discretionary power, which can adapt itself to the exigencies of each case. Possibly, no better method of securing the required flexibility could be devised. But, unhappily, this expedient introduces into the problem of exact retribution, which was before so hopelessly insoluble, another personal equation dependent upon the character and temper of the judge himself. The judge in fixing the sentence is called upon to weigh the criminal culpability of the prisoner: no task could be more delicate or difficult; and yet, in most cases, the evidence furnishes absolutely no data, regarding the prisoner's history, training, environment, moral strength, upon which alone any intelligent judgment of the degree of his criminality can possibly be founded. It is a cruel responsibility which is thus forced upon the magistrate. However keen and conscientious, the judge is compelled to rely largely on vague impressions resting upon slight foundation, on unimportant incidents pointing in favor of or against the accused, on the outward appearance and bearing of the prisoner and the witnesses, and finally to make what cannot but be a haphazard dash at a sentence,—two years, five years. Moreover, the result must be influenced unconsciously by the personal temperament and mood of the judge himself, inclining him toward lenity or severity. The sentence may be two years in this county before one judge, and five years in the next county before another judge. And so the administration of justice is brought into grave popular disrepute. When the law assumes to deal out even-handed retribution, proportioned to the crime, with results that are widely divergent and irreconcilable, the public reverence for law becomes supplanted by distrust of its methods. The law ceases to be deterrent. No penal code, framed with the aim of balancing the penalty with the crime, or framed on the plan of attaching definite penalties to generic offences, can possibly fail to work a travesty of justice. It deals with factors of individual motive and experience that are unknown and unknowable; it aims at that which is inherently unattainable by human agencies.

A code enforcing definite penalties involves another conse-

quence, the dangerous tendency of which has been generally overlooked. If a crime can be expiated by suffering the prescribed penalty, that penalty marks the cost-price of the crime. The payment of the price, by undergoing the allotted term of imprisonment, exonerates the culprit, the State accepting the penalty as a complete atonement. The prisoner's account with the State is fully settled and cancelled; and he goes forth, however unfitted for freedom, to resume a place in the community. It follows, as an undesigned but actual consequence, that the penal code presents a price-list of crimes, and that, so far as the State is concerned, one can commit any crime the fixed penalty for which he is willing to pay. If vindictive passion prompts a desperado to poison his enemy, he can deliberately gratify that passion in New York, provided the gratification is worth to him a fine of not more than one thousand dollars, or imprisonment for a term of two to five years, or both (provided of course the poison does not work death). The code does not concern itself with the question whether it is safe to set at large again a criminal of such dangerous proclivities: it simply exacts the penalty, and then the prisoner becomes perfectly free to purchase anew from the State an indulgence of the same or some other passion, as the price may offer to his mind a desirable investment or a luxury worth buying. The sale of indulgences to commit sin, associated with the name of Tetzels, finds a practical analogue in the penal codes. Crimes are classified with assorted prices, which often seem cheap and attractive to the vicious. An obvious and fatal defect in the whole system of retributive punishments is the absolute discharge of the prisoner at the end of a fixed term, in utter disregard of the conditions which alone can justify such discharge. In setting a prisoner free, the questions whether he has atoned for his crime, whether his suffering has been a fair equivalent for his offence, whether retributive justice is satisfied, are speculative and immaterial. The only practical question is this: Is it *safe* to let this prisoner loose? That vital question the penal codes wholly ignore; and, so long as they rest on the theory of compensatory justice, they *must* ignore it.

The system of criminal law which I have depicted,—a system of definite penalties affixed to graduated crimes, all attuned to the key-note of retaliation,—a system which aspires to retributive justice, and which in practice yields results that are necessarily unjust, because dealing in every case with subjective factors of

human motive and experience that are beyond its cognizance,—this is the system which has held unbroken sway from time immemorial. The legitimacy of its retributive aim has been repeatedly challenged in the past by jurists who have yet been unable to affect the current of legislation. It has been reserved for these latter days, for the present generation, and for our own country to inaugurate what is destined to prove a radical revolution in criminal law,—a revolution which repudiates all retributive aim in punishment, and proposes a new philosophy both of crime and of the treatment of crime. The main object of the present paper is to present the nature and import of this revolution, the processes that have led to it, and the bases on which it rests.

The development of this new philosophy has resulted logically from a demonstration of the falsities and incongruities of the old system. The penal codes make the State an avenger of crime. This presents a false view of the province of government and of the relation of the State to the criminal. The State has no avenging function: it exists solely for the protection and well-being of society. Whatever may have been the ideals of rude and unchristianized ages, where the theory of retribution had its origin, vengeance is wholly alien to the attributes and the majesty of the modern State. According to the present standards of thought, the State, in dealing with the criminal, is animated by a single purpose, pursues but a single end. It puts the convict under restraint simply because the safety and well-being of the community require it. In doing this act, the State is moved by no sentiment of vengeance, aims at no retribution or expiation, but is impelled solely by the duty of protecting the public weal. Precisely the same considerations should govern the State in releasing the prisoner. He should be discharged when, and only when, such discharge is consistent with the well-being of the community.

It is in this matter of the convicts' discharge that we encounter the cardinal vice of the penal codes. In fixing the term of imprisonment, the codes proceed upon the several assumptions, all of which are false. They assume, first, that the duration of the imprisonment should depend upon the magnitude of the crime committed; second, that the magnitude of the crime can be measured by a code of definitions; third, that the proper period of confinement can be justly gauged in advance at the prisoner's trial; and, fourth, that, when the convict has served the term so

fixed, he ought to be discharged. It seems perfectly obvious that there is one, and only one, possible consideration that ought in every case to control the duration of the imprisonment and the period of discharge. That consideration is wholly independent of the magnitude of the crime, and it is one that all the penal codes absolutely ignore. The imprisonment should continue until it becomes *safe* for the community that the convict be released.

How is it possible to arrive at this factor of safety? It is only safe to release the prisoner when his character, motives, capacities, moral strength, have become such that, if intrusted with freedom, he will abstain from crime. How is it possible to establish a practical, working system that can deal in the case of every prisoner with such subjective and psychological elements? This has been the engrossing problem of modern prison science,—the problem, namely, to devise a plan by which to determine *when* a convict can safely be released, and hence to fix a rational rule to govern the duration of the imprisonment. The solution of this problem involves a profound inquiry into the nature of crime, and it has proceeded with laborious research and experiment. The new prison science is yet in its infancy, but there can be no doubt that it has clearly marked the lines along which the future will progress. I have space to indicate these only in the roughest outline.

Crime is seldom an isolated act in a human life. It is true that there are sporadic cases called crimes of passion, where some overmastering impulse produces a criminal action which is at variance with the rest of the life. But such instances, which are perfectly consistent with a sane and normal nature, are exceptional and of rare occurrence. They constitute, probably, less than five per cent. of the total convictions. Crime is, ordinarily, a *morbid* phenomenon,—the outgrowth and exponent of a vitiated character. Indulgence in vice undermines the control of will and conscience, and induces rapid degeneration, resulting in what is now distinctly recognized as the criminal type. The best definition of the criminal character I have met is that given by the Italian anthropologist, M. Ferri,—“a morbid deviation from the normal type.” As our own Mr. Brockway puts it, “The criminal is out of adjustment with society.” It is not merely the impairment of moral force that characterizes the criminal. His whole view of life, his aims and motives of action, all undergo perversion. He

comes to regard society, government, law, the rights, and established order of civilized life with a hostile eye. He becomes the enemy of industry and plodding labor. The immediate indulgence of desire overbalances, in his view, considerations of future advantage. He loses the common ambitions that govern every healthy mind,—to win a competence, to gain the esteem and good will of men, and finally to leave behind an honored memory. Whatever may be the psychological analysis of such a character, the criminal differs radically from common men. He is mal-developed, and has come to be thoroughly abnormal, distorted, morbid; and, as such, he becomes the fit subject for curative treatment.

Experiments made on a large scale have now demonstrated that criminals are peculiarly susceptible to therapeutic treatment. Judicious methods of training and discipline, scientifically applied, have achieved marvellous results. They have formed habits of industry, have discovered and developed latent capabilities, have dispelled morbid vapors and reawakened healthy ambitions, and have effected so radical a restoration of character that the convict, when discharged, abstains from crime by force of the same power and motives that restrain common men of the normal type. These results have been attained by individual treatment, and upon principles strictly scientific. In cases of exceptional bodily or mental degeneration, gymnastics, massage, and baths have been applied with almost miraculous success. There is no time to enter upon an explanation of the detailed methods of reformatory prison discipline. We have to do only with the results, and these have actually proved that a very large percentage (probably not less than eighty per cent.) of all convicts can with certainty be reclaimed from a life of crime. In evidence of this statement, which will seem startling to those not familiar with the subject, I can only refer to what has been really accomplished at Mettrai in France, by Obermaier in Munich, by Montesinos in Spain, by Captain Maconochie at Norfolk Island, by Sir Walter Crofton in Ireland, by Wichern at the Rauhe Haus in Germany, and by Brockway at Detroit and at Elmira. These results are so striking that the scientific methods which have produced them are bound in the end to secure universal adoption; and the time is surely coming when every prison will become a reformatory.

The views here presented regarding the nature of crime and the

relations of the State to the criminal have become familiar within recent years, and are those now accepted with substantial unanimity by leading juriconsults and by students and specialists in prison science. It is only within the present generation, however, that these views have been embodied in actual legislation, and have found practical enforcement in the measure known as the Indeterminate Sentence for Crime. Under this system, the prisoner found guilty receives a sentence of imprisonment, not for a definite or prescribed term: the imprisonment is to continue until the prisoner shall give satisfactory evidence of amendment, and of his fitness for freedom. The necessary complement of this sentence is a reformatory system of prison training and discipline, tending to rehabilitate the convict, and furnishing a reliable test of his advancement. The final adjudication upon the convict's fitness to be intrusted with freedom is committed to a board of freemen in conjunction with one or more of the officers of the prison.

The scheme of the indeterminate sentence thus outlined was first established in the Elmira Reformatory in this State, in the year 1877. It has since been adopted by the States of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Colorado, and has already become a permanent feature of American jurisprudence. It has been a silent revolution, coming not with observation; but it implies profound changes, reaching to the very rudiments of criminal law.

As the first and most radical of these changes, the system of the indeterminate sentence completely reverses the attitude of the State toward the criminal. The State is no longer an avenging power, pursuing the wrong-doer with vindictive purpose, inflicting pain as retaliatory punishment, and, when its rage is satiated, relaxing its hold. The State becomes, rather, a benign power, seeking the prisoner's reclamation, holding him firmly under its restraint and discipline until he has gained the habit of self-control and the moral strength which may empower him to abstain from crime, and applying the strongest possible stimulus by the hope of freedom.

The indeterminate sentence treats the criminal as belonging to the defective, abnormal classes who are the wards of government. By the true psychology of crime, the criminal demands governmental care and treatment on the same grounds with the lunatic, the idiot, the blind, and dumb. He is a defective, mal-developed,

abnormal being, differing from the other classes, which are more distinctly recognized as the defective classes, in two particulars. It is more dangerous to the community that he should be at large, because of the direct injury he does and because of the corrupting influence he exerts; and, in the second place, he is more amenable to correct treatment, and more easily curable than any other class of the public wards.

In including the criminal among the defective classes, permit me to anticipate an objection. This classification is perfectly consistent with the moral responsibility and accountability of the criminal for his crime. Heredity and environment exert an unquestioned influence; but it is doubted whether they alone have ever made one a criminal by necessity. There is always a third factor,—the consenting free will, which is the determining and responsible agent. But this primal moral responsibility does not affect the duty of the State toward the criminal. An attack of delirium tremens, for which the patient is morally responsible, demands humane treatment and cure not less than an instance of congenital disease; and, while the criminal remains accountable before God for the abnormal and helpless degeneration into which he has deliberately fallen, it is the duty of humanity and the interest of the State to uplift him, and at any cost to protect society and himself from his undoing.

The relation of the State to the criminal finds its closest analogy in the parental relation. Paternal punishment, administered vindictively in vengeful passion, produces sullenness and defiance. Its tendency is always anti-reformative. Punishment serves a useful purpose only when it proceeds from a benign power, acting with a beneficent purpose, aiming at amendment and cure.

It is the crowning virtue of the indeterminate sentence that it applies a rational rule to determine the duration of imprisonment in place of the arbitrary and haphazard sentence of the penal codes. To condemn a convict to a fixed term of imprisonment is not less irrational than to send a lunatic to an asylum for just three years or a small-pox patient to a hospital for just three weeks; and then, when the preordained period has expired, to thrust forth the lunatic, though in acute mania, and to turn out the patient, though too enfeebled to stand alone. The indeterminate sentence, with the reformatory discipline which is its necessary complement, retains the prisoner until he is *cured*; and experience has proved that the reformative methods of modern prison science

yield a test of the convicts' moral progress as accurate and reliable as the physician's diagnosis of a patient's recovery from physical disease.

There will always be a residuum of convicts who cannot be reclaimed by any human agency. These incorrigible criminals must be confined for life: the public safety demands it, and will admit no remedy less drastic. The indeterminate sentence, moreover, is not applicable to all crimes. Those offences known as capital are beyond its scope, and must be excepted from its operation. The commission of such an offence is a public injury so profound and irremediable that the perpetrator, when once convicted, should never again be let loose. The danger of a possible repetition of the crime may well be computed to outbalance any evidence of probable reformation.

If the forecast presented by this paper seem optimistic, I do not lose sight of the very serious obstacles that bar the progress of the new prison science. They are obstacles that seem likely long to defer the final triumph. It is sufficient to refer to two. The first is the existing subjection of the prisons to political and partisan control. Such control is no less fatal to the successful development of a scientific system in a prison than it is in a hospital, an asylum, or a college. How this incubus of partisan domination can ever be thrown off is one of the most difficult and most hopeless problems with which modern civilization has to deal. The other impediment consists in public opinion nurtured in the arch-heresy of retributive punishment. Under the blight of that heresy the public is very jealous lest the criminal should receive a punishment which is more than a just retaliation for the crime. Hence it has hampered the indeterminate sentence, wherever it has been adopted, with a maximum and a minimum limitation of the term of imprisonment. Hence it is that in every State adopting this system, except Colorado, the pronouncing of the sentence has been made permissive only, and not mandatory on the courts; and in every such State, except New York, the sentence has been limited to first offenders or to minor crimes. Hence it is that the popular mind shrinks from the imprisonment for life of an incorrigible criminal, and revolts at the detention of a petty thief for ten years, while a burglar may be released in two years, the former proving obdurate and the latter responsive under reformatory treatment.

Public opinion, however, is undergoing rapid transformation.

The philosophical view of crime as the manifestation of an abnormal character, which can be cured under a scientific system of prison discipline, is gaining general acceptance. I cannot believe that the time is far distant when the theory of retribution, as an end in the treatment of criminals, will be classed among mediæval errors, when the whole machinery of criminal law and of prisons will be accepted as designed solely to yield protection to society against crime, and to reclaim criminals by whatever prudential means and at whatever cost may prove best adapted to the end.

Then the public will demand that prison discipline shall be made therapeutic, and not vindictive; that cure shall set the limit to the duration of imprisonment; that the incurable shall be confined for life; that no prisoner shall ever be turned loose without a reasonable assurance that he will not renew his depredations upon the community; that every prison shall be made a reformatory, and shall demonstrate the scientific value of its discipline by the reformed life of its inmates after their discharge. The old system has wholly failed to repress crime: it has fostered crime; it has made its discharged convicts the most dangerous class in the community; it has proved as ruinous in practice as it is false in theory. The new prison science is the hope of the future.

2. A REPLY TO MR. EUGENE SMITH'S PAPER ON "RETRIBUTION IN ITS RELATIONS TO CRIME."

BY JAMES M'KEEN, ESQ., OF NEW YORK.

In substantially admitting, as Mr. Smith has done, that the retributive idea has been the basis of criminal codes hitherto, he assumes the burden of affirmatively making out the proposition that the idea should be abandoned. Conceding the force and felicity of much of his reasoning, I remain myself unconverted to his theory that retribution should be eliminated from penal codes. In claiming, however, that the principle of retribution has a proper place in the framing of penal laws, there is not involved adherence to the savage notions of appeasing the wrath of angry gods, any more than in promulgating theism there would be involved a defence of the deities of Olympus. The suggestion in his essay that a change in the fundamental ideas of criminal law may come like a change from the Ptolemaic to Copernican system of astronomy seems to me predicated upon a false and illusory analogy. Changes in conceptions of the physical relations of things come with increasing knowledge, and such changes may be sudden and great. Social movements do not make such leaps. The ordinary human attributes and faculties have been so constant through the whole period of recorded history, and have so long been the subject of observation and study, that we may still go back to a remote past and find in the philosophy of those times authoritative utterances on social questions,—times whose corresponding fabric of physical science retains no longer a vestige of its existence. Thus the great Greek dramatists are pregnant with illustrations of ethical principles as true and pertinent to-day as when they were first written.

If the question is to be decided upon the dicta of the great and recognized leaders of thought in all time, I unhesitatingly claim an overwhelming weight of authority in favor of retaining the retributive idea. Thus Socrates said, "The greatest of evils is for

a guilty man to escape punishment, for he who is punished and suffers retribution suffers justly." And Kant said, "Reason invariably attaches the idea of blameworthiness and punishment to the idea of guilt." Even Sir Henry Maine concedes that the two great instincts at the bottom of criminal law are "to avenge and to deter." Saint Augustine had frequent occasion to combat the Christian doctrine of benevolence, which, as Gibbon suggests, did much to sap the foundations of the Roman Empire. Thus Saint Augustine taught that the greatest good which can be rendered to the unjust is justice, and that not to punish is not to return good for evil. He would have written the Golden Rule, "Do unto others as others *ought* to do unto you." In our own time Mr. Justice Lilly, speaking out of a wide experience of criminal magistracy in India, makes this terse statement: "Resentment at wrong and desire of retribution upon the wrong-doer are primordial principles as deeply implanted in our nature as pity or the desire of self-preservation." Even Bentham, the very apostle of modern utilitarianism, alleges that punishment becomes the safeguard of society by intimidating the ill-disposed and reassuring the innocent, and (no doubt inconsistently with the general tenor of his teachings) Bentham in one connection suggests the modern adoption of what is very much like the old *lex talionis*, which our modern reformers so much condemn; for he suggests a code which shall poison poisoners, burn incendiaries, drown inundators, and beat wife-beaters arrayed in their wives' attire. Thus old human instincts frequently, in the philosophers themselves, get the better of the idealist fancies, and shatter the false logic of intellectual processes. I respect the memory of a distinguished judge in the State of Maine who once said that, if a criminal escaped into the desert, and if it were assured that he never again would return to afflict mankind, he nevertheless should be followed into the desert, and made to suffer the penalty of the law, so that the majesty of justice might be maintained. Indeed, in some accordance with such a notion the United States government extended its strong arm to the borders of Libya, and brought back John H. Surratt, not to reform him, but to hang him.

It is not necessary to dissent from the general proposition that in the administration of penal systems a dominant purpose should be the reformation of the criminal. But what is reformation? What is to be the moral consciousness of the reformed culprit? Must you not inculcate a quick perception of moral distinctions?

Is it not of the essence of moral perception to connect the idea of suffering or pain with the idea of wrong-doing? We may not venture upon a theological controversy over the doctrine of the atonement, but the persistence of the doctrine certainly shows that the idea of expiation for wrong is firmly implanted in the minds of men. This idea of expiation is said by theorists of Mr. Eugene Smith's school to be a mere savage survival. Well, all that we are, according to modern science, is an aggregation of savage survivals; and the continued survival of certain instincts shows that they are still essential to the life and progress of the race. And is this instinct for expiation something which is out of harmony with modern life? Was Dr. Johnson merely the victim of a savage survival in himself, when he stood bareheaded in the hot market-place amid the gibes of the bystanders to do penance in his old age for a youthful act of disobedience? I venture to maintain, on the contrary, that this act of self-inflicted pain shows the existence in him of a highly developed moral sense. Shakspeare repeatedly inculcates the retributory idea. Take, for example, the character of Angelo, a man who with clear intelligence, in the brief plenitude of his power, knowingly yielded to temptation. When confronted with the supposed consequences of his guilt, he says:—

“I am sorry that such sorrow I procure,
And so deep sticks it in my penitent mind
That I crave death more willingly than mercy.
'Tis my deserving, and I do entreat it.”

Indeed, you have the first dawning of a convict's reformation, when he admits that his punishment is deserved. The very method by which he regains self-respect is in paying the penalty. The assertion by Mr. Smith that the penalty becomes a purchase price for crime seems to me foolishly fallacious. The sale of indulgences was the *reductio ad absurdum* for a vicious system of a corrupt priesthood. In none of our penal codes is the suffering of the penalty made to justify or warrant crime. The law, if it can, lays hold of an intending perpetrator and prevents the act. I venture also to maintain that the instinct for vengeance survives because it is essential. Are we to stand by and see a helpless woman or child brutally insulted, and not yield to an impulse to chastise the perpetrator of the insult? Are we merely to seize him, and hand him over for treatment and reformation by a board

of wiseacres? In the general interests of peace and public order a well-organized society, in its corporate character, undertakes the punishment of offenders. Thus are superseded the duty and practice of private vengeance. But, whenever the government abdicates this function, you find the old instinct reasserting itself in individuals.

There is great danger, as Bishop Butler found to his cost, in reasoning from natural law to moral law; but some of the processes of natural law are instructive on the point. By natural law I mean those operations from which the conscious influence of human intelligence is excluded. The burnt child dreads the fire. The natural education of the living organism is by the discovery that certain courses of conduct destructive to the organism cause pain and suffering. In other words, penalties are attached to violations of what we call natural law. Some of these infractions of natural law have in them little or nothing of what goes by the name of the moral element. But the moral element comes in when the conduct is seriously injurious to the organism. In trifling instances natural law is habitually violated and the penalty is suffered, in a short cut to some compensating greater pleasure beyond.

Human law comes into play when men in societies find that restraints must be put on individuals for the common good. But the larger nature includes man and includes societies; and it thus becomes, in the larger sense, natural for us to attach pain and suffering to the violation of human law. The lesser nature often fails to supply the corrective, because time and again what to the individual is entirely in harmony with the individual's relation to the lesser nature is out of harmony with his relation to his fellow-men. In order, therefore, that the educational process fitting men to live in societies may go on, the societies must inflict the pain and suffering; and these must have a proper relation to the violation of the law. Progress in penal legislation is very largely in making more accurate the adjustment of the penalties to crime. This modern notion that punishment is to be fitted to the criminal rather than to the crime overlooks the deterrent effect of punishment. It overlooks the principle that prevention is always much better than cure. All history refutes the assertion that men are not kept from the commission of crime by fear of the penalty. Oftentimes punishment should be inflicted, even though it be manifest that it is not needed for the reformation of the offender. Take a concrete

instance. It cannot be supposed that James D. Fish was rendered any less harmless to society by being kept shut up in Auburn State Prison for several years following his conviction of participation in the Grant and Ward frauds. A board of experts would probably have found that he would be made worse rather than better by any such course of penal treatment. But who can deny that the exemplary effect of the infliction of the penalty in his case was efficacious? And beyond and apart from such deterrent and exemplary effect a public, not unenlightened, were made to feel increased confidence in the impartial administration of justice. You cannot adopt your exclusively reformatory idea and exclude the retributory idea without inevitably impairing public confidence in your government.

Of course, it is measurably true that right and wrong are relative terms. The same act is often said to be right in one situation and wrong in another; but, after all, this is verbal inaccuracy, because the environment of an act is properly part of that act, and there are certain immutable principles of right and wrong. You cannot conceive a community of sentient beings in which some do not differ from others; and some will be nearer than others to an ideal perfection. If there be a heaven peopled with archangels, some of them deserve to sit nearer the throne than others. It has been said that Niagara makes no sound unless there are ears to hear it. In like sense, it may be said there is no justice unless there are persons to be governed. But the word "reality" is quite as applicable to fundamental abstract ideas as it is to the fleeting phenomena of sense-perception. As well might you say there would be no mathematics if there were no children to learn the multiplication-table.

Some philosophers, who deny that retribution or vengeance has any proper place in what they call human government, concede a place to both in what they call divine government. Vengeance is said to be reserved to the Almighty. This reminds me of John Austin's utilitarianism. His devotion to the thought that sovereignty must be the foundation of moral law forbade his adoption of the Greatest Happiness rule as such foundation. But he said our only way of discovering God's moral law is by observing what courses of conduct promote the greatest happiness of the greatest number. So it may be said that we have no way of learning what the divine government of moral beings is except by observing and studying those instincts which have been implanted or have been

developed in man. In ordinary legal parlance, the "acts of God" are so far from possessing any moral element that they are commonly classed with acts of the public enemy. If either vengeance or retribution be properly allowed to men's conception of divine law, if Milton's Lucifer was righteously, as apparently he was wrathfully, hurled out of heaven, then it should be the aim of humanly devised law to follow, however imperfectly, the same principle. Because justice cannot be perfectly wrought is no reason for abandoning the effort to work justice.

A study of the historic development of penal codes seems to me to confirm the notion that penalties should be adjusted on the retributive plan. Such an adjustment has been the essence of the change from despotism to law. It was the distinctive glory of both Beccaria and Montesquieu that they urged the change from the mediæval system to the modern system, that they urged prescribed penalties proportioned to defined offences instead of merely handing over the delinquents to the despotic caprice of the magistrates.

In practical effect, the adoption of the views urged in Mr. Smith's paper would hand over every convict for indefinite treatment by the State. If, for the sake of argument, we admit that this is the best way to cure or reform the convicts, how does it affect the peace and comfort of those who are not convicts? No doubt laws are made for the delinquents, but they are primarily made for the peace and comfort of the well-behaved. Every man may well fear that under the pressure of some overpowering temptation he may violate the law. Is it not well that he should know the measure, or, at least, some extreme measure, of the punishment which would follow? Would it promote the peace and comfort of those of us here assembled to find ourselves living under a penal code which for any serious infraction of law would commit us indefinitely to prison? Would it greatly alleviate the discomfort to be assured that we should be set at liberty whenever, in the judgment of the officials, we should be cured of criminal propensities? The whole struggle for free government has been the struggle against such a system. A despotism is the best government, if you have a mild, intelligent, beneficent despot; but human experience has demonstrated that such despots are too rare. For myself, I would much rather run the risk of injury from the premature discharge of unreformed criminals than to risk my own indefinite incarceration for crime. The Stoics condemned so immeasurably

all wrong-doing that they made no gradation of offences. Hobbes says of them, "They held it as great a crime to kill a hen as to kill a father." There is in Mr. Smith's theories a recurrence to this fallacy of the Stoics. Neither is the treatment of crime analogous to the treatment of disease. No doubt there are certain criminal propensities which resemble the symptoms of disease, and which are amenable to treatment. It is the proper work of a well-ordered prison system to treat the inmates for the cure of such propensities. But under a free government men cannot be convicted for propensities. They can be convicted only for specific acts. Justice exacts reparation and retribution for specific acts of wrong-doing. "Punishment," says Hobbes, "is an evil inflicted by public authority on him that hath done that which is adjudged by the same authority to be a transgression of the law, to the end that the will of men may thereby the better be disposed to obedience."

Even in the management of the prisons themselves, and in the very process of attempted reformation, it has been considered essential to make more and more exact the apportionment of prison penalties to infractions of prison rules. Thus in the latest report of the National Prison Association's Standing Committee on Prison Discipline, presented at Chicago this summer by Captain J. W. Pope, he takes occasion to say:—

The most important part of disciplinary treatment consists in the scrupulous exactitude of absolute obedience to all the minutiae of the rules; to the exact regulation of the daily life of the convicts by rewards or minor punishments invariably allotted according to the well-known rules, so that the inmates of the prison may feel sure that penalties must fall upon infractions of rules as invariably as the laws of Nature visit evils upon those violating her laws. Thus the inmate has forced upon him, from his entrance into prison, the distinct conception that he is under the absolute government of law, and not of the caprice or whim of the authorities.

The claim made that family discipline is not retributive is illusory. In the family a despotism is possible, because the period of subjection is limited and the dangers incident to despotism are checked by the natural affection of the parent. But even in the family punishment should be commensurate with the wrong. Nothing so quickly saps the child's reverence for the parent as the discovery of caprice in the infliction of punishment. Among

the many foolish things repeated so often that they come to be measurably accepted, as if true, is the saying that a parent never should be angry with a child. I maintain, on the contrary, that no words better than anger and wrath express the natural and proper sentiment felt by a parent or any one else in perceiving a child commit a mean or selfish act. Preachers of so-called Christian benevolence often forget the wrath and scorn with which the founder of the faith drove the hucksters from the temple.

The proposed change in our penal methods from the retributive to the corrective is not entirely without a precedent in the history of English law, and that precedent is not one which can be cited by the advocates of the change as an authority in their favor. I refer to that singular episode in the struggle between priestcraft and secular power,—“benefit of clergy.” This is so foreign to all American systems of law that I may perhaps be pardoned for assuming that the subject is not entirely familiar even to educated Americans. Indeed, only a few years ago a distinguished district attorney in this State, having it rather vaguely in his mind that certain English criminals were denied “benefit of clergy,” took occasion, in an address to a jury, to laud the superior benevolence of American criminal procedure, “which,” he said, “denied to no man the consolations of religion”! The English “benefit of clergy,” in fact, began in the successful claim of the church authorities that the secular judges should not punish clerics. The common-law judges yielded to the power of the Church. For convenience it came presently to be assumed and conceded that any convict who could read was a “cleric.” The law, harsh as it was in those days, was so far tempered with mercy that, if it was found, even under the gallows, that a culprit could read, he was branded, and handed over to the ordinary and escaped execution, so that it became a profitable perquisite of the jailers to teach convicts to read between the time of their conviction and the time assigned for their execution. In the famous statute “De Clero” of Edward III., which first definitely codified this curious system, it is expressly recited that the archbishops have promised to establish a disciplinary and corrective course of treatment for clergyable felons. That efforts were made in that line cannot be doubted, but so manifestly disastrous was the custom that gradually and increasingly Parliament was forced “to deny benefit of clergy” to certain classes of felonies. For several centuries the common language of acts of Parliament imposing punishment upon felons

was that the crime should no longer be "clergyable," or that certain specified classes of offenders should thenceforth be denied the "benefit of clergy." These enactments generally had the effect of inflicting the death penalty, since that penalty, additional to forfeiture of goods, had been usually attached by the common law to all serious offences. Hence the anomaly that English legislation has been charged with the frightful increase of death penalties, resulting in the condition of things which so wrought upon the benevolent mind of Sir Samuel Romilly and his fellow-reformers. An excessive and absurd correctional system had been abrogated in such clumsy fashion that a properly adjusted retributive system had not taken its place.

But even if the retributive idea be erroneous, even if it be true that the Goddess of Justice does not demand sacrifice; still the fact remains that the multitude of modern mankind, and a considerable proportion of mankind confessedly enlightened in other matters, do not think so. They continue to demand vengeance upon wrong-doers. Such a state of mind—so be it such a darkening of understanding—is a fact wherewith the social scientist must deal. Wealth rests upon what are the actual desires of men. The political economist oftentimes may be puzzled to discover what pleasure the mass of men get out of things which to his educated taste are repulsive, but he is compelled to accept the fact of the prevalence of the desires as essential data in his computations. Government may indeed be itself a reformatory agency, but the changes in moral ideas which it induces go by slow degrees. In accepting popular government as on the whole the best, we accept it with the limitation and, if you please, the imperfection that it will not rise higher than its source, which is the consent of the governed. The Ship of State of a popular government is not yet equipped with steam power which enables it to defy the winds and waves of popular belief. If it would move, it must shape its sails to the favoring breezes of public opinion.

If to any man of our time, we must concede to the late Dr. Wayland, possessed as he was of the credentials of exalted Christian character, authority to speak on questions of practical ethics. And, great as was his faith in the efficacy of benevolence, still he was led to say in his summary of the practical morals of government: "A people may be so entirely surrendered to the influence of passion, and so feebly influenced by moral restraint, that a government which relied upon moral power would not exist for a

day. In this case, a subordinate and inferior principle yet remains, the principle of fear."

What he conceded to be true of certain peoples is, unfortunately, continuously true of a great number of individuals in the best of modern societies. The mesh of your net must be so small as to catch the smallest of the fish which you desire to catch. Your code must be drawn to deal with the lowest grades of offenders.

But I would not, and do not, rest my contention for the retributory idea upon this low plane of argument. I believe that suffering in greater or less degree should be made to follow wrongdoing. I accede to the essential soundness of the teaching of the old divines, that the way to avoid the consequences of sin is to stop sinning.

[As summing up the questions above debated, we insert here the following paper, by one of our Directors.]

3. MODERN METHODS OF TREATING CRIMINALS.*

BY PROF. CHARLES A. COLLIN, OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

If by the term "criminals" we mean every man who has ever done an act which the law declares a crime, my subject is very broad; for it includes every lawyer who has ever told a wilful lie in any one of his many affidavits, every newspaper man who has ever published or contributed to the publication of a libel, every business man who has ever induced the sale or exchange of property by a false representation. If we also include under the term "criminals" every man who, without a technical violation of the law, has accomplished the practical result of a crime, every man who has lawfully cheated his neighbor, every man who has lawfully robbed another by superior wisdom and shrewdness rather than by superior physical force, every man who has contributed money to a campaign committee with the moral certainty that part of it is to be expended by others in violation of the election laws, — if all such as these are to be classed as criminals, then my subject may be fairly translated "Modern Methods of Treating Ourselves and Each Other." In a certain sense it is literally true that we are all criminals. If we wish to keep clear views of the subject, we must avoid the fogs which hang about the Pharisaic line of approach. Criminals are not another order of beings: they are human. They are not another caste of human beings, between whom and us there is a great gulf fixed: they are men and brethren. The criminal disposition is essentially an unwillingness or inability to observe the social order, to work in the social harness. Every age, our own included, has classed among its criminals a very few of its best men, too good for the social order of the time, and many of its worst men, worse than the social order.

But the broad field opened by my subject, as thus interpreted, belongs to the clerical rather than the legal profession. I shall discuss only the comparatively small number of criminals who

*An address delivered at the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Prison Association, Boston, Dec. 10, 1893, and phonographically reported for the *Christian Register* of Boston.

have been caught, prosecuted, and convicted, and such treatment only as may be administered to the comparatively small number of convicts committed to our prisons; and even then my subject is all too broad.

Society has never been wholly cruel nor wholly kind to its prison convicts. There is no absolutely new manifestation of human nature in modern times, no absolutely new theory of the treatment of criminals. But, in historical order, three prevailing theories of the object of punishment for crime stand out with reasonable clearness.

First, is the *lex talionis*,—an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth; with the logical accuracy of primitive justice, making the punishment exactly fit the crime; for each degree of crime awarding a corresponding degree of pain. And then, justice having been logically satisfied, the criminal goes free, regardless of whether he will thereafter be better or worse, more dangerous or less dangerous to society by reason of his punishment. This theory is at the foundation of the definite sentence for a fixed term, which is still the standard method of sentencing convicts to imprisonment.

The second theory in historical order, still held by many prison reformers, is that the object of punishment for crime is the protection of society against the criminal. Recognizing that man, who cannot see the heart, cannot mete out exact justice to his fellow-man; that "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord," the rational utilitarian adopts the sound theory that the strong and order-loving many can and must protect themselves against the weak and disorderly few.

The third theory, held by the most advanced prison reformers, is that the object of punishment for crime is the improvement of the offender. This theory is based upon the true Christian doctrine that a convict in prison is a man and a brother, not a wild beast, *hostis humani generis*; that we who are strong should be disciplining and healing physicians to those who are weak, diseased, and disorderly; not hesitating to cut and burn where surgery is needed, to administer unwelcome discipline and healing discomforts, but tenderly binding up the wounds of scientific surgery, and refreshing the famished souls with human sympathy when the natural appetite is awakened for the true food of the soul.

I have no controversy, either on theological or practical grounds,

with those who still hold to either of the first two theories. To the man of Calvinistic temperament, whose sense of justice is not satisfied with punishment which benefits the offender, and seems more like reward than penalty, who demands pain and suffering proportionate to the heinousness of the offence, whose mind is set on degeneration instead of regeneration, I say there is no pain and suffering more severe than that which necessarily accompanies the healing process. The lazy man is most severely punished by being compelled to work, the drunkard by being compelled to keep sober, the dissolute and unclean man by being compelled to live cleanly. If retributive suffering be the prime motive in the treatment of criminals, suffering enough to satisfy the utmost demands of retributive justice, if there be any such justice, will be found in the cuttings and burnings of healing surgery, in the pressing and crowding of the man of deformed nature and dissolute habits into the strait-jacket of righteous forms of living.

To the cold utilitarian who places the protection of society as the limit of the right and the basis of the duty of society to punish for crime, I say, the transformation of the criminal into a serviceable member of society, is the most effective protection of society against him. The mere temporary caging of the criminal, as a wild beast, is a protection to society for the time being, it is true. But if, when he is let out of his cage, he is worse than when he went in, more inhuman, more brutal, more bitterly disposed toward his fellows; he may be more wary and cunning thereafter, but he will be more dangerous to society than before he was caged. The true conception of the functions of a prison is that it shall be a hospital for the treatment of depraved bodies and diseased souls.

The improvement of the offender does not mean the reform or reformation of the offender, in the sense in which those two terms are often abused, as meaning a guarantee against further commission of crime. Where is the man for whom such guarantee can be given? The improvement of the criminal by prison treatment means no such reformation. Right prison treatment promises the establishment of regular habits of physical health and labor; increased ability to live by orderly methods; an awakening and strengthening of impulses to orderly life; a mind compelled to habits of thought in new lines; a purified and renovated body; and corresponding contributions to the health of the soul. The rightly managed prison can promise some such improvement and

strengthening. It cannot promise what the Church has never been able to promise its most devoted saints,—absolute imperviousness to evil temptations or absolute security against ever falling under their power. The cause of prison reform has sometimes suffered from the exaggerated claims and promises of its over-zealous friends. By like counter-exaggerations, occasional relapses into crime by criminals who have graduated from reformatory treatment have been represented as demonstrating the futility of all efforts for the improvement of convicts.

The most critical period for the prison convict is the few months immediately following his discharge. Upon these few months all theories of prison reform, all methods of prison treatment, must be focussed. The key-note of prison reform is preparation of the prisoner for this period.

At this critical juncture the definite sentence, for a fixed term, suddenly drops him on the world with a new suit of clothes and a few dollars in his pocket. How many graduates of Harvard University sent out in such fashion, with all the advantages of reputation, ability, and character which Harvard can give, if compelled at once to maintain themselves, without friends of whom they could borrow,—how many Harvard graduates could get through the next two years after graduation without being compelled to beg or steal? What, then, can you expect of the suddenly discharged prison convict, with the firmest of good resolutions, as many at that moment have, but intoxicated with the sudden sense of freedom, with friends, indeed, but only such as beckon him to haunts of vice and criminal ways of earning a living, with none others of whom he can borrow, and with no satisfactory references to previous employers? Is it exaggeration to say that the definite sentence, in most cases, compels the discharged convict to commit new crimes before he can earn an honest living? Borrow he cannot. If he begs, he is a criminal vagrant. If he steals, he must be very careful; for he will be the first suspected.

With such manner of discharging the convict, the wisest prison treatment is liable to be largely thrown away. It is good while the prisoner is in prison, but must inevitably fail in the large majority of cases to carry him over that critical period during which he is to re-establish, or, for the first time to establish, habits of honest living, and a new record for future references.

The first principle of prison reform is to radically change such manner of discharging the convict. Probationary release on

parole, which the indeterminate sentence makes possible, is the foundation corner-stone of any rational, scientific method of treating criminals. Under the workings of this principle, the prisoner scarcely knows when he is discharged, his discharge is so gradual. The extension of liberties to the convict within the prison walls is cautiously widened into slight liberties outside, each time with a specific errand to perform and return. Then regular employment is found for him outside, with a system of reports and supervision; but he is still a prisoner held by an invisible elastic chain, which may draw him back again within the prison walls, at any moment, upon serious indications of criminal tendencies, without waiting for the commission of new crimes. The strongest possible pressure is thus brought to bear upon him at this most critical period, while he is still a prisoner outside the prison walls, to re-enforce the habits of honest labor which were cultivated while he was within. If he is successful for the first six months or year, he is fairly launched on an orderly career. He has made the beginning of a record of honest character, and we may now safely grant him absolute discharge from further remedial treatment in the prison hospital, and bid him God-speed in all good works.

With such opportunity and external pressure to gain an honest living during the prolonged period of gradual discharge, the proper prison treatment preparatory to discharge outlines itself easily and clearly. Besides opportunity and external pressure, there must be ability and disposition to earn an honest living. The prison should not wholly let go its grasp of the prisoner until, after as many trials as may be necessary, he has demonstrated his ability and disposition to observe the social order, and can be warranted as broken and trained to work in the social harness.

The average criminal, upon his entrance into prison, needs to be placed at once in the hands of the physician and physical trainer, not merely to get the effects of whiskey, tobacco, or other dissipations out of his system, but to get him in condition for his work. The gymnasium or its substantial equivalent is as necessary to the well-equipped prison as the workshop, school-room, or chapel.

Having got the man in physical condition, he should be kept at work during nearly the entire time of his waking hours at the highest gait of activity of which he is reasonably capable. His ordinary energies should be doubled, and still so fully occupied that he has little chance to think of anything besides his work.

But his work must be laid out in two lines,—the shop and the school.

The necessity of work in the shops for successful prison discipline, industrial education, and profit, is generally admitted. But there are many pious and intelligent men who are afraid to educate criminals in the schools. This fear is due largely to the survival of the old tradition of criminal heroics, doubtless once true, when the best and bravest men were such dangerous criminals that they were burned at the stake or hung and quartered as traitors against a tyrant. But the modern criminal is rather a sneak, a coward, and, *pro tanto*, a fool; for modern criminality is stupid folly or unbridled passion. Intellectual education, instead of making the criminal more dangerous, makes him less dangerous, because it necessarily tends to reduce his criminality,—to make him more of a man, indeed, and thereby less of a criminal. Intellectual education, of necessity, broadens the mind and reveals the folly of crime. Moreover, healthy, vigorous, intellectual activity cannot be otherwise than morally invigorating.

The mind of the prisoner must be intensely occupied in new channels, with the least possible room for his old habits of thought. While he is working with his hands, his mind must not be left free to moon and dream over his old crimes and to scheme new ones: he must be given school work, which will occupy his mind in spite of himself. The school education in prison should be so practical that the prisoner can appreciate its value; but it must be so severe that successful passage of school examinations will require the utmost intellectual struggle of which he is capable.

But first, last, and all the time he must obey the prison regulations, he must observe the laws of his environment. The great mass of men in our prisons are young men,—overgrown, stupid, vicious, unbroken colts. They must be broken to harness; and usually this means severe physical compulsion,—not a constant nagging, but scientifically administered corporal punishment. The scientific surgeon seems cruel; and some sentimental people think his profession must make him hard-hearted, that its influence on the surgeon must be brutalizing. Physical compulsion in prisons there must be. I believe in making it short, sharp, and effective. The solitary cell, low diet, the dull, slow, prolonged tortures which the sentimentalists advocate, are the most permanently injurious and degrading methods of corporal compulsion that are practised in any of our modern prisons.

But under prison treatment, as I have thus far described it, the prisoner is still a slave, driven to his work, driven to his school, by a slave-driver: whereas the improving value of work and study and behavior depends chiefly upon their spontaneity. Until lawful activity becomes spontaneous, ability and opportunity count for but little. How is spontaneity to be aroused under the *quasi*-slavery of physical compulsion? The same hopes and impulses must be stirred by substantially the same rewards and penalties as you and I experience outside of prison. Not only may better food and special privileges follow better work, study, and behavior, but, under the indeterminate sentence, the hope of the speedier release, or the fear of the prolonged imprisonment, may stimulate to healthful activity.

In addition, give the prisoner an opportunity to earn a little money for himself by extra work, or specially meritorious work and behavior, and you accustom him to the play of the same motives which impel an honest man to earn an honest living. This element in the new prison law of New York has proved of inestimable value, as the prison wardens themselves testify. Said Warden Brush of the Sing Sing prison, "With the chance of earning some money for himself, to stimulate hope, I can restore the man actually dying, physically dying from despair and hopelessness, back to healthy life." The instinct of acquisition is one of the most powerful motives, and can often be aroused in men of baser nature when nothing else will start them into spontaneous activity.

I have dealt only with the mechanism and methods of prison treatment. Behind these must be the man. The personality of the man at the head of the administration of the prison is worth more than all methods or may ruin the best methods. It has been my good fortune to meet personally, and in many cases intimately, a number of the leading prison managers of this country. They have been, almost without exception, strong, broad-minded, large-hearted men, at the same time severe and tender-hearted. No class of men I have ever met have inspired me with greater respect. Theirs is a true missionary field. As a rule, they are far in advance of the better class of legislators and people in their theories of prison treatment and their desire to benefit the men under their charge. The laws still cramp and thwart them, when the laws should beckon them forward.

IV. THE EDUCATION OF EPILEPTICS.

BY LOUISE FISKE BRYSON, M.D., NEW YORK.

[Read Tuesday, September 5.]

1. The State and the Epileptic.

Epilepsy is a nervous disease, characterized by convulsive seizures and temporary loss of consciousness. The attacks may be momentary, of several minutes' duration,—from five to twenty,—recurring frequently, sometimes daily and sometimes months apart, thus robbing the sufferers of their faculties for brief periods of time at long or short intervals. Between these attacks there may be apparent health and every qualification for the vocations, duties, and social privileges of life.

Two very important errors exist in the public mind concerning this disease. One is that all epileptics are insane; the other, that very few persons have epilepsy. In point of fact, epilepsy is a wide-spread disorder. It is calculated that one person in five hundred is thus afflicted. In the United States alone there are in the neighborhood of one hundred and thirty thousand epileptics, and over twelve thousand in the State of New York. There are epileptic doctors, clergymen, book-keepers, dressmakers, masons, and telegraph operators. That all epileptics are insane or about to be, or carry insanity around as a concealed weapon, is not true. Dr. Frederick Peterson, who has given special study to the care, needs, and history of this unfortunate class, says of them: "Although there is such a thing as epileptic insanity, the proportion of insane epileptics is really very small, much less than ten per cent., taken at the utmost. This ratio may be reduced by affording them early in life such opportunities for mental and moral support and improvement as are enjoyed by others more happily placed. Not only may the percentage of the insanity be reduced, but the comfort and prosperity of all epileptics be increased by proper provision on the part of the State, or through private channels, of institutions of a peculiar character adapted to their pe-

culiar wants. A large public hospital is very far from meeting their requirements, since medicinal treatment is uncertain and unpromising. Insane asylums should receive but very few, and almshouses none at all. What is demanded is a collection of homes on the village plan, where medicinal treatment may be given to every member, and where every sort of education, employment, and social privilege may be extended to every beneficiary."

The colony system is already in existence in several countries. Near Hanover, in Germany, is the Bielefeld Colony, founded over twenty-five years ago. A particularly interesting description of this place as it was in 1886 states that it looks like a little country village, with varied architecture, gardens, hedges, and many trees. Among the shops for epileptic workmen are those for carpenters, cabinet-makers, painters and varnishers, blacksmiths and foundrymen, shoemakers, and tailors; and among the stores are a grocery, pharmacy, bookstore, and seed store. Plans and drawings for new buildings are made in the architect's room. Epileptics are employed in all the departments of industry relating to building. Books are printed, bound, and sold here. The illumination of mottoes for hospital wards and school-rooms, and the coloring of picture cards, are features of the work performed. Washing, cooking, knitting, and laundry work give employment to many of the colonists. A bureau has been established for the sale of museum objects, such as antiquities, articles of ethnographic and historic interest, autographs of distinguished persons, coins, stamps, bronzes, gems, engravings, etc., and specimens from the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms. For men alone there are over thirty different callings.

The history up to date of a movement to establish such a colony in the State of New York is given in the *Post-Graduate*, June, 1893. A bill was carefully prepared by the State Charities Aid Association of New York to found a colony of dependent epileptics at Sonyea, N.Y., was introduced at Albany, and passed in both Houses. The governor, however, placed his veto upon it, giving as a reason "that the appropriations already made in the cause of suffering humanity are almost as much as the total State revenues from indirect sources, including the inheritance tax and the tax on corporations." This action on the part of the governor was not entirely unexpected. Probably other reasons than those mentioned influenced his decision, such as the proposed site and the

attitude of the State Commissioners in Lunacy. The sum required and asked for was comparatively small, and some assurance was given that the colony would be self-supporting. At the present time indigent epileptics are scattered throughout the State in the wrong kind of institutions, where they are improperly cared for at the greatest possible expense.

The history of many an epileptic reads thus: no education in childhood; employment obtained with difficulty and held on sufferance during youth; and retirement into the almshouse or asylum when years have diminished vigor and idleness weakened and stultified the mind. This, too, in an age when something has been done for almost every class of the dependent population, when earnest efforts are made to relieve suffering, and when time, money, and affection are everywhere lavished freely. In the midst of all this *largesse*, the epileptic remains the forgotten man. Often an outcast from his family, expelled from schools on motives of expediency, denied industrial employment, shunned to a great extent by companions who fear and dread the sudden and mysterious attacks, left to grow up in ignorance and idleness,—what remains but pauperism? This is the ultimate destiny of all un-cared-for epileptics. A tenth of a million persons suffering in greater or less degree for the want of combined medical supervision, education, industrial training, recreation, exercise, and all the varied interests that tend to insure relative health and self-support,—these present a sorry spectacle in a civilized community. It is not one of which any nation can be proud. From the point of view of social economics, of humanity, of religion, of every-day ethics, and even of pure selfishness, it is altogether a mistake to ignore the needs of a large class who are thus deprived of many possibilities through no fault of their own.

A country settlement is the only institution that can meet all the necessities of those afflicted with epilepsy. Such a settlement must have schools and teachers for the education of the young, offices, such shops of all kinds as have been described, a dairy, a farm, and gardens and granaries. A hospital, a church, a theatre, a gymnasium, a bathing establishment, and a laboratory presided over by skilled pathologists bent upon the possible discovery and cure of epilepsy are also among the essentials. When such colonies are accomplished facts in this country, the epileptic will have a fair chance for the first time in American history.

The epileptic child is always a sick child. He is different from

others, — not insane, but sick, and subject to periods of disablement all his life. This should be taken into account from the start. Afflicted with a horrible malady, every effort should be made to render him agreeable and useful to his fellow-creatures.

2. The Family and the Epileptic.

The cause of epilepsy is as yet unknown. The attacks are not the disease itself: they are but the expression of it. Distressed mothers find a certain satisfaction in attributing their children's epilepsy to a blow, a fall, a fright, or other accident of childhood. If such things cause it, why are any of us free, since we have all fallen down, received blows, and been frightened in childhood? The cause is deeper than anything external. The truth is, the blow, fall, or fright, is only capable of producing the disorder in persons predisposed to epilepsy. This predisposition is inherent, and due to some defect in the structure or in the chemical composition of the body, and is at present absolutely beyond our ken. Only a small proportion of cases of idiopathic epilepsy are permanently cured; yet by careful management and correct living the attacks may be diminished in number, lessened in severity, and perhaps averted for years. The wise directions of a skilful physician, whose office it is to regulate the diet, the bath, rest, exercise, recreation, tasks, vacations, and pleasures, are indispensable to this end. Happy the parents who have a wide-minded medical adviser, whose intelligence can compass all the possibilities of the case! And thrice happy are they, if their own understanding is sufficient to carry out some well-defined plan that may avert the future deterioration of force, and help the epileptic to retain his proper place in the world!

Whatever the social station, the condition, sex, age, temperament, or individuality, epileptics possess certain broad characteristics in common.

Too often dreamy, suspicious, irritable, uncertain, and subject to fits of violent temper that make him "gey ill to live with," like the great Carlyle, the first lesson for the unfortunate child is self-control and self-effacement. Outbursts that in the healthy child might be occasionally overlooked should always be calmly and firmly suppressed. The impulse to violence of speech and conduct may last a lifetime. The power to control it can be acquired. His whole future may depend on his power of pleas-

ing and being pleased, upon the art of making himself agreeable. Never let the child imagine for an instant that his disease is in any sense a distinction or an excuse for the shirking of duty. Rather let him realize early that certain pleasures, as tennis, ball, and games requiring violent exertion, are forbidden fruit, and not to be thought of, any more than college athletics for a lame man, or engraving as a profession for the blind. For all three, duty and correct conduct remain; and epilepsy is no more of an excuse for bad manners and bad temper than is lameness or blindness. Systematic efforts and activities, however light and easy of performance, should be insisted upon, even if the epileptic child is always a sick child. It is a great mistake to allow such children to be idle, for it simply increases the instability of their nervous system. Training in habits is of first importance. Habits of self-control, order, industry, of conventionality and perfect courtesy, should be formed in earliest childhood. The training of the will to insure pleasure in routine work and to establish confidence in the power of performance cannot be too strongly emphasized, for this pleasure and this confidence are often wanting in the epileptic. Strict conventionality is another saving grace,—in costume, in conduct, and, as far as possible, in ideas and religious belief. The region of mysticism must be shunned if life is to be useful. Mental force must be guarded religiously, like physical force; for of neither is there any reserve stock. Anything that increases the deadly introspection common to nervous disease is as poison to the epileptic. Mathematical demonstration is safer than metaphysics for those without reserved nerve force. While epilepsy does not necessarily lead to mental and moral degeneration, it is quite possible that the patient and the patient's family must exercise an ever-alert intelligence if they would be sure that it does not efface some of the finer manifestations of mind. Epileptics who are able to keep their place in the world, in spite of their great disability, no doubt owe it largely to the wise training of unsentimental parents who early formed in them habits of order and self-control, of interest in active human life, in affairs and the work of the every-day world.

As the right training of mind is one source of physical vigor, education, in its widest sense, is the chief hope of the epileptic. What, then, should be its aims, its scope? The same as for a well child. The aims are the same, but the application of methods is somewhat different. Hours must be shorter, and the intervals

between tasks and lessons longer. The summer vacation is not long enough as a residence in the country, and far too long as an exemption from set duties. These should continue in a much modified form during the greater part of the warm weather. A child suffering from nervous disease, even when in a fair condition, needs a sort of bank holiday four times a year,—a flight into the country preferably, where the uses of such restoratives as earth, air, sea, and sky prove in time the wisest economy and the best possible supplementary treatment. The epileptic should begin his education in the kindergarten, among companions of his own age, his equals, where self-control, self-reliance, and the value of mutual concessions are learned in a perfectly natural and spontaneous way. The kindergarten is a system of scientific sense training, and substitutes correct habits of observation for introspection and day dreams.

In order to be practical, education after the kindergarten, primary, and grammar school age should concern itself with the universal interests that last a lifetime, and will endure when everything else fails and is outgrown. Of these permanent interests, literature, history, social economics, and the objective sciences are the chief, seasoned with something of art and a taste of foreign languages. Physical education under wise guidance is of supreme importance, since without some physical imperfection, either structural or chemical, epilepsy could not exist. The necessity of outdoor sports is at once apparent. Like others who are nervously weak, the epileptic must ever keep in mind two words that should always be as closely joined as the Siamese twins,—moderation, exercise. With these epileptics need not fear the use of many legitimate pleasures and even occasional irregularities in eating and sleeping.

Following school and college days comes special technical training for some chosen career. Though many attractive callings are permanently closed to the epileptic, since consciousness may leave him suddenly at any moment and without warning, the things that remain are many and consoling, and the trained will always find a way. As encouragement and incentive, it must be remembered that epilepsy and genius may coexist. Dr. Peterson calls attention to certain well-known historical characters in whom the two were united, as Handel, Molière, Petrarch, Cæsar, Saint Paul, Mahomet, Napoleon, etc. While it may not be given to every epileptic to interest and instruct the world as they did, it is

still possible for him to exercise all of his capabilities for his own support and for his own happiness and welfare.

To secure right conditions for the exercise and training of these capabilities is the office of education, first of the public, then of the epileptic.

NOTE TO PAGE 69, THE SWEATING SYSTEM IN BOSTON.

Some delay in printing the last pages of this *Journal* gives an opportunity to copy from the reports of Massachusetts inspectors of tenement houses in Boston concerning the year ended December, 1893. Inspector Griffin (quoted on page 67) says a year later than the remarks already cited :—

The law is gradually overcoming the evils with which it was intended to deal. Since my report of 1892 I have inspected 526 tenements, have granted licenses in 216 of them, refused licenses in 305, and 5 have had temporary licenses pending their improvement. Most of the 305 were refused on account of dirty and repulsive homes, if homes they can be called. Many of them were crowded together, so that the possibility of anything like cleanly life was not seen in places not fit to stable a horse. Others were refused, not because their own apartments were dirty, but because they were living in tenement houses filled with so many dirty families that the surroundings made them unfit places. Some have had their licenses revoked for not living up to the requirements in cleanliness or for moving from one place to another without notice. The license has checked many of the evils complained of. Of those who have been granted licenses, at least half are depending on the finishing of trousers for their support. Many of them are widows. They are outside of the factory laws, and work twelve, fourteen, and sixteen hours a day. Their employment is irregular, because of taking care of their homes and children. . . . During the past year five attempts were made to establish tenement-house workshops, wherein others than members of the family were employed. They were early discovered, and immediately abolished. It is impossible under the present law for this class of workshops to exist. The regular workshops were with few exceptions in fairly good condition. The employment of children there shows a marked decrease.

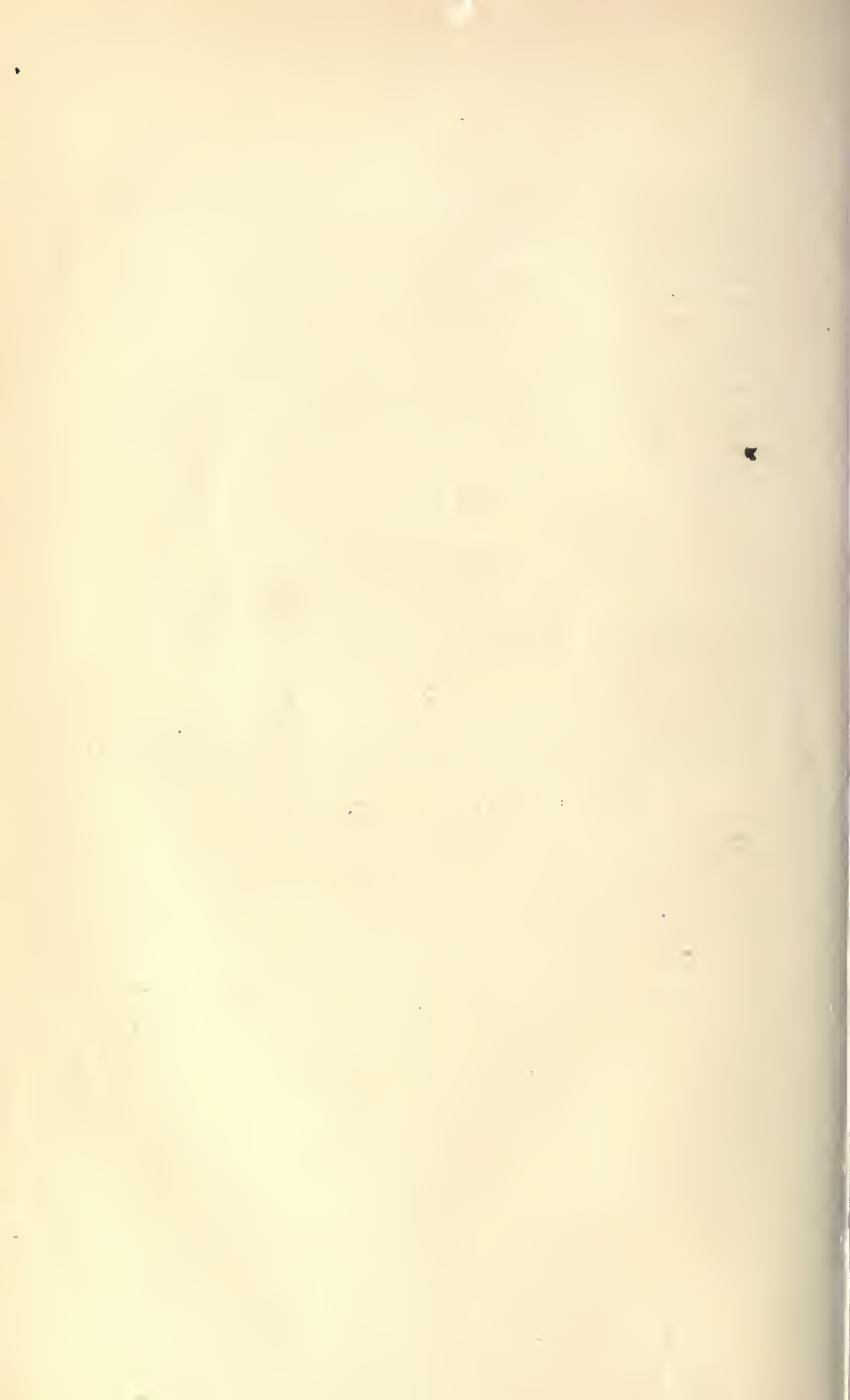
Inspector Plunkett says :—

I have inspected during the year 487 tenement houses where licenses were requested: 258 licenses have been granted, 210 refused, and 19 withheld, pending removal or an improvement in the condition of the dwellings. To my mind, the only way of improv-

ing these conditions permanently is by stringent building laws in relation to tenement-house property, which will prevent the building houses of great depth, and the covering of the entire ground area, leaving no yards or fresh-air spaces. Alleys should be widened and made streets, thereby doing away with some of the worst tenements. While tenement property exists in our cities, there will always be plenty to occupy it.

These recommendations are sensible. To them might well be added the regular publication of the names of owners of such property, with a statement of its bad condition. Publicity often removes evils that no law can effectively reach.

CONSTITUTION,
LIST OF OFFICERS, MEMBERS, ETC.,
OF THE
American Social Science Association
JANUARY 1, 1894.



CONSTITUTION.

I. This Society shall be called the AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION.

II. Its object shall be classified in five departments: the first, of Education; the second, of Health; the third, of Trade and Finance; the fourth, of Social Economy; the fifth, of Jurisprudence.

III. It shall be administered by a President, as many honorary Vice-Presidents as may be chosen, a Treasurer, a Secretary, and a Council, charged with general supervision; five Department Committees, established by the Council, charged with the supervision of their respective departments; and such Local Committees as may be established by the Council at different points, to serve as branch associations. The Council shall consist of the President, Treasurer, and Secretary, the Chairman and Secretary of each Department, and ten Directors, with power to fill vacancies and to make their own By-Laws. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Chairman, and Secretaries of Departments, and Directors shall be chosen annually by members of the Association, and shall hold office till their successors are chosen. The President, or in his absence a Director, shall be Chairman of the Council. The Chairman of the Local Committees shall be chosen at the pleasure of their respective committees. Whenever a Branch Association shall be organized and recognized as such by the Council, its President shall be *ex-officio* one of the Vice-Presidents of the American Association, and, together with the Secretary and Treasurer, shall be entitled to all the privileges of membership in that Association. And, whenever a Local Department shall be organized and recognized as such by the Council, its Chairman shall become *ex-officio* a member of the parent Association. The Chairman and Secretary of each Department, with the consent of the President of the Association, may appoint such special Department Committees as they may think best. The General Secretary shall be elected for three years, unless he resigns, or is removed by a two-thirds vote of the members present and voting in a regular meeting of the Council; and out of his compensation he may pay the salary of an Assistant Secretary, who may also be Secretary of one Department.

IV. Any person may become a member by paying five dollars, and may continue a member by paying annually such further sum as may be fixed at the Annual Meeting, not exceeding ten dollars. On payment of one hundred dollars, any person may become a life-member exempt from assessments. Honorary and corresponding members may be elected, and exempted from the payment of assessments.

V. The Council shall have sole power to call and conduct General Meetings, and to publish the Transactions and other documents of the Association. The Department Committee shall have power to call and conduct Department Meetings.

VI. No amendment to this Constitution shall be made, except at an annual meeting, with public notice of the proposed amendment.

American Social Science Association.

(Founded in 1865.)

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[All officers are *ex-officio* members of the Association; but persons serving on the Department Committees may or may not be members of the Association. In this present list, the annual members are given alphabetically, without reference to States; then the life members follow, classified by States; and, finally, the honorary and corresponding members. The only distinction between honorary and corresponding members is that the former reside in the United States, the latter in foreign countries. It is a rule of the Association to drop from the list of annual members those who have not paid their assessment for two years, but members so dropped can be restored to the list by paying their arrears. If former members do not find their names on the list as it now stands, it will generally be for the reason just mentioned.]

No List of Members of the Association, as printed, can ever be quite complete, so many changes occur by death and withdrawal, the accession of new members, etc. The following list is as complete as the Secretary could make it up to Jan. 1, 1894; but, no doubt, the addresses of several members are wrong, and there are instances of names misprinted, etc., of which the Secretary will thank any person to notify him when the fact is observed.]

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age—Ezra M. Hunt, M.D. IV. The Health of Boys' Boarding-schools—D. F. Lincoln, M.D. V. The Health of Criminal Women—Eliza M. Mosher, M.D. VI. The Management of Chronic Inebriates and Insane Drunkards—Albert N. Blodgett, M.D. VII. Remarks of Mr. Parker on Boards of Health. VIII. International and National Relief in War—Miss Clara Barton. Papers of the Social Economy Department: I. Address of the Chairman—F. B. Sanborn. II. The Factory System as an Element in Civilization—Carroll D. Wright. III. Early Factory Life in New England—Mrs. H. H. Robinson. IV. American Factory Life—Miss Lucy Larcom. V. Ten Hours—Rev. Jesse H. Jones.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER SEVENTEEN.—I. Introduction. II. Address—Rev. A. D. Mayo, on National Aid to Education. III. Address—President Angell, on Diplomatic Relations between China and the United States. IV. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department, namely: 1. Professional Ethics—Theodore Bacon. 2. Local Self-government—Edward W. Bemis. 3. Disfranchisement for Crime—James F. Colby. 4. A Plan for Extinguishing Crime—Edwin Hill. 5. Punishment for Certain Crimes—H. A. Hill. V. Address—Professor W. T. Harris. VI. The Darwin Commemoration. VII. A Paper on the Progressive Spelling—Rev. H. L. Wayland. VIII. Miscellaneous Matters.

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CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY.—I. Papers of the Education Department: 1. The Function of Latin and Greek in Education—Dr. W. T. Harris. 2. Problems in Education—Mrs. Emily Talbot. 3. Athletic Education—Dr. Edward Hitchcock. 4. Physical Education in Women's Colleges—Mrs. R. S. Bryan. 5. The Higher Education of Women in Great Britain and Ireland—Miss Lumsden. II. Additional Papers of the Jurisprudence Department: 1. The Law for the Commitment of Lunatics—Mr. F. H. Wines. 2. Lunacy Legislation in the North-west—Professor A. O. Wright. III. Papers of the Health Department: 1. Dr. Sargent's Summary. 2. Tenement Houses—Dr. Lucy M. Hall. IV. The Civil Service in States and Cities—Edward M. Shepard.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-ONE.—1. President Eaton's Address, 1885. 2. Business and Debates of 1885. 3. Synopsis of Social Science Instruction in Colleges. 4. Methodical Education in Social Science—F. B. Sanborn. 5. Social Science and Social Conditions—W. T. Harris. 6. The Unnamed Third Party—H. L. Wayland. 7. Socialism and State Action—Edward W. Bemis. 8. Labor Unions under Democratic Government—D. M. Means. 9. Influence of City Life on Health and Development—Dr. G. Peckham. 10. The Health of American Cities—C. F. Wines. 11. The Physical Training of Women—Dr. L. M. Hall. 12. The Constitution and National Development—E. V. Reynolds. 13. Land and Law as Agents in Educating Indians—President Gates. 14. Arbitration of Labor Disputes—Rev. W. Gladden. 15. The Place of Art in Education—Thomas Davidson. 16. The Relation of the Drama to Education—W. O. Partridge. 17. Child-life in City and Country—C. D. Kellogg. 18. City and Country Schools—W. M. Beckner.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-TWO.—Conference of Alienists. Business and Debates of 1886. Notice of Deceased Members. I. Papers of the Department of Education: 1. The Definition of Social Science and its Classification—W. T. Harris. 2. Social Science Instruction in Colleges—Mrs. Emily Talbot and W. T. Harris. 3. Popular Instruction in Social Science—Carroll D. Wright. II. Papers of the Department of Health. 1. The Nervousness of Americans—Grace Peckham, M.D. 2. Mineral Waters of America and Europe—T. M. Coan, M.D. 3. Rabies and How to Prevent it—Valentine Mott, M.D. 4. Noses—H. Holbrook Curtis, M.D. 5. The Science of Dietetics—Wallace Wood, M.D. III. Papers of the Social Economy Department: 1. Address of the Chairman: Labor and Capital—F. B. Sanborn. 2. Property—Thomas Davidson. 3. Letters of Dr. Abbott and Dr. Wayland. 4. The Right of Property in Land—W. T. Harris, LL.D. IV. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department. 1. Postal Savings Banks—Dr. H. L. Wayland. 2. How to deal with Habitual Criminals—Professor S. E. Baldwin.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-THREE.—Business and Debates of 1887. Address of the President; Problems of the Census—Carroll D. Wright. I. Papers of the Social Economy Department: 1. Address of the Chairman—F. B. Sanborn. 2. Profit Sharing as a Method of Remunerating Labor—F. J. Kingsbury. 3. Alfred Dolge and his Experiments—A. Dolge and Ernest Richard. 4. Profit Sharing Historically and Theoretically Considered—G. M. Powell. 5. Labor Organizations—J. G. Brooks. 6. Woman and the Temperance Question—Frances E. Willard. II. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department: 1. The American System of Trial by Jury—D. H. Chamberlain. 2. The Law's Uncertainty—Thomas Thatcher. 3. The Incurrible—Francis Wayland. 4. Private Corporations and the State—H. A. James. 5. Social Science in the Law of Moses—H. L. Wayland.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-FOUR.—Introductory. Committee on Provident Institutions. Constitution, List of Members, etc. I. Papers of the Health Department: 1. Relation of the Physician to the Community, and of the Community to the Physician—Grace Peckham, M.D. 2. The Function of the Lungs—D. Emery Holman, M.D. 3. Certain Injurious Influences of City Life and their Removal—Walter B. Platt, M.D. 4. The Criminal Type—William Noyes, M.D. 5. Immigration and Nervous Diseases—C. L. Dana, M.D., with Discussion. II. Papers of the Education Department: 1. The Opportunities of America—F. B. Sanborn. 2. Address—T. W. Higginson. 3. Pedagogy in American Colleges—Professor E. J. James. 4. The Education of Women—Arthur Gilman.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-FIVE.—General Meeting of 1888. President Adams on Higher Education. I. The Growth and Purposes of Bureaus of Statistics of Labor—Address of the President, Carroll D. Wright. II. Papers and Debates of the Department of Health: 1. Address on Requirements for a Medical Degree—Dr. H. H. Curtis. 2. How Far can Legislation aid in Maintaining a Proper Standard of Medical Education?—W. A. Purring-ton. 3. The Value of a Liberal Education Antecedent to the Study of Medicine—Sylvester F. Scovel. Remarks of Dr. Grace Peckham. 4. Unsanitary Conditions in Country Homes—Dr. Lucy M. Hall. 5. The Working-women of New York: Their Health and Occupations—Elizabeth Stow Brown, M.D. 6. The Struggle for Subsistence: How can it be most Efficiently Aided?—Henry Dwight Chapin, M.D. III. Papers of the Finance and Social Economy Departments: 1. Address of the Chairman—F. B. Sanborn. 2. Savings Banks in the United States—John P. Townsend. 3. Co-operative Building Associations. Report of the Special Committee. 4. Report on Savings Banks and Building Associations of Illinois—Professor J. W. Jenks. 5. Co-operative Building and Loan Associations in the State of New York—Seymour Dexter, Esq. 6. The Dangerous Side of Building Associations—Mr. C. F. Southard. 7. Notes on Provident Institutions in Arkansas, Tennessee, and Texas—Professor Robert T. Hill. 8. Life Insurance—Report of the Committee. Hebrew Provident Institutions. 9. The Early History of School Savings Banks in the United States—J. H. Thiry.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-SIX.—General Meeting of 1889. Report of J. P. Townsend, Secretary. Constitution, List of Members and Publications, etc. I. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department: 1. The Economic Law of Monopoly—President E. B. Andrews. 2. Constitutional Guarantees of the Right of Property—George Hoadly. 3. Education as a Cure for Crime—S. T. Dutton. 4. Immigration and Crime—W. M. F. Round. 5. The Dead Hand—Dr. H. L. Wayland. II. Papers of the Education Department: 1. Industrial Training of the Defective Classes. Discussion by President Gallaudet, General Brinkerhoff, Dr. Bryce, F. B. Sanborn, Miss Alice Cooke, etc. 2. Popular Fallacies concerning the Insane—Dr. Pliny Earle. III. Papers of the Social Economy Department: 1. Report on Co-operative Building and Loan Associations. 2. Socialism in England—Percival Chubb.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-SEVEN.—General Meeting of 1890. Constitution, List of Members, etc. The Third Estate of the South—Rev. A. D. Mayo. The Single Tax Debate—Remarks by Samuel B. Clarke, Professor Thomas Davidson, W. L. Garrison, Professor John B. Clark, President E. B. Andrews, Professor E. R. A. Seligman, Louis F. Post, Edward Atkinson, Henry George, Professor W. T. Harris, and James R. Carret.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-EIGHT.—General Meeting of 1891. M. Levasseur on Malthus. The Late Rufus King. President White's Addresses. I. Papers of the Social Economy Department: 1. Labor Organizations—S. M. Hotchkiss. 2. Trades-unions—S. Gompers. 3. Trades-unions and Wages—Prof. J. W. Jenks. 4. Shoemaking in Connecticut—F. J. Kingsbury. 5. Arbitration, Voluntary and Compulsory—Mrs. C. R. Lowell. 6. Compulsory Arbitration—Seymour Dexter. 7. Social Side of Unions—George Gunton. 8. Trades-unions and Apprentices—E. W. Bemis. II. Miscellaneous Papers: 1. Treatment of Hydrophobia—Dr. Paul Gibier. 2. The Silver Question—J. D. Warner. 3. Reform of the Civil Service—W. D. Foulke.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-NINE.—Introduction. The General Meeting of 1892. The Late Dr. Pliny Earle. I. Summer Camps for Boys—Dr. W. T. Talbot. II. The New York City Health Department—Dr. Cyrus Edson. III. The Tenement House: Its Influence upon the Child—Dr. Mary E. Herrick. IV. The Progress of the Financial Credit of the Government of the United States—Joseph T. Brown. V. Aids in the Study of Social Science—F. B. Sanborn. VI. The Care of Epileptics—Dr. Frederick Peterson.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER THIRTY.—President Wayland's Address. General Meeting of 1892. Obituary Notices: Sir Daniel Wilson—Mrs. C. H. Dall. George William Curtis—F. B. Sanborn. I. Miscellaneous Papers: Social Science in the Nineteenth Century—F. B. Sanborn. Art Education in American Life—Miss M. B. Martin. Commitment of the Insane

in New York City—Dr. M. D. Field. County Jails as Reformatory Institutions—E. B. Merrill. American Childhood from a Medical Standpoint—Dr. H. L. Taylor. II. Papers of the Social Economy Department: 1. Sweating in Germany—Rev. J. G. Brooks. 2. The Sweating System in the United Kingdom—D. F. Schloss. 3. Conditions of the Labor of Women and Children in New York—Dr. Anna S. Daniel. 4. The Sweating System in Massachusetts—H. G. Wadlin. 5. Tenement-house Workers in Boston—W. F. Hicks. 6. The Sweating System in General—Joseph Lee. 7. Legislation.—Appendix—Joseph Lee. The Great Coal Combination and the Reading Leases—C. L. Munson. Publications of the American Social Science Association.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER THIRTY-ONE.—Order of Business, Saratoga Meeting of 1893. George William Curtis: A Tribute—Edward B. Merrill. Socialism and Social Science: A Report—F. B. Sanborn. Recent Progress in Medicine and Surgery—Frederick Peterson, M.D. Debate on Myxoidema. Compulsory Arbitration—H. L. Wayland, D.D. I. Papers of the Finance Department: 1. Three Factors of Wealth—F. J. Kingsbury. 2. Bimetallism or the Double Standard—J. L. Greene. 3. Present Status of Silver—Dr. C. B. Spahr. Speech of Secretary Carlisle. II. Papers of the Social Economy Department: 1. Phases of Social Economy—F. B. Sanborn. 2. Mutual Benefit Societies in Connecticut—S. M. Hotchkiss. 3. The Sweating System in 1893. III. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department: 1. Reformation or Retribution?—Eugene Smith. 2. A Reply to Mr. Smith James McKeen. 3. Modern Methods with Criminals—C. A. Collin. IV. The Education of Epileptics—Dr. L. F. Bryson. Note on the Sweating System. Constitution, List of Officers, Members, and Publications.

In separate pamphlets: The Single Tax Debate, 1890; Discussion of Labor Organizations, 1891; and the Sweating System, 1892.

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CONTAINING THE
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NUMBER XXXII.

NOVEMBER, 1894.

SARATOGA PAPERS OF 1894.

PAPERS ON THE SILVER QUESTION,
THE UNEMPLOYED, CRIME AND PUNISHMENT,
EDUCATION AND HEALTH.

PUBLISHED FOR THE
AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION.

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1894.

EDITED BY
F. B. SANBORN
GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE ASSOCIATION
CONCORD, MASS.

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INTRODUCTION.

The papers included in this number of the *Journal of Social Science* are nearly all the Saratoga Papers of 1894. As some misapprehension may exist in regard to the publication of papers by the Association, it may here be said that all papers engaged for the General Meeting of the American Social Science Association are so engaged, with the understanding that they may be printed in the *Journal of Social Science* if the Council so decide. If, therefore, the writers choose to publish their papers elsewhere (to which the Council offers no objection), it must be with the stipulation that these papers may also be published in the *Journal*, at the option of the Council as to the time of publication.

A list of all the Addresses and Papers for the meeting of 1894 is printed on pages v., vii.

CONCORD, MASS., NOV. 10, 1894.

GENERAL MEETING OF 1894.

The General Meeting of 1894 was held in the Town Hall in Saratoga, beginning Monday, September 3, and closing Friday, September 7.

The opening Address, on "*The Reign of Law*," was given by the President, F. J. KINGSBURY, LL.D., of Waterbury, Ct., Monday evening, September 3, at 8.00 P.M. On the same evening at 9.00 P.M. the *Annual Report* of the General Secretary was read, its title being "*The Year of Strange Events*."

The Departments held sessions as follows :—

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 4.

Department of Education.

9.30 A.M. to 1.30 P.M. A Conference on "*Social Science Teaching*."

9.30 A.M. "*The Relation of Sociology to Other Scientific Studies*," by Prof. F. H. GIDDINGS, of Columbia College, New York.

10.00 A.M. "*A Scheme of Sociological Study*," by Mr. GEORGE E. VINCENT, of the University of Chicago.

10.30 A.M. "*The Place of Social Philosophy in Education*," by Prof. GEORGE G. WILSON, of Brown University.

11.00 A.M. "*The Possibilities of Social Amelioration*," by Prof. JOHN J. MCCOOK, of Trinity College, Hartford, Ct.

11.30 A.M. "*Practical Instruction in Civics*," by Prof. JESSE MACY, of Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia.

12.00 M. A Paper by D. G. PORTER, Esq., of Waterbury, Ct., on "*English as a Universal Language*."

1.00 P.M. Discussion of the above Papers.

8.00 P.M. Address of the Secretary of the Department, Prof. J. IRVING MANATT, of Brown University, on "*The Obligations of Culture in Modern Life.*"

9.00 P.M. A Paper by Prof. DANIEL QUINN, Ph.D., of the Catholic University of America, on "*The Higher Education in Greece.*"

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 5.

Department of Health.

9.30 A.M. Remarks by the General Secretary.

10.30 A.M. A Paper by Mrs. MARGARET H. WELCH, of New York: "*Is Newspaper Work a Healthful Occupation for Women?*"

11.00 A.M. A Paper by JOHN WINTERS BRANNAN, of New York, on "*The Restriction of Communicable Disease.*"

11.30 A.M. A Paper by W. D. GRANGER, M.D., of Bronxville, N.Y., on "*The Use of Extracts from Animal Organs as Remedial Agents in Disease.*"

12.00 M. An Address by Dr. FREDERICK PETERSON, of New York, Chairman of the Department, on "*Heredity.*"

8.00 P.M. Election of Officers.

8.30 P.M. A Report by Prof. J. W. JENKS, of Cornell University, on "*The Present Aspect of the Silver Problem,*" followed by a debate.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 6.

Department of Jurisprudence.

9.30 A.M. Address by Prof. WAYLAND, Chairman of the Department.

10.00 A.M. A Paper by Rev. H. L. WAYLAND, D.D., on "*State Surgery.*"

11.30 A.M. A Paper by GEORGE C. HOLT, Esq., of New York, on "*Mobs and Lynching.*"

12.30 P.M. A Paper by STEPHEN SMITH, M.D., of New York (Delegate to the Sanitary Conference of Paris), on "*The Importance of International Regulations by Law and Treaty to govern the Migration of Large Bodies of People.*"

8.00 P.M. A Paper by CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER, of Hartford, on "*The Elmira System.*"

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 7.

Department of Social Economy.

9.00 A.M. Address by F. B. SANBORN, Chairman of the Department.

9.30 A.M. Report from the Department, including Reports from American Cities and States on the Relief of the Unemployed, Public and Private, in the Winter of 1893-94.

The principal Reports were from Baltimore, Boston, Hartford, Michigan, Chicago, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, and St. Louis.

10.30 A.M. A Paper by Mrs. C. R. LOWELL, of New York, on "*Relief for the Unemployed in New York,*" followed by Letters from the Vincent de Paul Society and the United Hebrew Charities, of New York.

11.00 A.M. Report from Buffalo, by T. GUILFORD SMITH.

11.30 A.M. A Report from New Haven, by Prof. WAYLAND and Mr. PRESTON.

12.00 M. Reports from Louisville, Ky., Waterbury, Ct., Syracuse, N.Y., and general debate.

At the election of officers on the evening of September 5, the choice fell on those named in the following list :—

American Social Science Association.

(Founded in 1865.)

OFFICERS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1894-95.

President, F. J. KINGSBURY, Waterbury, Ct.

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HENRY VILLARD, New York.
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III. *Finance*.—JOHN W. CARTER, Boston, *Chairman*; Prof. J. W. JENKS, Ithaca, N.Y., *Secretary*.

IV. *Social Economy*.—F. B. SANBORN, Concord, *Chairman*; JOSEPH LEE, Brookline, Mass., *Secretary*.

V. *Jurisprudence*.—Prof. FRANCIS WAYLAND, New Haven, *Chairman*; EUGENE SMITH, 32 Pine St., New York, *Secretary*.

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THE REIGN OF LAW.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT, FREDERICK JOHN KINGSBURY, LL.D.

[Delivered Monday, Sept. 3, 1894.]

Those who have read Count Leo Tolstoï's novel entitled "War and Peace" will remember how, in his description of a great battle, he emphasizes the fact that most of those who are engaged in it, be they even commanders of batteries or perhaps of regiments, know very little of the battle as a whole. In the smoke which obscures the field, and in the din and uproar of the conflict, they see and know nothing of what goes on except just at the point where they are. They are sometimes partially ignorant even of that. They have been given a position to hold, or they are told to assault a line, or they are kept standing in one place for hours, doing nothing. In the end they are surprised to learn that what was to them apparently of little moment was perhaps the turning-point in the contest. And they suddenly find themselves heroes, simply for having done what seemed but an inconspicuous and perhaps unimportant duty, but which was known to be necessary, and whose importance was fully appreciated by the general, who held in his hand or in his head the plan of the battle, and knew the necessities of every position.

Is this a picture of life? Is there a general who has a great plan that we are unconsciously carrying out?

Is it for us to do or die,
And never ask the reason why?

This, or something like this, has been for a long time the theory of many, probably of most, people in regard to the conduct of the battle of life. We have believed in an overruling and an all-directing personal Wisdom, who had a plan for the conduct of his universe, who rectified our mistakes and supplemented our shortcomings, and left little for us but blind obedience, but who, if we did the duty appointed to us and stood steadfast in our lot, would, in the end, see to it that all things came out well for us

and for all, whether we clearly comprehend the reason for what we were doing or not.

Substantially, this was a part of the early Hebrew ethics, and came to us by inheritance. If we blew our rams' horns according to order, we might expect to see the walls of Jericho totter. If we properly arranged our trumpets, lamps, and pitchers, no enemy could stand against us. Now and then, to be sure, even in the olden time, some courageous rationalistic prophet, like Ezekiel, would cry aloud that we must take the consequences of our own folly, that the sins of the fathers would not be visited on the children (though in this he was clearly wrong), and that every man would be judged according to his ways. But this was not usually well received, and the more nebulous and personally irresponsible system was preferred. Doubtless a consciousness of personal incapacity made such a refuge from responsibility very grateful.

But gradually, little by little, though more rapidly of late, there has come a change in this theory of the world's government. Law has been substituted for Providence, the logical process has replaced the supernatural; or, if you prefer it so, a reign of law has been interposed between us and that direct oversight and interference which most of us still believe somewhere to exist, but which we once relied on with absolute trust for immediate use. We can no longer regard rams' horns as an effective substitute for Gatling guns, and our belief in anything is no longer in direct proportion to its intrinsic improbability. In short, the fatalism of the East has been superseded by the rationalism of the West.

This change of view is fraught with momentous consequences, if not in results, at least in the state of mind with which we must regard our own position and responsibility. Do we not each of us know what a solid comfort it is, in all our blunders and shortcomings, to have some one else on whom we can lay the blame? Better still, if we can imagine that what seems to us very much like our ignorance and stupidity is really but the working out of some trivial, secondary results and casual aberrations, which are all to be averaged and corrected in the great final round-up. How many a sorry soul has solaced itself with this suggestion! But now, with our eyes open to the facts, or to what seem to us like facts (for we do not certainly know), this consolation is forever lost.

We know that God must be omnipotent. It belongs to the nature of his constitution, as we have imagined it. We believe that he is abounding in mercy. But long experience has taught

us that we cannot rely implicitly on our mistakes being corrected, at least not until after we have suffered the consequences of them. We are left in much doubt whether they ever will or can be altogether corrected. And for us, practically, it seems to be the same as if they could not be; and so we find ourselves burdened with all the responsibilities of omniscience without possession of the faculty itself. So far as our immediate peace of mind is concerned, it is pretty clear that our change of philosophy has not materially bettered our condition. The Sphinx was a fabulous monster, whose myth seemed as old when authentic history began as it does now. She propounded riddles to the people, and then destroyed the people if the answers were not right. Society is a real monster who propounds riddles to us, and destroys us if we do not solve them. No mistakes in the matter of drainage are forgiven. If this is the real meaning of the myth, it may be some comfort to feel that even in those far-off days they were confronted with the same troubles that beset us. But it is not reassuring to consider how little progress has been made.

I understand perfectly that enthusiasm is encouraging and progressive, and that pessimism is depressing and obstructive; yet it may be worth while occasionally to look adverse circumstances squarely in the face, and be prepared to encounter with fortitude an inevitable or even an irresistible enemy. Jeremiah, though not exactly a *persona grata*, was certainly not the least of the prophets, and perhaps not the least useful.

Let us consider. Three thousand years ago, or more, the valley of the Nile and the Euphrates teemed with a population the best of whom were an educated, enlightened, and refined people. They had systems of ethics similar to our own, and forms of government and methods in the administration of justice which answered the needs of a complicated civilization, and protected man from his fellow-man (which is everywhere the principal function of organized society), through hundreds of years. A thousand years later a hardy peasantry among the mountains of Attica developed within the space of a few hundred years a civilization, a philosophy, a literature, and an art which have been the envy and despair of all succeeding generations. Only a little later the city of Rome, with its population of between two and three millions, was governing the then known world and her own great municipality by a system of jurisprudence which is still a model, and was producing a literature that has not ceased to be admired. I say nothing

here of the wonderful material development which marked these different civilizations, because for my present purpose it is only in their ethical aspect that I am interested. But where are they now? The cities of the Euphrates are dust-heaps in a desert. Those of the Nile are little better, save as they have been vitalized by the reflex current of a modern civilization. As to Athens and Rome, — how have the mighty fallen! Then there is Judea, — Jerusalem, the mother of us all, — the home of our system of ethics, the birthplace of our religion, now long since given over to an ignorance almost barbaric. If we ask for reasons why these things are so, an undoubtedly safe answer will be that we do not know. It is clearly not greatly to our credit, as students of cause and effect, that this should be the safe answer; but it is.

We know that no earthquake swallowed them up, that no flood destroyed them, that they were overwhelmed by no cyclone, that they were not wasted by wild beasts nor depopulated by poisonous serpents. In short, they did not perish through any of the malign influences of nature; and the conclusion is irresistible that they owe their destruction to the short-sightedness of man. They did not have their mistakes overruled, nor their blunders made good. If they were working out great results, it was a part of the scheme that they themselves should perish in the using.

Those eighteen on whom the tower of Siloam fell, we have the best of authority for saying, were not sinners above all who dwelt in Judea, by any means. They were doubtless respectable citizens, and greatly lamented by their friends. They were not exactly to be blamed, either, — at any rate, not more than most people. The trouble with them was that they got in the way of a falling tower. That was all. I hope their friends brought suit against the city of Siloam for leaving the tower in that condition, and that they recovered large damages; but, after all, that did the gentlemen on whom the tower fell very little good.

We have been so long accustomed to looking upon those old cities and this old civilization as we do upon our own dead ancestors, as having passed away in the order of nature after fulfilling their time and destiny, or as the victims of some untoward accident which they could not prevent, that it is hard for us to regard them in any other way. Yet is this, for peoples as for individuals, the order of nature? Is this the inflexible law, or, is the reason of it to be found in the violation of law? Why should not the people of Babylon or of Thebes, standing on the vantage-ground they

had already acquired, have continued to improve in culture, in intelligence, in virtue, in art, in morals, in the science of government, in philanthropy, until the present time, and be leading the world to-day? They doubtless expected this would be their history. Why was it not? Somewhere or other there must have been mistakes. Can it be possible that the Social Science Association of Babylon, at their annual meeting in Susa, or wherever was the Saratoga of that time, were derelict in their duty? that they did not see with sufficient clearness the evils that were impending, and failed to point out with sufficient minuteness the way of escape? From what we have known of similar institutions we can hardly imagine this to have been the trouble. Could it have been the Babylonian Tammany Society, who, under the pretence of an extra solicitude for the enforcement of the law, drove their best and most efficient municipal officer into the public den of lions, and consigned their young advocates of municipal reform to a fiery furnace? It looks as if here we might be getting nearer the seat of the difficulty; but, unfortunately, the data are too meagre to afford any satisfactory conclusion. On the one hand, we have the mighty city, and, on the other, the dust-heap. What lies between is matter of conjecture. But one conclusion we cannot escape, and that is that somebody blundered. It could hardly have been a necessity.

Taking a bird's-eye, or perspective, view of the past, we see people after people, their moral sense quickened by prophets and teachers whose lofty imagining portrayed to them an ideal state of virtue, rising under their instruction from rude and humble beginnings: first, to physical comfort and a sense of property rights, and to the administration of justice; next, to an æsthetic perception of beauty and a practice of art; and, crowning all, by systems of philosophy and religion; constructing lofty ideals of human duty, and linking them with divine sanctions. Then in some mysterious way begins a process of retrogression. Morals decay, manners become gross, art perishes, knowledge fails, healthy ambition is dead. There are no more prophets, or the ears of those that hear them are stopped: barbarism takes the place of civilization, or some younger and stronger people simply wipe out the effete and apparently useless cumberers of the earth. Those who come after them pick out their fragmentary history, and say, "It served them right." "It is the survival of the fittest." "It was the will of God." Was it the will of God in any other sense

than that it is his will that men live under law? that they are responsible for their own destiny? that, if they sow the wind, they reap the whirlwind? Can you suppose these nations were conscious that they were working out their own destruction, that in every step of their downward progress they did not still believe that they were the people, and that wisdom would perish with them? They ate and drank, they married and were given in marriage, they bought and sold and got gain, they doubtless, at times, made surprising advances in material things, they probably — nay, certainly — had their periods of reformation, their paroxysms of virtue; yet all the while, after reaching a certain point, their course was down, down, down, to the abysmal depth of what we call the dark ages. And how can we tell to-day which way we are going? There is a fearful logic of events, whose premises are too deep for us to discern, which sweeps us whithersoever it will. The track of its progress may be marked in blood, and often is; but human wisdom is powerless to avoid it. Where is the statesman, the philosopher, the historian, that to-day could undertake to show us how our own great Civil War could have been averted, having all the facts, humanly speaking, in his possession? Then what can we expect to do toward shaping the future, where all is unknown?

The result of the experience of the wisest of men in the profoundest of human affairs is to avoid general principles, and to confine the attention to particular cases; and this is but a confession of ignorance of the principles which lie at the bottom of human conduct.

Mrs. Ewing makes her water-beetle to say, "A state of existence without mud at the bottom must be a life without repose." And I think it is Sydney Smith who compares certain logicians to the cuttle-fish that turns the water to ink, and escapes because his enemies can no longer find him. Some of our modern philosophers think that in a return to the simpler forms and ways of nature lies all the hope of our delivery from the sophisticated entanglements of our present life. The philosophy of the water-beetle who looks to his mud bottom as the haven of rest, and the wisdom of the cuttle-fish who understands how to darken counsel to his own advantage, certainly go far to encourage such an expectation.

If we knew what our limitations were in the direction of ethics, or could guess what was possible or what we had a right to expect, it might be a comfort, even if it was no help. It is not probable

that man can ever discover how the world was made, nor altogether how it is governed and carried on. But, until he descends far in the intellectual scale, he will never cease trying to discover; and it seems to be the kind of gymnastics by which, on the whole, he is destined to improve. It would seem, however, that he cannot in ethical, as he can and does in physical, science garner up the lessons of the past, and make of knowledge acquired a firm stepping-stone to lift him higher. He finds since history began a cycle of speculations and a cycle of conclusions; but, whether they are circles ending where they began or spirals lifting him by imperceptible degrees he never lives long enough to find out. What promised much to one generation appears of no value to another. Viewed as a gymnastic exercise, perhaps the wheel of Sisyphus was all that could be desired; but, so far as economic results were concerned, it was a total failure. We come to learn, too, how very greatly circumstances alter cases, and how the rules of an old or highly organized civilization, which seem in that civilization to have the authority of divine commands, lose all their proportion, value, and usefulness in the changed environment of a frontier life or a semi-barbarous community. Also that laws, when discovered, are simply tendencies modified at every turn by other laws and tendencies, even as the direct force of gravity is modified by contending forces into the paths of planets and comets and the tortuous course of the boomerang as well as into the repose of the balance; and these physical forces are much easier to weigh and calculate than the ethical forces with which we have to deal. So back we come for a new starting-point.

This is specially an age of ethical upheaval. There are no axioms left. Propositions which have served as such for centuries are doubted or denied. There is no law, human or divine, hardly one of the ten commandments, that has not been seriously brought in question in these later times. "If the foundations be destroyed, what shall the righteous do?" This is a profound and important inquiry; but the further question, what the foundations really are, and who may fairly consider themselves the righteous, always remains open for consideration. Every question of morals or of ethics which presents itself to us for solution at the present time seems to come to us as wholly new. No axioms are left, and no principles are regarded as established; and we are driven back, as others have been in times past, to construct our axioms, to restate our general principles, and to establish the premises upon

which to rest our conclusions. "Oh, I know very well what Paulos says," remarks the German professor; "but I do not at all agree with him."

There certainly is what may be called a fashion in morality. I had occasion, not long since, to examine the papers of a lawyer and judge who held a deservedly high social position in the community where he lived a hundred years ago. I was somewhat startled, I might almost say shocked, at finding among them a great number of lottery tickets. But when I came to see the purposes to which the proceeds of the lotteries were to be applied, and remembered the history of the times, I was relieved. A hundred years ago the lottery was the popular form of benevolence. I found tickets in lotteries for building churches, endowing colleges and schools, building bridges, augmenting a fund for the support of a bishop,—for almost every form of worthy and commendable public enterprise. In the same receptacle, side by side with the lottery tickets, I found the record of a public prosecution against an individual for permitting a game of cards to be played in a private house. And I said, "Who are the righteous, and where are the foundations?" Like Mrs. Peterkin, I sat down and thought, but with the same result that attended Sam Lawson's cogitations as described in "Oldtown Folks." "Sometimes," said Sam, "I think — and then again — I don't know."

Some African traveller, Stanley perhaps, tells of an African tribe so absolutely honest that you might hang your purse on a tree, and come back and find it the next year. I don't think he mentions having tried their honesty with an elephant's tusk or a roll of trade-cloth. However, I do not wish to say anything against the Africans. He evidently thought that honesty was in fashion there. It is related, I believe, of the Spartans that they taught their children to steal. In most of our large towns it has not been found necessary to pay special attention to this department as a branch of education, which shows how far we have advanced on the Spartans. But the reason probably is that just now, and for the last few years, the press, the platform, and even the pulpit, have busied themselves in proclaiming doctrines antagonistic to property rights, and endeavoring somehow to show that nobody has any particular right to anything whatever except the man who hasn't got it, and that he certainly has a *prima facie* claim. Is it strange that personal property cannot be left out over night?

We are told that the world is better to-day than ever before,

and that it is still improving; and we are most happy to think it may be so. But the strange thing and the discouraging thing is that the places or the people that were once best are now among the worst, while those that are best to-day are of comparatively recent growth. It is not that we never see progress, but that this progress, so far as we can see, is irregular and spasmodic, and that a certain degree of improvement forms no basis and holds no promise of further improvement, but that nations, like wild apples, only grow and ripen that they may fall and rot. We believe, for instance, that England and Germany, perhaps also France, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, all of them barbarous a few hundred years ago, are to-day improving. But how about Turkey and Egypt, or even Italy and Spain?

We have been accustomed to think the possibility of the development of man's mental and moral nature indefinite. But it certainly is not infinite. There will come a time when we can go no further. Evolutionists claim that it is demonstrable that physically man has reached that limit already. In the lower animals the mental limit, and probably the moral, has been reached long ago. The most intelligent donkey of to-day, even Denver, the famous trick-mule, knows no more than did Balaam's ass, and in conscientious fear of angels and in conversational power is not his equal. It is very doubtful if the world ever sees intellectual development superior to that of Aristotle or Plato or Sir Isaac Newton. In physical science, it is true, we know many things of which Aristotle and Sir Isaac Newton were ignorant. In chemistry we have gone from nebulous superstitions and unreasoning alchemy to the highest refinements of analysis, and all the intricacies of elemental and electric combination and reaction. In sanitation, in medicine, in surgery, and in the whole round of physical sciences, in all that pertains to human comfort, to travel and transportation, in our knowledge of the material world and of the external history of the people who have lived in it, of their language, their manners, their external life, in the arts, in commerce, man has made strides almost beyond the power of language to recount. But when it comes to a knowledge of ourselves, of our relations to each other, of the way in which people are to be made good and kept so,—in short, in all the problems which are called ethical,—what have we to show for an experience of three thousand years? The advantage which physical science has in being able to make the acquirements of one generation a *ποῦ στῶ* for the raising of an-

other has already been referred to, but in pure intellect or in mental acumen there has been no advance. It is also probable that there have been a great many men as good as any man ever will be. If that is so, then all we can hope for on that line is to increase the number of middling-good people. I think we should be well satisfied if we were sure of that.

In physical nature, in vegetable and animal life, there seems to be a capacity in things to work towards the right, under law. In all healthy organized matter there is a powerful tendency to repair lesions, to heal wounds, to supply waste. The cell reorganizes, subdivides, extends, multiplies, and restores. It even copies the normal type with such successful energy as to obliterate all evidence of lesion, to erase cicatrices and restore the injured thing to its former state. If a tree is cut into, not too deeply, the sides of the cut will form new cells, and approach each other until the gap is filled, and wholly disappears. If animal flesh is divided by a sharp incision, and the severed parts are immediately brought together, each palpitating nerve and fibre finds and joins its dis-severed continuation, in what the physiologist calls "union by first intention," although millions of separate unions must be required. This is all under law. This is the *vis medicatrix naturæ*, the self-repairing power of nature. Is there a *vis medicatrix naturæ* in society and in morals, as well as in animal and vegetable tissue? We would like to believe so ; but, if so, when and under what conditions may its beneficent influence be reckoned upon with safety? Is there here a hope and a promise, or merely a barren analogy? Social evolution certainly does not seem to work by any necessary, self-sustaining, unavoidable regenerative force, such as we see in animal and vegetable life, although it is to be noted that even these forces are limited in duration and end in decay.

It seems to be pretty well settled, in regard to all our efforts at human improvement, that it is impossible to do any good without at the same time doing some evil. We cannot exercise charity without the danger of demoralizing and more or less degrading the objects of it. Those who have money to spend cannot indulge their tastes without stimulating to a hurtful degree the desires and ambitions of others who are less able. If, on the other hand, those who are able do not spend with reasonable freedom, it deprives others of a much needed opportunity to labor for wages. I take the following from a bright little book of travels in Switzerland, recently published. There are plenty of similar expressions

all about us ; but this is the writing of an intelligent and observing man, who probably owes the world no special grudge. He says: "How full of irony is our modern industrial system! It is the women here who do the fine embroidery by hand, blinding their eyes, bending their backs, robbing their cheeks of bloom. The air is redolent with the smell and tonic of the Alps ; and still the close cottages are crowded with sad-eyed women, working for a pittance to satisfy distant fashion."

One would think, from the tone of this, that somehow the votaries of distant fashion were personally responsible for the sad, pale eyes and the cheeks robbed of bloom. I think that was the idea, so far as he had a definite idea on the subject, of the man who wrote it. Now suppose these votaries of fashion should conclude, on the whole, that they would make their own lace, or that they would go without lace for a year or two, or suppose that lace should go out of fashion, what then would these sad-eyed women be doing? Working alongside of an ox or a cow to draw a plough, or carrying heavy burdens on their heads up steep ladders, or delving among rocks to wring a scanty subsistence from a reluctant and sterile soil. Would this be better for them? They at least do not think so. But notice also that he says "*our modern industrial system.*" Now here is a place where we can score one for progress, and we do it gladly. The workingman and the workingwoman all over the civilized world are vastly better off in all that relates to their material condition than they were in Babylon, Thebes, Jerusalem, Athens, Rome, when they were in their glory, or even London and Paris a hundred years ago. Though there are still sharp contrasts and much that might be better but in all material things, the improvement is immense. In morals the progress is not so clear.

When, a few years ago, rumors occasionally reached us from Europe of International Societies and Socialist movements and Anarchist plots, we thought of them as we did of the cholera at Bagdad or the plague at Mecca,—as something to be regretted, but which did not particularly concern us. Yet here they are among us. And to some extent, at least, as an accompanying evil of that freedom of individual speech and action which we probably rightly consider the crowning glory of our time. Neither is the spirit of anarchy entirely confined to the mob or the ignorant masses. Unconsciously, it permeates our households. I heard not long since of a young woman, carefully reared in one of our

best families, who said she always felt a sense of shame when a servant asked her permission to go out, and that she thought it entirely wrong that she should be expected to consult her own father and mother in regard to her plans and pursuits. Yet she is not a wilful person, but conscientious, benevolent, and energetic, who spends much of her time in doing for others. The sweetness of obedience seems to be a lost sensation. Is this a logical outcome of altruistic philosophy, or is it an occult wave of epidemic anarchy? Who shall say? We may deplore it, but we cannot ignore it.

No paper constitution in the world can make a decent government without decent people. Witness Central and Southern America for the last hundred years. And people who really have the power of self-government will govern themselves under any sort of constitution or without any. Witness the State of Connecticut, that passed through two revolutions, and changed from a monarchical to a republican form of government, and from a dependent colony to an independent State, and again from an independent State to a federated portion of an independent nation, with no other organic law than a royal corporate charter,—and could even have got along just about as well without that,—and comes up bright and smiling after an experience of more than a hundred and fifty years. It has a charter now, and is even talking of another; but this, to my mind, shows small advance in the essentials of self-government.

If it be suggested that the people of Connecticut had what the people of Babylon and the other places lacked,—namely, sound moral character,—I reply, perhaps that it is so; but why did the people of Connecticut have it, and the people of Babylon and Jerusalem and Athens lack it? That is what we all desire to know. Are morals dependent on climate?

I am glad to say that it is only, or mainly, in one of the several departments into which this Association has divided its work that we find so much to discourage us. In education, if we mean by it a knowledge of the physical world, of history, and of linguistics,—and do not think too much about morals,—there is every reason for encouragement and even for congratulation. In sanitation, in medicine, and especially in surgery, the same is to be said, and perhaps with still more emphasis. In the department of Finance and Political Economy,—well, perhaps, on the whole, the less we say about that, the better. Just now the country is somewhat weary

of the topic. So much so, in fact, that in our programme for this year it has been thought best to restrict this department to one report, and give the sediment an opportunity to settle. Let us hope that the water-beetles of finance will find repose in the mud thus deposited.

In jurisprudence as a science, although by dint of Roman reasoning and Anglo-Saxon rule-of-thumb we manage to get along fairly well, there is a strong and growing feeling that our methods of dispensing justice are clumsy and inefficient. It has been sagely observed that the real object of legal procedure is the end of controversy, while justice and equity, though incidents of considerable value, are not of the first importance. If this is sarcasm, let us make the most of it. We cannot refrain, however, from noticing with a pardonable motherly pride the very marked ability of the papers lately presented here in the meeting of the American Bar Association, one of the youngest of the comely daughters of this society.

Doubtless remedies might be suggested. Plenty of them have been,—some of greater promise, and some of less. There are people who seriously say that our hope for the future lies in intrusting all great industrial enterprises to the management of the government, where the details could be discussed in the Senate, and the appointment of agents and the rate of wages settled by a committee of conference. But there are others who see difficulties in this arrangement. Somebody certainly needs more light.

I remember Mrs. Slosson's "Fishin' Jimmy," taking his stand firmly on the example of the apostles, propounded the doctrine that, if everybody would spend their time in fishin', things would soon improve. President Cleveland, I think, has tried the recipe with somewhat variable success. I know one man who fully believes that the world is to be regenerated through music, and who had, not long since, formed a small orchestra with the intention of reforming the inmates of our county jails, when some mishap to his second violin, which placed him in a way to be a receiver instead of a giver of reformatory efforts, broke up the plan. I am reminded of a wise old physician—successful enough to be honest—who was applied to by a friend for advice about a lame knee. The advice was given; but, just as the patient was leaving, the old doctor called him back. "Look here," said he, "if that does your knee any good, I wish you would let me know. I have had a knee like that thirty years, and that is the only thing I have never tried." Candid, but not consolatory.

However, the object of this paper is diagnosis, not treatment. And at least we can congratulate ourselves that there is still something left for us to do and think about.

Finally, so far as relates to ethical development, four questions may be asked:—

Is our system of the conduct of life radically wrong, and must we still look for the advent of some greater prophet before man can be developed into what we have fondly believed he was intended to become?

Or are nations and peoples to follow the law of animal and vegetable life,—to go through a period of growth, followed by one of decay and death, so that advance toward final perfection can only be predicated of the race as a whole, to which each nation and each cycle contributes its small quota?

Or is it all a misapprehension,—this perfectibility of man,—and are we to struggle on, like so many Kilkenny cats, until nothing is left but the tale that tells our failure?

Or are we slowly and blindly working out some divine purpose in which the steps to be taken and the result to be attained are alike hid from our eyes, and do we thus come back to where we started? Is Society only

“An infant crying in the night,
An infant crying for the light,
And with no language but a cry”?

THE PRESENT ASPECT OF THE SILVER PROBLEM.

A REPORT FROM THE FINANCE DEPARTMENT.

BY PROF. J. W. JENKS, SECRETARY.

[Read September 5.]

Since the crisis of a year ago is in good part past, and since the coinage of silver has been stopped in the United States, the silver problem is not demanding a solution in this country so urgently as was the case a year ago. Inasmuch, however, as the price of silver has been rapidly decreasing during the past year until very lately, as well as during the three years preceding, the silver problem as a whole has become even more puzzling than before; and, if we take into consideration the condition of commerce and of business throughout the world, it will be seen that the problem is of no less importance than it has been heretofore considered.

Last year in the meeting of the American Social Science Association the question of silver was discussed by thoroughly prepared experts from both standpoints, that of monometallism and that of bimetallism. In making the report, therefore, on the present condition of the problem on behalf of the Committee on Finance, I need do little more than to call attention to the events of the past year or two, and their bearing upon the theoretical discussion, and, if possible, give expression to the present drift of public opinion in this and in foreign countries regarding what the future has in store.

In order that the events of the past year may be seen in their connection with the past, it may be well to state the general facts regarding the relations of silver and gold, as well as those regarding the prices of commodities in connection with both silver and gold, for some years in the past.

The salient facts are, so far as I am aware, agreed upon by both parties to the monetary controversy. Nobody questions that the past few years have been years of great business depression. Nobody questions that there has been a great fall in average

prices, as well as in the price of silver. All are agreed that the period of this decline in prices began with the year 1873, and that before that time, from about the time of the great gold discoveries of 1849, there had been a corresponding increase in prices. The points in controversy are the causes of these changes in price, and the best remedies for the present unsatisfactory condition of business.

The monometallists assert that the fall in average prices has been due mostly, in all probability, to improved processes of production, new inventions, and, in general, more efficient application of labor, though some of them think that there has been some influence toward making lower prices in the relative scarcity of gold. Giffen even thinks that. The fall in the price of silver, it is claimed by them, is due mostly to the greatly increased output of silver. In 1849 it is asserted that the output of silver was about 31 million ounces: whereas twenty or twenty-one years later the output of silver had increased only some 9 million ounces, to not over 40 million ounces. Just before the great decline in silver began the increase in the output for the single year 1871 was about equal to the increase of the previous twenty years. In 1892 the output had reached 152 million ounces for the year. The fact that in the twenty-two years that ended in 1892 the increase in the output of silver had been 112 million ounces, whereas in the twenty-two years that ended in 1871 the increase had been only 9 million ounces, is asserted to be sufficient to explain, in great part at least, the fall in the price of silver.

The bimetallics, on the other hand, lay great emphasis upon the lessening of the demand for silver through its demonetization, and the consequent increase in the market supply. Near the close of 1871 Germany, which up to that time had been a bimetallic country, adopted the single gold standard, and threw its surplus stock of silver upon the market, some £28,000,000 within five years. The following year Denmark, Sweden, and Norway followed the same plan, cutting off their demand, and throwing what stock they had upon the market. About three months later the United States Congress, by the act of Feb. 12, 1873, also demonetized silver. It should be said, however, that in the last case, at any rate, there was no immediate lessening of the demand for silver and no increase in the supply that was thrown upon the market. As a matter of fact, since 1834 the ratio of sixteen to one which was held by the United States had made our silver

coins the more valuable of the two, so that, under the influence of Gresham's law, silver had not been coined, and we had practically no silver in the country beyond what was needed for small change.

The bimetallists add greatly to the strength of their argument by showing that from 1803, at which time France had adopted the bimetallic system, down to 1873, when so many countries adopted the single gold standard, and under their influence the Latin Union also closed its mints to silver and practically adopted the gold standard, the variation in the price of silver had been very slight. For more than seventy years silver had not varied from its mint ratio to gold more than about 3% : whereas immediately after the demonetization of silver in so many countries the price of silver began rapidly to fall, and its fall has been, up to the present time, almost continuous. Even some strong monometallists agree that it was the influence of the Latin Union that kept up the price of silver,—rather, that kept the values of gold and silver at about the same ratio throughout this time.

It is, of course, also true that the demonetization of silver has necessitated the more general use of gold, so that the lessening of the demand for silver has brought about an increased demand for gold,—an increase that would naturally tend to raise its value as compared with silver and with commodities in general. The bimetallists then claim that the falling off in the prices of commodities since 1873 is to be explained rather by the appreciation in the value of gold due to the demonetization of silver than by the improved processes of production, though, of course, they do not deny that these improved processes have had a decided effect. Inasmuch, too, as silver has fallen in price at about the same rate as have other commodities, until within the last two years its decline in price is explained also largely by their theory of the appreciation of gold, though of course they do not deny that the lessened demand for silver, especially of late, and its cheaper production, have been felt directly upon its price. Indeed, the unusually rapid decline in price of the last two years is to be attributed in the main to the lessened demand in India and the United States.

Diagram I. showing by line A the course of the gold price of silver from 1850 to 1894, and also, by line B, the gold price of commodities for the same period, in accordance with Soetbeer's index numbers (which represent the average prices of one hundred

commodities in the Hamburg, and fourteen commodities in the London market, arranged in groups, and referred to the average prices of the years 1847 to 1850 as a basis — 100), serves to bring out these two points of view. Below the line marked by the index number 100, in the diagram, line C represents the course of the price of gold measured by the average price of commodities as a basis in accordance with the same figure,—*i.e.*, C is simply the reverse of line B.*

The upper part of the diagram, after the year 1873, may fairly be said to represent the point of view of the monometallists, in which gold is assumed to be stationary in value (though of course I by no means intend to assert that the monometallists deny that gold has appreciated in value): whereas the part of the chart below the centre represents emphatically the point of view of the bimetallists, who lay emphasis upon the appreciation of gold. Whether it be merely a coincidence or whether it shows a causal connection, it is certainly a striking fact that from the year 1850 to 1873 the price of silver followed the price of gold, whereas since that time it has followed much more nearly the price of commodities. The relative steadiness in the value of silver over the long period from 1800 to 1873 is the more striking when we notice the fluctuations in output.†

								<i>Ratio of Market Value.</i>
1801-10	\$3.226	worth of silver were produced to	\$1.00	in gold	.	.	.	15.61 to 1
1811-20	3.048	"	"	"	"	"	"	15.51 to 1
1821-30	2.055	"	"	"	"	"	"	15.80 to 1
1831-40	1.865	"	"	"	"	"	"	15.75 to 1
1841-50	.899	"	"	"	"	"	"	15.83 to 1
1851-55	.288	"	"	"	"	"	"	15.41 to 1
1856-60	.292	"	"	"	"	"	"	15.30 to 1
1861-65	.386	"	"	"	"	"	"	15.40 to 1
1866-70	.440	"	"	"	"	"	"	15.55 to 1

It may perhaps be worth stating again that both monometallists and bimetallists agree that the great depreciation in the value of gold, with which silver also declined from 1850 to 1873, was due in great part to the increased output of gold.

The great fall of prices after 1873 very naturally produced discontent among business men throughout the world. To those of us who have a fixed income the prospect of lower and con-

* According to Jevons, gold fell 46% between the years 1789 and 1809; rose 145% between the years 1809 and 1849; fell 20% at least between the years 1849 and 1869.

† From Report of English Silver Commission.

tinually lower prices is a very pleasing one, but to those who are engaged in manufacturing or in mercantile industries the prospect is anything but pleasant. Probably nothing is more discouraging, or tends more to take the spirit of enterprise away from a people, than prices continually falling, from whatever cause. Even as regards wage-earners the lack of steady employment due to falling prices may more than balance the gain that comes from lower prices. In the United States this depreciation of prices was perhaps intensified by our resumption of specie payments and the withdrawal of our depreciated paper currency that had been issued during war times. At any rate, it was this country that first acted in the attempt to lessen the fall in the price of silver by bringing about a greater demand for its use. It was doubtless expected that this increase in the use of silver would, while putting the United States upon a metallic monetary basis, check the fall in general prices, as was strongly urged by the Silver Commission, and also lessen in great part the demand for gold, and so prevent its appreciation, and prevent the continued fall in prices that seemed imminent. Beyond any question the condition of affairs in the United States was chiefly in the minds of those who voted for the Bland Bill of 1878; and the thought of preventing the great contraction in the currency that of necessity had to come from the resumption of specie payments had much, if not most, to do with the passage of the act.

This act, which provided for the purchase and coinage of from 'two million to four million dollars' worth of silver per month, increased very greatly the amount of metallic money circulating in the United States, and increased also very greatly the demand for silver. The solid black line A in Diagram II. shows the total amount of silver that was coined under the law of 1878 until the year 1890, also thereafter the amount of silver that was purchased under the Sherman Act, and made available for purposes of circulation by treasury notes, down to the present time.

The feeling of the people of the United States in regard to the use of silver, after the passage of the Bland Act, seemed to be largely the same as that of the governments of Europe that had demonetized silver in 1871-72. Though provision had been made by law for supplying the country with silver, the people seemed averse to its use. The dotted line B in the chart shows the total amount of silver that there has been actually in circulation from 1878 to the present time. It will be noticed that almost at first

the amount of silver that remained in the treasury was very large, the difference between line B and line A representing this amount. In 1880, in order to induce the people to take a greater amount of silver as well as to keep a greater amount of gold in the treasury for the purpose of redemption of the greenbacks, payment of interest on bonds, etc., the treasury agreed to give drafts upon the sub-treasuries in the West to the banks in the East that would deposit gold with them, thus enabling the Eastern banks to have the currency required for use in the West every fall transported at the expense of the United States government. The effect of this treasury order is seen at once both in the increased amount of gold that remained in the United States treasury, as represented by the dotted line C, and the greater amount of silver that at once came into circulation. For several years we notice at the beginning of the year a falling off in the silver circulation, and in the fall the increased amount that came into circulation owing to this offer of the government to transport money to the West. In the years 1885 and 1886, however, the amount of silver had become so large that some other device was needed, in order to persuade the people to make proper use of their advantages. In 1885 the government stopped the issue of greenbacks for sums less than five dollars, in order that the amount of money needed for small change might be supplied in silver. Moreover, the increasing credit of the United States, and the consequent increase in the value of United States bonds, had made the issuing of currency by the national banks so unprofitable that a great many were surrendering their currency; and in this way again a greater demand for silver currency was brought about. In 1886, inasmuch as silver for small change had proved so inconvenient, silver certificates for sums of one, two, and five dollars began to be issued; and the effect is at once seen by the amount of silver that came into circulation. From this time on the increase in the silver that the people take is very rapid. For a large part of the time the amount of silver left in the treasury unused by the people does not average more than five to fifteen millions. For the last three years, however, when the people were becoming apprehensive lest so large an increase in our silver currency would drive gold from the country and bring us to a silver basis, the demand for gold on the part of the banks has been increasing, customs duties are paid in silver rather than in gold, and the amount of silver left in the treasury has been much larger than before.

The Sherman Act of 1890, providing for the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver per month, and the issue of treasury notes based upon them for circulation, simply continued the line of policy adopted in the Bland Act, but increased somewhat the demand for silver, though, owing to the low price of silver, the change was not great.

The effect of this great and continued demand for silver on the part of the United States does not seem, however, to have aided materially in keeping up the price of silver. Our first and third charts show us that the passage of the Bland Act seemed to have practically no effect, although the year following there was a slight increase in the value of silver, which was merely temporary, however. For two or three years the rate of decline was somewhat lessened, and then silver fell in price more rapidly than before. When it became evident in 1889-90 that we were likely to have in this country either free coinage of silver or some compromise that would increase the demand for that product, there was a speculative rise, as we see, from about 43 to nearly 48*d.* per ounce; but the passage of the Sherman Bill, showing that the increase in demand was not great, was not sufficient to delay, to any material extent, the fall.

The increase in the use of silver in the United States, however, had another effect, different from that intended by many who voted for the bill. The country was obtaining more of the circulating medium than was needed for the conduct of business, and the poorer money was beginning to drive out of circulation the better. A reference to the chart will show that, from the passage of the Bland Bill until 1888, and in great part until 1890, in spite of the fact that we had been adding to our circulation large amounts of silver, the business of the country seemed to be able to take this larger circulation. Until early in 1888 the amount of gold in the treasury had been sufficient for the meeting of all obligations — for the payment of bonds, interest, redemption of greenbacks, and so on,—and the amount was actually increasing. After 1888 however, the money supply of the United States was so largely silver that the receipts of the treasury in gold became less and continually less than the demand for gold for the meeting of its obligations. The passage of the Sherman Bill in 1890 simply increased this tendency; and, as we see in Diagram II., the stock of gold rapidly fell off. Early in 1893 the amount of gold in the treasury had gone below the one hundred million limit that had been fixed as

the reserve to be kept for the redemption of greenbacks. The fear lest this stock should be completely exhausted, and that the United States would have to meet its obligations in silver, thus forcing the country to a silver basis, became so intense that, as we know, just before the meeting of this Association a year ago there was a monetary crisis of almost unprecedented severity. The President called Congress together for the express purpose of having the silver purchase clauses of the Sherman Act repealed. November 1 the repeal act was passed. The effect upon the price of silver seems to have been comparatively slight. There was an immediate drop of some four cents per ounce in the London market, a brief recovery, and thereafter the market tended steadily downwards, as before.

The effect of the repeal upon the condition of the treasury in the United States is not immediately noticeable, though it removed at once the apprehension of disaster, and strengthened, beyond doubt, the feeling of confidence in the credit of the country both here and abroad. The condition of business was such that the amount of gold receipts in the treasury was small: whereas the demand for gold for foreign shipments was so great that the amount of gold in the treasury lessened still more after the repeal of the act, until early in the present year the Secretary of the Treasury found himself compelled to issue fifty millions of bonds, in order to prevent the possibility of failure to meet any sudden call. Just recently the prospective passage of the new tariff act has brought about a removal of large quantities of alcohol from bond, in order to avoid the increased revenue tax, so that now the treasury is in much better condition than before, in spite of gold exports; and probably the increased income under the new tariff bill will enable the amount of gold in the treasury rapidly to increase.

Even more potent, perhaps, than the action of the United States regarding silver has been the condition of affairs in India. Until a little over a year ago India has been a silver country, providing for the free coinage of silver for private persons. India, however, has borrowed heavily in London; and the interest on its debt is due in gold. In consequence of this it has been necessary for many years in the past for India to remit to London each year several millions of pounds in gold. For the last year this sum amounted to nearly nineteen million pounds sterling, due in gold in London. The taxes in India are levied and collected in silver.

The great decrease in the price of silver has consequently made it necessary for the Indian government, in order to meet its former obligations, to increase very materially its taxes. Within the last few years it has been found difficult to collect the amounts necessary.

It will be noticed that the trouble in India is purely and simply a trouble of the government. So far as the people themselves are concerned, so far as business in India is concerned, there has been no noticeable trouble. It is generally asserted that prices in India, which are of course fixed on a silver basis, have not decreased. Neither has there been any material speculative increase, owing to the fall in the price of silver; but prices have remained fairly steady for some years in the past.

The burden of the increasing rates of exchange, however, had become so great that the Indian government felt it necessary to take steps to lessen it. They have favored bimetalism as by far the simplest and best means of increasing the value of silver or lessening the value of gold, so that the ratio of exchange between the two countries would remain a stable one. When the United States in 1892 proposed the international money conference at Brussels, it had been hoped by some connected with the Indian government that from this might result some measure that would lessen the decrease in the price of silver. When, however, it became evident that the conference had accomplished nothing beyond the collection of valuable facts and opinions, it was thought best to make a beginning toward the adoption, ultimately, of the gold standard by closing their mints to the free coinage of silver, and attempting to fix in some way a stable price for the rupee in which they had to collect the money for their London remittances. Consequently, on the 26th of June the mints were closed; and provisions were made by which the Indian government agreed to accept gold at the rate of 1s. 4d. per rupee in exchange for a silver rupee. Any amount of silver might be obtained at that rate. It should be borne in mind that the balance of trade is regularly in favor of India. Gold or silver must be shipped. A tariff on silver would doubtless enable the government to get its price, but that tariff was not levied; and the event shows that the silver merchant stood ready to underbid the government.

At the time the measure was taken the rates of exchange were between 1s. 2d. and 1s. 3d. It is customary for the Indian government to make its London remittances through the sale of "Council

bills" drawn upon the Indian treasury by the Indian Council in London, which bills are then sold upon the London market to persons having remittances to make to their clients in India. It was hoped that after this act was passed Council bills would sell at the rate of 1s. 4d. per rupee. Very soon, however, it was found that there were no takers of the bills at that rate. Almost immediately, in July, some drafts were sold at 1s. 3½d. The Indian government objected. They could not expect that the rates of exchange would remain where they had hoped to fix them, at 1s. 4d., provided the Council in London sold bills at less than that price. In consequence Council drafts were offered at 1s. 4d. from week to week, but no takers were found. At length, in order that the Indian government might meet its obligations without being forced to sell bills at a lower rate than 1s. 4d. per rupee, a loan of £1,300,000 was made. The delay, however, was of no avail; and at last, toward the latter part of August, the Council found it necessary to sell bills at 1s. 3¼d., and this was fixed as the minimum price. The sales, however, were so small that again in October the Council found it necessary to borrow £1,400,000; and still later, in November, on six months' bills, £2,000,000 more. The price of silver continued falling. More silver was imported into India, until there was finally talk of imposing a duty on silver to keep up its price. There being still no demand for the bills, by the middle of December a bill was introduced into Parliament to enable the Indian government to borrow £10,000,000 in order that they might delay still longer the sale of Council bills. At length, in April, after the government had borrowed altogether something like £6,000,000 on short time, it was decided to sell the bills for what they would bring. The price of silver dropped to 1s. 1½d. per rupee, to 1s. 1¼d., finally in May to 1s. 1⅜d. From that time to the present bills have remained at from 1s. 1d. to 1s. 7⁄8 or 1⅜d. Lately, on account of the prospective increased demand for silver on account of the Chinese-Japanese war, there has been a slight recovery in price, though no bills have been sold as high as 1s. 2d. The London price of silver early in the year went down to 27d. per fine ounce; but for the last three months it has remained at 28d., or slightly above. Large amounts of silver have been imported into India. It is found that, when the price rises to 28½d., India ceases buying silver; but, when it goes below that, the demand from India begins. There is no free coinage of silver in India; and the demand is

presumably in part for hoarding, presumably in part for counterfeiting. It must be remembered, too, that, while the Indian government as such has stopped the coinage of silver, some of the separate provinces in India which have their own mints are still coining.

The experiment made by the English government of India to keep up the price of silver by closing the mint, and fixing the price at which they will take gold, has failed as miserably as did the attempt of the United States to keep up the price by large purchases to inject into our circulation. The last two years have seen these two attempts at keeping up the price of silver fail.

Meanwhile elsewhere the tendency seems to be still stronger in favor of the adoption of the gold standard. In 1892 Austria, which has had a depreciated currency since the beginning of this century, determined to make another effort to withdraw her paper money and place herself upon a metallic basis; and Austria decided that the gold basis was the proper one. The Austrian demand for gold during these last two years has been largely satisfied, it is thought, by shipments from the United States; and the large amounts of gold that left this country in 1893-94 might probably have remained here, so that our treasury would not have felt the strain that it has felt, had it not been for the accumulation of gold in the Austrian treasury for the prospective redemption of its paper money. The fall in the prices of commodities, however, has been so great, times have been so hard, and Austria has had to pay so high a price for the gold that she has accumulated, that the authorities most favorably inclined toward Austria and her experiments have reached the opinion that the time has not yet come for the resumption of specie payments there, but that, in spite of her good intentions, the hope for the position of Austria on a par with the other leading nations of Europe, so far as its money standards are concerned, is one to be attained presumably only in the somewhat distant future.

So far as one can see, unless some decided action is taken by the leading governments of the world, or unless there comes some unexpected increase in the supply of gold beyond even the new supply from the Transvaal, silver is not likely to increase in price, and may well go still lower. The demand for gold, if India and Austria can succeed in adopting the gold standard, is likely to increase still more, and prices are likely to fall still farther. The prospect is certainly one that is troubling not merely our econo-

mists, but governments as well. Already the condition of affairs in India was such that in 1886 a government commission was appointed in England to investigate the question. Their very able report showed that they were practically unanimous in the opinion that there had been a decided appreciation of the value of gold; that the bimetallic system had had great influence in keeping the prices of gold and silver steady as compared with each other until the year 1873; and even so good a monometallist as Mr. Goschen was of the opinion that it would be unfortunate if the silver-using countries were to go over to the gold standard, so as still further to lessen the demand for silver, and to increase the demand for gold. That is, however, what has been done in the United States and India. The demand for silver in both has ceased.

It was found that that Money Commission was made up of six monometallists and six bimetallics. All agreed that the bimetallic system of France had had great influence in keeping up the price of silver. They could not agree on bimetallicism, first, because there were differences of opinion regarding the ratio, and, second, because the monometallists asserted that England was a creditor country, and would lose by an increase in prices. "A diminution of the purchasing power of gold would be to our disadvantage." The reply of the bimetallics to this was that payment in even a depreciated gold is better than no payment at all, and that present tendencies point to the latter result. Since that time one of the ablest and most judicious members of the Commission, Mr. Courtney, has announced his conversion to bimetallicism. The Bimetallic League formed in England seems to be gaining in influence. It is believed both in England and Germany, as well as in this country, that the British government is the only barrier to the establishment of an international joint standard. The leading Conservative statesmen in England, Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour, are both bimetallics; and if, as many think, the English government should become Conservative after the next election, it would not be unreasonable to anticipate some change in the English policy. India, the cotton interests (Manchester), the shipping interests, the agriculturists, are bimetallic in sympathy.

France was bimetallic until the years 1873-75; and with France go the other States of the Latin Union,—Italy, Switzerland, Greece, and Belgium. The Latin Union is bimetallic still, so far as standard is concerned; but it no longer has free coinage of silver. The Latin Union, beyond question, would willingly enter a bimetallic league.

So far as Germany is concerned, one of the Prussian ministers, who is said to represent the views of the German emperor, recently said, "I am empowered by the government to declare that we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the low price of silver has an influence on the general level of prices, and that the constant fluctuations in the value of silver have an unfavorable effect on our working population." He added that the German government meant to make an earnest effort to deal with this question in a practical manner.

Early in this year the German government appointed a commission to make a thorough study of this question. The German bimetallicists, feeling that the present condition of affairs was due largely to the action of their government in 1871, think that Germany should take the lead in inviting the chief powers of the world to conference, and should present the draft of a treaty for an international monetary standard, to be binding if accepted by Austria-Hungary, France, Italy, Holland, Spain, and the United States. If it were thought that the system could not be successful unless England should join, the treaty might become binding in case England acted favorably; and the nations could then await England's action, throwing the burden of the rejection of the plan upon her. A letter from one of the members of the Commission, however, informs me that the report of the conference, just published, will not advance much the cause of bimetallicism. Only two propositions were voted upon in the conference, both of them looking toward a compromise between the monometallicists and the bimetallicists. Both plans were rejected, and the report will probably result in the government waiting for England before taking any decisive step toward bimetallicism. "These reports," he writes, "will by no means have practical results from the standpoint of bimetallicism. I made a compromise proposition, according to which the leading States should unite to coin yearly, on a ratio of 1 to 21, a limited quantity of silver,—say, from 1,200,000 to 1,500,000 kilograms,—which coins could circulate without difficulty in connection with our present coins. . . . The proposition, however, naturally went too far for the monometallicists, and not far enough for the bimetallicists.

"Dr. Arendt, bimetallicist, proposed as a transition system the following: An international agreement for five years,—for the unlimited issue of certificates on deposits of silver bullion to be kept in the public treasuries. These certificates were not to be

used as a direct medium of exchange, but were to be issued to the depositor of bullion, and be transferred by indorsement. They were, however, to be bought for cash at any time by any of the States concerned at a price annually agreed upon, which price might within the five-year period be raised, but not lowered, until the ratio reached $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. If the agreement were not renewed after the five-year period was ended, the certificates were to be divided among the States concerned, half in proportion to population, half according to their silver production. This plan met with less favor than the other, even bimetallists speaking against it. Besides these two propositions, no others were voted on by the Commission. The different members spoke on the various points; and the government will, from these speeches, form its opinion. In my judgment, this opinion will be to do nothing, and to let silver simply take care of itself. In that case it will probably reach a price of 25-29 pence." Some of the close councillors of the Chancellor are known to be active bimetallists.

Outside the actions of governments the tendency among special students of the subject seems to be an increasing tendency toward bimetallism. A year ago, at the meeting of the English Bimetallic League, Professor Foxwell, in speaking of the opinions of the professors and teachers of political economy in England, said that they were generally favorable to bimetallism, and gave a list of the names of the most prominent ones, with their opinions. At the meeting held this year, Feb. 6, 1894, he says:—

"I said that they were generally favorable to bimetallism, and, at any rate, accepted the theory upon which the practical working of that monetary system depends. I can speak now with more confidence with regard to both points. It may be partly owing to the natural development of opinion, partly owing to the vivid light thrown on the situation by the striking monetary events of the past year; but, whatever the cause, there can be no doubt that economic opinion has distinctly advanced in the direction of the views which we advocate, and that there is a greater disposition to aid us in giving practical effect to those views. Our ranks have received a notable and weighty accession in the person of Mr. Leonard Courtney, whose many public distinctions have probably obscured the fact that twenty years ago he was professor of political economy at University College. The British economists are practically unanimous upon what is really the fundamental point; namely, that the monetary difficulty will never be settled upon a permanent and

satisfactory basis until silver is again brought into use as standard money upon the basis of an international agreement. There are differences of opinion amongst them, naturally, as to the precise ratio between the metals which will give the best guarantee of stability; but I do not think these differences will prove to be serious when we come to the practical settlement of the question." To the same effect writes President Walker: "I do not know of a single British professor of political economy who is a gold monometallist, while several, and these the most distinguished, are active working bimetallists."

There is little doubt, if one may judge from Congressional action and the utterances of public men, that in the United States bimetalism is very strong, though some of the ablest writers are monometallists. Judging from late political platforms, there is yet a very strong sentiment in West and South in favor of free coinage of silver, even without an international agreement. There may be said, however, to be no thoughtful writer back of this demand, though international bimetallists among the scholars probably outnumber the monometallists.

In spite of the trend, however, of economic opinion toward bimetalism,—and it seems to me that there can be little doubt that the general tendency is in that direction, in spite of the action of governments since 1870,—attention has been called to the fact that the events of the last four years may have a bearing that seems to be distinctly opposed to their views. In the last number of the *Yale Review*, August, 1894, Professor Henry W. Farnham, of Yale University, calls attention to the facts that have just been given, as well as to others of great interest, but puts an interpretation upon them entirely different from that given by the bimetallists. There is space to give very briefly one or two of his arguments that are of chief importance.

He notes that bimetalists have laid chief emphasis upon the demand for the precious metals, and have said relatively little about the supply. He then lays down the principle: "No force that influences merely the demand for the metals can effectually regulate their value. It should also be able to control the supply." He gives Diagram III. to show the world's production of gold and silver, and the world's monetary demand for gold and silver from 1874 to 1892-93, and calls attention to the fact that in 1891-92 the demand of the mints for silver increased enormously, yet silver fell constantly. "The explanation is found partly in

the diminished cost of producing, and partly in the increase of the output."

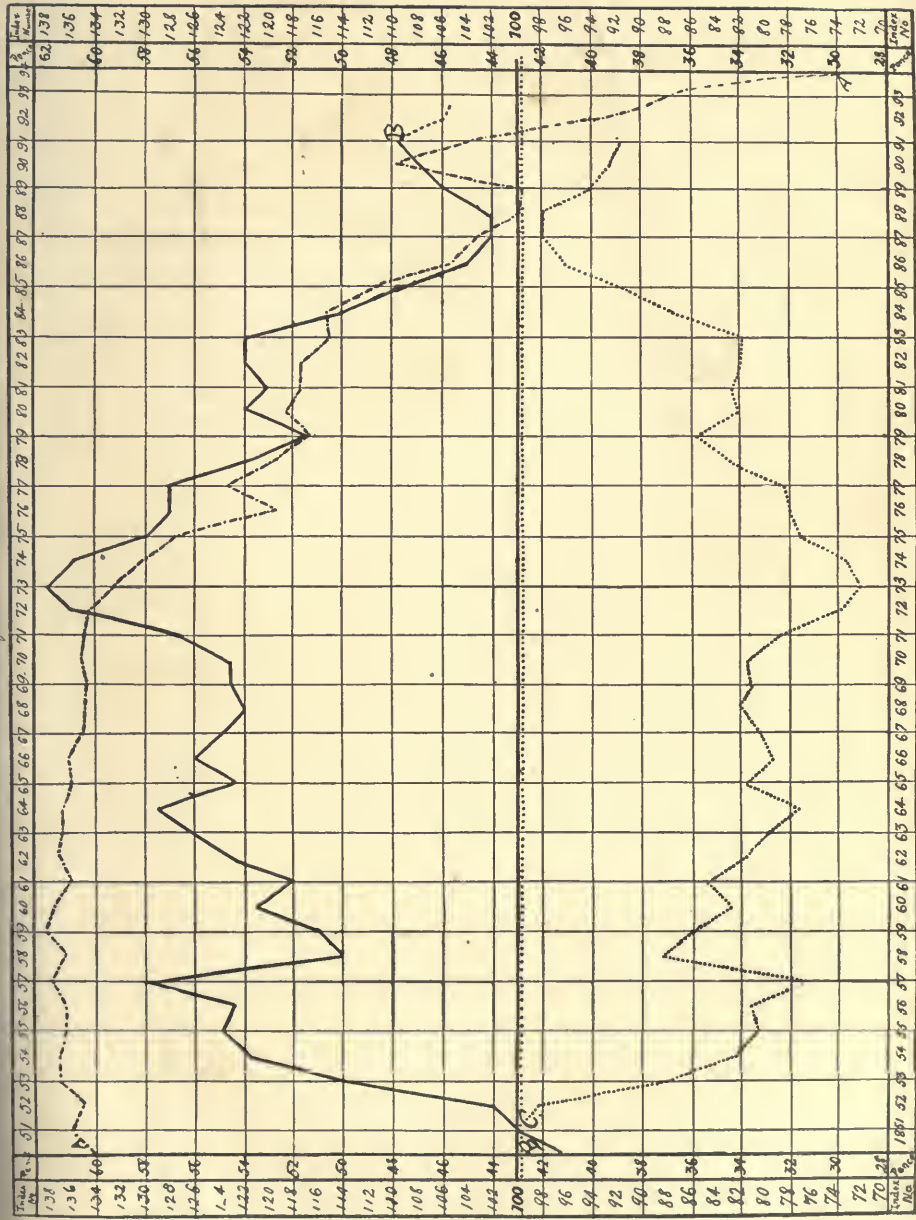
A bimetallist might grant all this, and still urge his system on two grounds: 1. That, great as the demand has been, it has been a specific one, and not so influential on price as would be free coinage, with practically a limitless demand; and, 2. That bimetallism would, at any rate, have kept the ratio of gold to silver steady so that rates of exchange between foreign countries would have been stable, and there would not have been a general decline in prices. At any rate, the decline could not have been so great as it has been.

The other most important argument of the article, and the one urged with most effect, is that "bimetallism makes no provision for a long-continued fall in the value of the same metal." The point is, perhaps, better made here, since there is not space to give all his arguments, in this form: bimetallism makes no provision for a long-continued relative increase in the output of one metal at a decreasing cost. This is true, so far as most of the arguments with which I am familiar are concerned; but it assumes a position for the bimetallists that I am not aware that they take, — *i.e.*, that a ratio once fixed between the two metals must of necessity be forever permanent. In such matters we usually speak in terms of years or decades. The bimetallist claims merely that his system will give a much more nearly stable currency than monometallism gives.

Even if he knew that silver would ultimately get so cheap that, with a ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, gold would entirely disappear from circulation to be used only in the arts, he might still consistently advocate his system, on the ground of much greater steadiness for a long time to come, with a possible necessity of a change in the ratio later. Most of the bimetallists would consider that a far less evil than the continued appreciation of gold, which they think inevitable under present conditions.

It has seemed advisable to call attention to these two arguments in Professor Farnham's very able paper, because present conditions have made them of great importance, and because only the peculiar conditions of the last three years could have given them great weight. If silver continues to fall in value, the bimetallist will need to face these issues as practical ones, as he has never needed to do before.

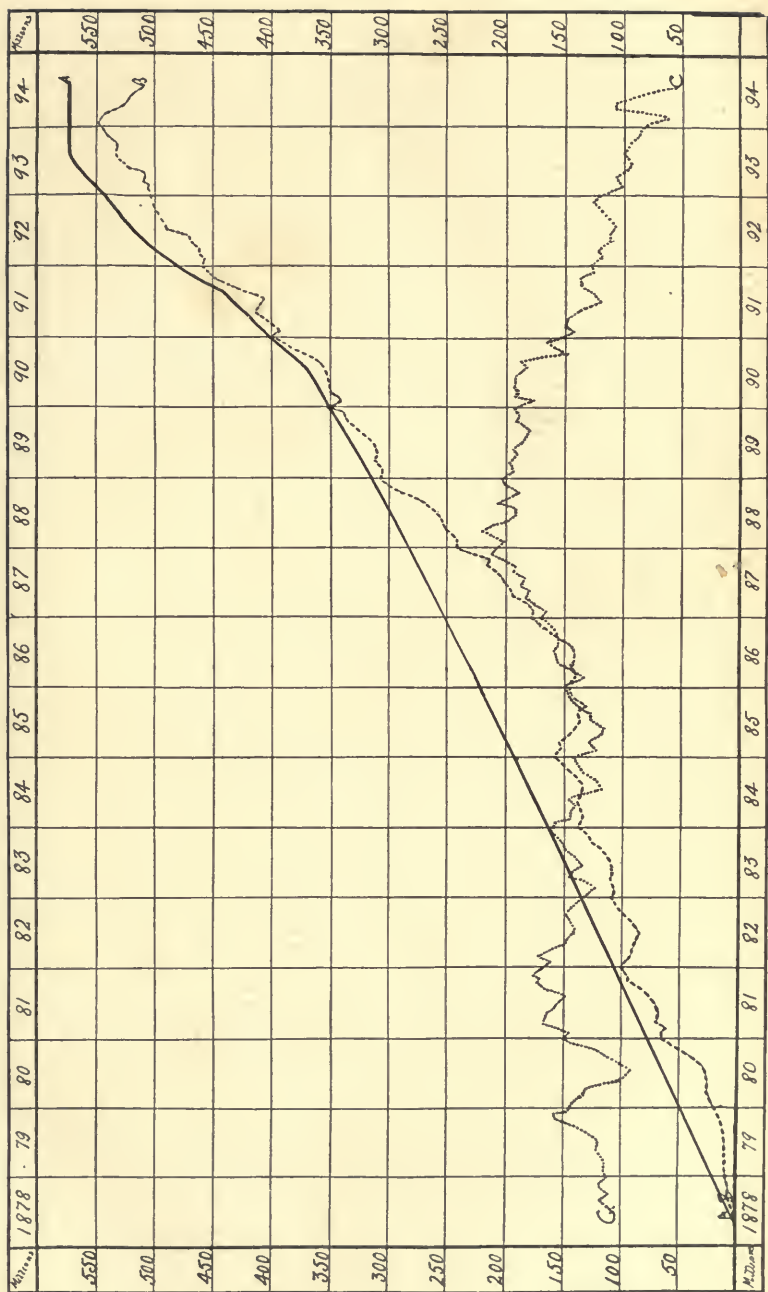
It should be said that on the question whether, under pres-



Annual Price of Silver in London A. Index Number of Gold as measured by Commodities (same basis; i.e., Soetbeer's index number).
 C. Average Annual Price of 114 Commodities — Soetbeer — B (index numbers, average of 1847-1850 = 100).

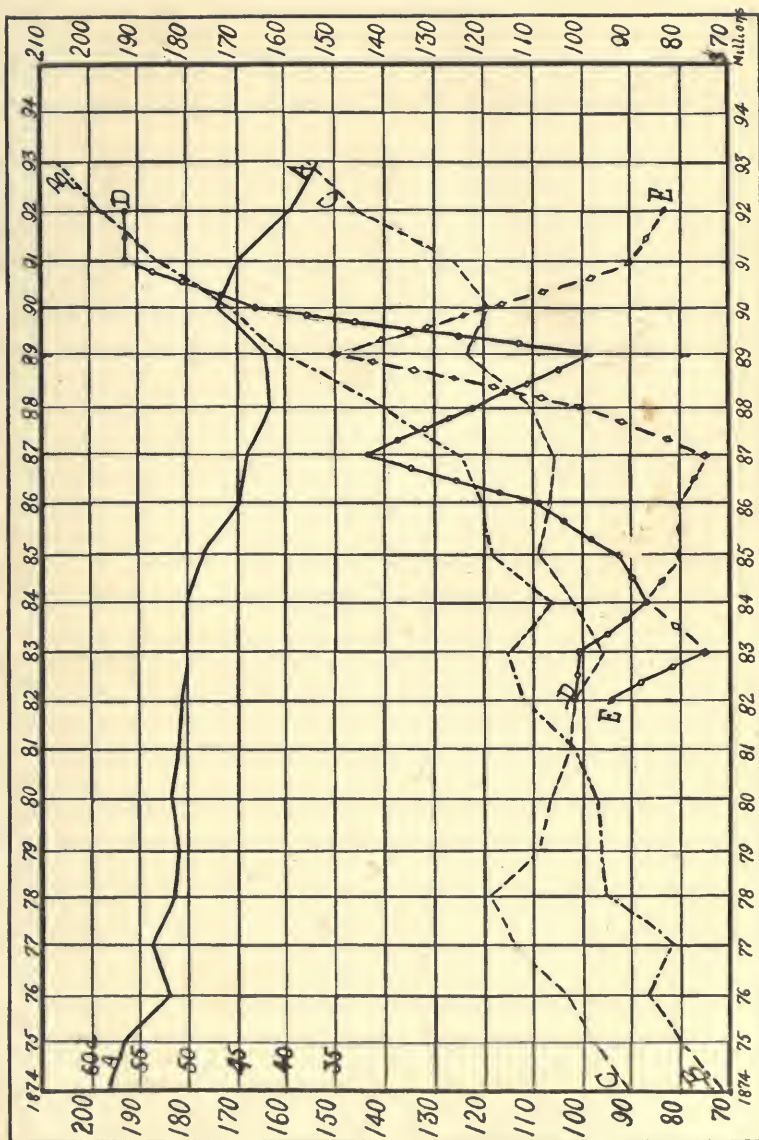


Diagram II.



A ——— Total Silver Currency Authorized (Silver Dollars, Silver Certificates, Treasury Notes of 1890).
 B Total Silver Currency in Circulation.
 C Gold in United States Treasury.



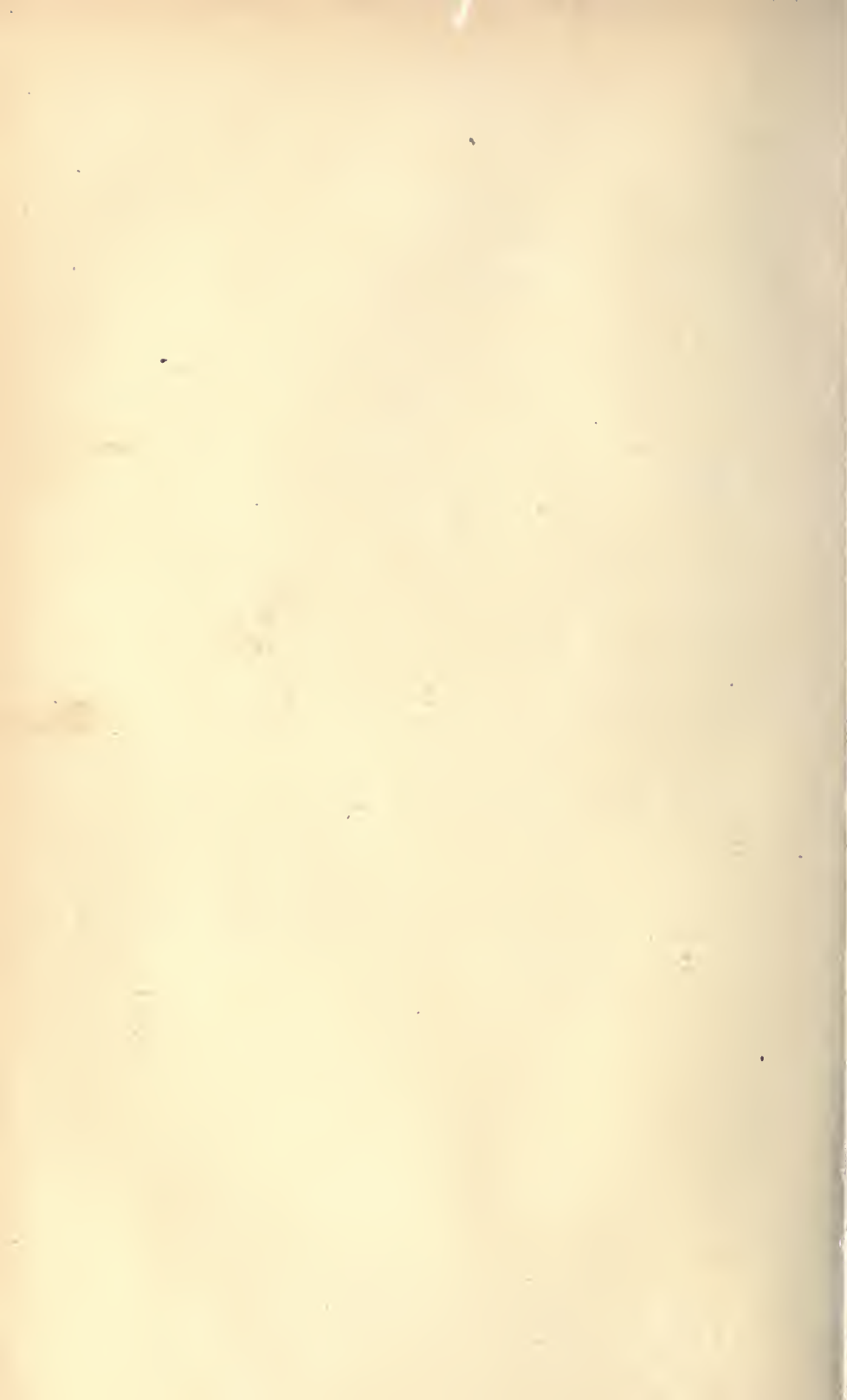


Average London Price of Silver ——— A.
 World's Production of Silver - - - - - B.
 World's Production of Gold - - - - - C.
 Monetary Demand of World for Silver o—o D.
 Monetary Demand of World for Gold ->-> E.



ent circumstances, an attempt at international bimetallism would bring about silver monometallism, Professor Farnham thinks that it would, while the English Commission, writing a little earlier, think not. The increased output of gold of the last two years certainly favors the bimetallic view, in spite of the decline in value of silver.

The present aspect of the question may perhaps be summarized as follows: The efforts to keep up the price of silver by this country and by India have failed. It would not be strange if silver and prices of other commodities went still lower. The decline in general prices is quite generally conceded to be an evil, though some deny this. Practically, the only solution of the question that is advocated is international bimetallism, though many think that this would bring yet more evils. It is generally believed that, if England would advocate an international agreement, it could be reached. Her chief objection is that she is a creditor nation, and gains by falling prices. Yet the leaders of the Conservative party are active bimetallists, and the bimetallic sentiment seems to be growing in England. Judging from late conferences and reports, the general tendency throughout the world seems to be toward an international agreement, though we need not expect it for some time in the future, even if the tendency is not changed and new gold discoveries of importance, or other unforeseen circumstances might check the movement. Meanwhile smaller countries, and those less strong commercially,—Austria, Porto Rico, San Domingo, India,—are adopting a gold standard in order to be in harmony with the commercial world; and thinkers generally agree that no one nation alone, however strong, can venture to adopt a bimetallic system without reaching, practically, silver monometallism.



I. CONFERENCE IN THE SOCIAL ECONOMY DEPARTMENT.

I. THE RELIEF OF THE UNEMPLOYED IN THE UNITED STATES DURING THE WINTER OF 1893-94.

A REPORT FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL ECONOMY, MADE
AT SARATOGA, SEPT. 7, 1894.

Members of the Association.—When we met here a year ago, the country was in the early stages of a course of panic, depression, and liquidation of which it was quite impossible at that time to foresee the results. One of its consequences, however, very easy to foretell, was a great increase in the destitution arising from the cessation of accustomed industries in many sections of our land; and, accordingly, much preparation was made, not only to relieve the distress thence accruing, but also to study its real nature and the best methods for its alleviation. Consequently, your Department of Social Economy, within whose range such investigations naturally fall, began early to observe and inquire along the line of these measures of relief,—whether by furnishing work publicly or privately, by charity in its various forms and modes, or by migration, which at such times is always one of the quickest and most natural ways of diminishing a congestion of labor at given points. In this we have been aided by the inquiries and reports of public officials (labor bureaus, etc.), of the Organized Charities in many cities, and by the reports of extemporized or standing committees, which undertook, in different ways and places, to study and relieve the existing distress, each in its own locality; and we desire to return thanks to all these bodies for the aid thus rendered to us.

The problem of the unemployed in our country, although we have heard so much about it for a year or two past, is small, indeed, if compared with the question as it has long presented itself

to the overcrowded populations of Europe. Therefore,—and because many of our recently unemployed people were new-comers from these very European lands, invited here, as they thought, by our superior attractions for the hand-worker,—let us first look at our question from a transatlantic point of view. In doing so, we shall have a great advantage in being conducted by an expert, Mr. Geoffrey Drage, of London, lately secretary of the Royal Labor Commission (of which the Duke of Devonshire was chairman), in which position he was able to look over the world's whole field of idle labor, and compare one country and one cause or condition with another.

Macmillan has this summer published, in a handy duodecimo of three hundred pages, Mr. Drage's summary of fact and inference concerning the unemployed, prefaced by some criticisms on an official publication by the British Board of Trade (a government department) on the same topic. It would seem that this unlucky Blue-book has neither been well prepared nor well edited, so that Mr. Drage jocosely jeers at its philosophy, and specially at an "apothegm" which, he says, is "evidently a fetish of the official compiler,"—this, namely: "The total number of the superfluous is the measure of the unemployed." This, says Mr. Drage, "has a good mouth-filling sound, and the public has doubtless rejoiced over it, as the old countrywoman rejoiced over 'that blessed word Mesopotamia,' but no meaning whatever can be attached to it in its present context." No such fault is to be found with Mr. Drage's sentences, whether setting forth facts or pointing to conclusions. He is clear, direct, and instructive, whether you wholly agree with him or not.

He divides the agencies bearing on the employment of the unemployed (and a second class of those he styles the "unemployable,") into agencies that find and fill vacancies; then agencies that find work, whether permanent or temporary; finally, two independent agencies,—the Poor-law and the Charity Organization Society, which do incidentally important work in regard to the poor. He next proceeds methodically to trace out what is done by such agencies in most of the known countries, and thus brings together a great mass of facts, most of which have a meaning for us in considering what shall be done with our own idle population. The agencies to find work in Europe are the trade-unions (much more thoroughly organized than with us), the friendly societies, the labor bureaus (especially in France and Belgium), the agen-

cies for seamen and discharged prisoners, the registries for women and girls; finally, and increasingly, the newspapers. A singular result of an examination made by the Board of Trade in London (four dailies) and the provinces (eleven dailies), June 2, 1893, was to find the places more numerous than the applications, there being 2,122 employers wanting service, and only 1,279 work-people wanting places.

These various agencies do not succeed in preventing large numbers of the poor from being out of employment at all seasons in England, France, Germany, etc. Following an earlier writer, Mr. Drage therefore calls attention to the existence of a considerable class of the "unemployable"; that is, persons who, for various physical, mental, or moral defects, cannot or will not pursue any gainful calling long, in which any one may wish to employ them. As Charles Booth says, "The unemployed are, as a class, a selection of the unfit; and, on the whole, those most in want are the most unfit." Speaking of the labor colonies of Holland and Germany, Mr. Drage says: "Only those colonies to which the 'unemployable' are removable by compulsion, and in which they are compelled to stay for considerable period, can be said to get rid of the existing stock of permanently unemployed to any appreciable extent. . . . The fact that the German labor colonies have largely diminished vagrancy and begging might point indirectly to an improvement in the class of permanently unemployed, but for the fact stated,—that these colonists are very rarely reclaimed."

What is said of these German labor colonies, though not very novel, is so clear that it may be cited, especially since these establishments have aroused some interest in America:—

The number of prosecutions for vagabondage fell from 23,093 in 1880, before the colonies were founded, to 13,583 in 1890. Apparently, these institutions meet the case of discharged prisoners better than any others at present existing. Knowing the class of men with whom he will have to associate, the genuine workman out of employment shuns the colonies. At the same time it is increasingly difficult to find employment for the colonists; and, when found, the situations are frequently of an inferior order. . . . It would appear, then, that, if the labor colony system is adopted (in England), one system of colonies should be established, first, for the discharged prisoner, the vagrant, and the loafer, and another for the worthy unemployed, on the principle of 'selection,' or at least investigation. . . . For the genuine unemployed workman the labor-colony system does not seem to

promise satisfactory results for either society or the colonist. As a means of dealing with vagrants, beggars, and discharged prisoners, it may be employed with advantage to society, and, on the whole, to the colonists.

To an American the most interesting, and perhaps the most instructive, pages in Mr. Drage's book are those which describe the measures taken in England in 1862-63 to relieve the manufacturing operatives thrown out of work by our blockade of the Southern cotton ports during the Civil War. So great was the distress occasioned by the scarcity of cotton that in a large district the weekly average of paupers relieved increased in one year nearly 50 per cent. Not less than 105 local committees were appointed in 1862 to administer funds from private subscription, the maximum number relieved rising in December to 508,293. In the following spring of 1863 relief works were organized, and during that year \$6,000,000 was appropriated, and mostly expended in employing the idle poor on public works, in Lancashire especially. The experiment succeeded. Useful work was done at no greater expense than would have been incurred in the ordinary way; and the distress was relieved. The prevention of pauperism in the district involved was at least to the extent of three times the number of men employed, and direct imposture was largely prevented.

The experience of our cities last winter has repeated, hardly on a smaller scale, this English experiment of thirty years before; and, if our results were less satisfactory, it must have been because the methods in use were not so prudent and well guarded as those of England in 1863.

Let us see, then, what our American problem was in 1893, and how the local authorities and the charity or justice of individuals met the emergency. No war, as in 1862-63, had occurred to blockade the ports of any country with which we had commercial dealings; but the effort of a powerful political party in our government had been directed, with some success, to a partial blockade of our own ports, so that we should neither import nor export freely. Carrying still farther the doctrine of protection to home industry, our government had also gratuitously been furnishing a market for our silver miners by purchasing their product, in order to keep the price from falling, and in this way had stored up in the vaults of our treasury a huge mass of silver, the market value of which — for reasons that are much in dispute, while the fact

is evident — was constantly decreasing. The effect of this policy had been to stimulate speculation and production far beyond the natural rate of increase ; and, when it began to be seen that we were in danger of coming again, as in the Civil War, to a depreciated and purely national currency, incapable of holding its own in the markets of the world, a panic set in, which occasioned, and was in turn increased by, the action of the English government in its Indian exchanges. The first effect of this panic was to close the silver mines of Colorado, which could no longer sell their product at an artificial rate, maintained by legislation. Then the banks began to fail or suspend, unsound business ventures came to a sudden end in bankruptcy, and the well-founded fear that the market price of other articles than silver would no longer be kept up by legislation caused a curtailment of many manufactures.

The combined effect of these and several other causes — some of them world-wide in their extent and operation — was to produce a panic unequalled, for a few weeks, in its sharpness and destructive results by any of the periodical panics we have seen sweep over the United States since 1857. Its effects were soon recovered from in many localities : in some they were scarcely felt at all ; but in many cities and some country places of manufacturing and mining industry they were such as to throw out of employment suddenly many thousands of laboring men, and many hundreds of those in better paid occupations who directed labor or lived from the business created by active industry. Some counties in Colorado, Michigan, and other mining States showed the most complete overturn of their accustomed activity in this crisis,—a stagnation of employment quite as great, apparently, as that in the cotton-spinning counties of England resulting from our great war. There are two counties of Michigan, both new, and devoted to new-born mining industries,—Dickinson and Gogebic,—from which our Department has returns showing a degree of stagnation and poverty last winter quite beyond anything (in proportion to the number of their inhabitants) that we find elsewhere. The population of these counties cannot have exceeded 32,000 one year ago,—16,000 in Dickinson, and 16,000 in Gogebic ; yet in the two counties last winter more than \$90,000 was expended for charitable relief (at the rate of \$2.94 for each inhabitant) ; and it is estimated by ex-Governor Alger, of Detroit, who has given us these figures, that no less than 17,000 persons shared in the relief given.

From returns more or less complete, received from the following cities and counties, the table below has been compiled : —

STATISTICS OF RELIEF (1893-94).

<i>City or County.</i>	<i>Pop. 1890.</i>	<i>No. of Persons.</i>	<i>Sum Paid.</i>	<i>Av. Sum.</i>
Allegheny City, Pa., ...	105,287	2,119	\$40,000	\$18.88
Baltimore, ...	434,439	15,000	10,000	6.67
Boston, ...	448,477	15,000	200,000	13.33
Brooklyn, ...	806,343	25,353	56,550	2.23
Buffalo, ...	255,664	12,000	100,000	8.50
Charleston, S.C., ...	54,955 *	No special need or relief.		
Chicago, ...	1,100,000	30,000	300,000	10.00
Cleveland, ...	261,353	9,086	37,365	4.11
Cincinnati, ...	296,908	10,000	114,876	11.49
Denver, ...	106,713	5,000	45,000	9.00
Fort Wayne, Ind., ...	35,393	1,000 ?	3,500	5.50
Hartford, Ct., ...	53,230	1,500	15,000	10.00
Indianapolis, ...	105,436	2,500	18,718	7.48
Lawrence, Mass., ...	44,654	1,500	20,000	13.33
Lynn, Mass., ...	55,727	2,500	25,000	10.00
Louisville, Ky., ...	161,129	4,000	5,000	1.25
Mansfield, Ohio, ...	13,473	650	1,100	1.69
Michigan Counties, ...	32,000	17,000	91,300	5.37
New Haven, Ct., ...	81,298	6,000	15,050	2.51
New York, ...	1,515,301	50,000	2,500,000	50.00
Philadelphia, ...	1,046,964	100,000	2,000,000	20.00
Pittsburg, ...	238,617	15,000	250,000	16.66
Providence, ...	132,146	3,000	30,000	10.00
St. Louis, ...	451,770	6,000	65,000	10.83
St. Paul, ...	133,156	3,000		
San Francisco, ...	298,997	10,000	100,000	10.00
Syracuse, N.Y., ...	88,143	1,147	5,472	4.70
Washington, D.C., ...	230,392		20,000	
Waterbury, Ct., ...	28,646	1,150	15,000	13.05

The above places had in 1890 a population of more than 9,500,000, and now they have much more. They are but a small part of the whole country, yet they perhaps represent fairly well the conditions of the city populations during last winter.

The number specially aided (beyond the common rate of relief in ordinary years) is, in most of these cities, understated, and in some of them greatly below the true number, because in few

* Though more than 35,000 of these are colored, yet Mrs. Rhett, of the Charleston Associated Charities, says: "Of the negroes, few apply for aid; and there are few foreign beggars. Most of our chronic beggars are natives of Charleston, or those who have come from the country to work in our factories. We have reduced the street beggars and tramps in number."

places were exact registers kept of all the funds distributed, either as wages or poor-relief, or of the persons or families to whom these funds went. But there seems to be some utility in presenting even statistics so imperfect: they will serve as a basis for future calculations, and will call forth a correction of some of the chief errors. Upon the whole, there is reason for congratulation that the misery discovered, and in great measure alleviated, was so small; for it seemed at several times, and in places widely apart, as if the whole fabric of special local industries were breaking down. Yet this cannot be said to have happened anywhere but in a few mining regions. In the great cities the proportion of employed to unemployed labor, though varying widely from the usual winter rate, everywhere showed a large preponderance of the self-supporting; while the readiness with which money was raised to carry along the displaced labor, in expectation of better times, indicated that capital was both abundant and ready to do its part in a perplexing emergency.

Several unlucky features of the situation appeared, to be sure, and a few mischievous ones. The zeal with which newspapers rushed into the field of indiscriminating charity, more for the sake of advertising themselves than with the modest aim which the Gospels recommend, of concealing good works; the wretched spirit of extortion shown by some money-lenders, who took a mean advantage of the poor man's necessities (in Philadelphia and other cities where this matter was looked into); the continuance, under the mantle of charity, of that form of political favoritism and petty corruption which is so marked an evil in our various fashions of municipal misgovernment,—these were discreditable manifestations. More dangerous, though far less wide-spread, was the disposition exhibited here and there to preach in American cities the absurd and fiendish doctrines of wild socialism or furious anarchy, which have given so much uneasiness to the governments of Europe within the last five years, and have lately culminated in that atrocious crime, the assassination of the President of the French Republic, a blameless and popular ruler. These are not American dogmas. They had their birth in the strenuous despotisms of the eastern hemisphere, where they have ceased to have any justification except as a delayed retribution for crimes of tyranny long since repented, if not atoned for.

It will at once be seen that the returns from the various cities and counties named are far from uniform, and that they must be

in some respects very incomplete. However, they show certain facts quite clearly; for instance, that in cities like Pittsburg, St. Louis, Denver, and in the mining counties of Michigan, the need of relief to an honest, industrious population was sudden and urgent, and that it was met by vigorous and successful effort in special ways, as happened in Lancashire and other English counties in 1863-64. Other facts in possession of our Department show that in some New England cities, and in many of the Southern States (Charleston, S.C., for example), there was no unusual call for aid to the workingmen and their families; while in others the exigency was made the occasion, as in Baltimore, for a better administration of the customary poor relief. Quite the opposite is true, unfortunately, in other places. In Boston, where the records of special aid have been excellently tabulated and aggregated by the State Bureau of Labor, showing valuable and curious facts, the public and private charities were needlessly burdened, and will hereafter be encumbered by the hasty and ill-advised measures adopted in some quarters; and the same is declared by Professor McCook, of Hartford, to have been true in his city. As this gentleman is of high authority for his searching investigation into poor-relief and the tramp-nuisance in former years, we may properly quote what he says now, in this special connection.

In reply to our questions concerning Hartford,—“Did the relief produce good or evil results, or, if both, which preponderated?” and “Was the demand for it in some degree factitious or political, or was the real necessity such as to warrant the active measures adopted?” — Professor McCook writes:—

The need was *not* great, if at all existent; the demand, partly political. In my opinion there was no *necessity*. There were more applicants for relief to the town of Hartford last winter than usual, with somewhat greater outlays. The number relieved and the amount paid, however, were far less than in the years preceding 1891, when, with “good times,” we had great carelessness and lavishness in giving. Yet last winter there was one big “charity concert” which brought in about \$2,000. This, with the proceeds of a subscription opened by one of the newspapers, was put in the hands of the superintendent of a charity called “The Open Heart.” He opened free soup houses (rooms), gave out groceries and clothes, and paid rent. The clerk of the Board of Town Selectmen, who has been in office over twenty years, challenged the almoner of these funds to produce a single case which

had not been known and cared for by his Board already. I cannot say how correct his contention was ; but the consensus of opinion among charitable organizations was entirely his way.

The only thing done by the community for the unemployed was by the Board of Common Council of the city, which appropriated \$10,000 for public works. This was vetoed by the mayor, on the ground the city was not legally responsible for the poor ; that there was no proper guarantee that the money would be expended prudently ; and that there were already sufficient instrumentalities for the care of all proper cases,—a view which was generally taken by the more thoughtful part of the community. But the whip was cracked, and the resolution passed over the veto by a large majority. A street was opened which had already been laid out, snow having to be cleared off, and the work done under unfavorable circumstances. The Street Commissioners, who had been averse to the proposed action, took great pains to make selection among applicants for work of (1) actual residents, (2) persons with families, but in many instances the customary "infloence" prevailed ; and, from incidents related to me by overseers, it is plain that not a few looked upon the job as a "charity" affair, and felt under no obligation to give a full equivalent in labor for the pay bestowed. Personally, I opposed the whole scheme, in the public prints and otherwise. I regard the "creation" of work for the "unemployed" as of doubtful utility under any circumstances. When undertaken by the community, I consider the harm likely to preponderate largely over its benefit ; and the "precedent" it furnishes is the worst part. I anticipate, from this precedent, evil, and only evil,—and evil rapidly accelerating with the deterioration of character which time and habit may be expected to bring.

Less explicit and positive than this frank statement, but very much of the same purport, is the communication made by Mr. W. P. Fowler, of the Boston Overseers of the Poor and Associated Charities, to the National Conference of Charities at Nashville last May. Mr. Fowler wrote :—

Early in November, 1893, the Directors of the Boston Associated Charities prepared a circular which deprecated the establishment of new agencies of relief, and urged the public to contribute more liberally than ever to the organized and existing charities. . . . Had its advice been heeded, the emergency would have been more satisfactorily met. Without doubt, many of the evils resulting from the unusual amount of relief given out would have been averted. Unfortunately, the community was not yet ready to put the whole burden of caring for the poor and unemployed where it properly belonged. Instead of employing the regular troops to meet the enemy in the hour of peril, it was

thought best to call for volunteers, and to rely upon their inexperience and zeal. The result was not as disastrous as might well have been expected. . . . The columns of the newspapers were given up, during a large portion of the early winter, to long accounts of suffering, and exaggerated reports of sore distress. These were coupled with frantic appeals for the establishment of new agencies of aid. . . . These appeals, and the outcries of some of the socialist and labor agitators, taken together, served to aggravate the evils they sought to cure, so that, while most of the increase in applications for aid was due to the hard times, a considerable portion was ascribable to agitation.

It might have been added to this moderate statement that the opening of winter coincided, at Boston, with the annual city election, and that both the chief candidates for mayor sought to win votes by advocating the employment of the poor at unusual public work. It was also at the time when the friends of the late high tariff were anxious to show that the country, and New England in particular, was suffering from a fear lest some of the national taxes were going to be removed by Congress, and that this fear had led to the great distress said to be prevailing. These two strictly political causes did undoubtedly, in Boston, increase the alleged distress beyond its natural limit; and they seemed to be aided by a concerted movement on the part of the city garment-workers (largely Jews) to obtain for Boston a more exclusive control of that special business by showing a great appearance of distress, which had not been noticed before.

Yet there was real and unusual suffering for a time in Boston; though it did not extend even a few miles out of the city,—to Quincy on one side, Gloucester on another, and Malden on a third side. In these places, as in thousands of towns and small cities throughout the United States, there was no active distress among the working class, although the incomes of persons in easy circumstances were often much reduced. The savings-bank deposits did not much diminish,—oftentimes they increased; and it was specially observed that the great number of Co-operative Banks or Building Associations, whose chief contributors are persons of small resources, not only did not fail or suspend, as so many banks of discount did, but steadily went on accumulating funds, and loaning money to meet the temporary needs of their shareholders.

Another fact disclosed in the figures collected by our Department, and which holds true almost without exception in all parts

of the country north of the old line of secession, is the great preponderance of foreign-born persons among the applicants for work or aid. Comparatively few of the cities return these facts; but there is no reason to doubt that New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and others would show the same preponderance that Boston and Chicago do. - Thus, of 7,460 men who applied for work to the special Relief Committee of Boston (only a few hundred of whom were under the voting age), only 1,029 were voters, while 6,431 were non-voters, and almost all presumably of foreign birth. Among 3,525 women who applied to the same committee, only 900 were born in America, 2,028 were foreign-born, and 597 had no birthplace recorded. Dividing these last in the proportion of the previous numbers, the whole 3,525 would include 2,441 of foreign birth, and only 984 native Americans. In all the cities that record birth (19,000 persons in all being noted), only 5,467 were Americans, including a few hundred negroes, so that it will be safe to say that from two-thirds to three-fourths of all the unemployed last winter, who came to be registered, were foreign-born. In the Michigan mining counties the proportion was much greater, to judge by the records at Iron Mountain City, where only 200 native Americans were registered, against 914 Scandinavians, 764 Italians, 730 Englishmen, 333 Germans and Austro-Hungarians, 279 Canadians, 45 Irish, and 44 of other foreign lands.

The following is the Schedule of Questions sent to about fifty cities and counties, of about twenty States of the Union:—

QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE RELIEF OF THE UNEMPLOYED IN
THE CITY OF ——— IN THE WINTER OF 1893-94.

- I. During what months and for what length of time was special relief thought needful?
- II. What was its direct occasion and object?
- III. *a.* About how many persons were applicants for special aid?
b. About how many applied for work, how many for other relief?
- IV. Of those who received aid, how many were women? Men?
Children?
- V. *a.* How many were actual residents of the city? How many strangers?

- b.* How many were recent immigrants or their children?
- c.* How many had before been paupers? or private beneficiaries?
- d.* How many were also aided at the cost of the city?
(If possible, give the sex of these various classes.)
- VI. How much money was expended in special relief for the unemployed, and how was it raised?
- VII. *a.* If articles were manufactured in order to provide work, how were these articles sold, and to what amount?
- b.* If unusual public work was undertaken, what were the kinds?
- c.* If private undertakings (buildings, etc.) furnished special employment, to what extent was this done and recorded?
- VIII. *a.* Did the relief, in your opinion, produce good results or evil, or, if both, which preponderated?
- b.* Did it leave a good or bad precedent for the future?
- IX. Was the need of the relief found to be as great as was expected, or greater? Was the demand for it in some degree factitious or political? or was the real necessity such as to warrant the active measures adopted?
- X. *a.* Precisely what measures were adopted? (1) By the public officers? (2) By organized societies? (3) By extemporized committees?
- b.* What amount was expended, and how many were aided in each of the three ways named?
- c.* Which was the most effective?

Any remarks you may be inclined to make, apart from or in qualification of the information asked for, will be very thankfully received,—as, for instance, why your city was particularly exposed to lack of employment, or the contrary.

Concord, Mass., July, 1894.

2. NEW HAVEN.

To these questions the fullest reply came from New Haven, Ct.

ANSWER TO SCHEDULE OF QUESTIONS, ETC.

I. An unusual — *i.e.*, “special” — demand for work and relief in the town and city of New Haven was apparent during the months of November and December, 1893, and January, February, and March, 1894.

II. The alleged occasion was lack of employment, and the

object of the various charitable agencies was to afford relief. It should be added that here, as elsewhere, the impulse to apply for aid was largely stimulated by the report that special funds were being raised for the relief of the unemployed. Whether the accounts of prevailing distress were exaggerated in order to bring additional discredit upon one of the great political parties is a question about which there may or may not be a difference of opinion. There is, moreover, reason to believe that the establishment of two or more mission lodging-houses for homeless men multiplied the number of non-resident applicants for aid.

III. A correct answer to this question depends on what is meant by "special aid." In a total of 6,000 cases, 4,800 being non-resident and 1,200 resident (round numbers are used for convenience), not over 300 were previously unknown; and the great majority of these applied first for work. Of these 1,200 residents, about half were either supplied with work or dismissed because investigation showed that relief was not needed. Temporary work was supplied to 90 per cent. of the non-resident applicants; but the product of the work (sawing and splitting wood) so far exceeded all possible sales that we could not exact a full equivalent in labor for the relief afforded, and therefore suffered a loss of about \$1,000. This deficit will be included in the estimate of cost given in a subsequent answer.

IV. Cannot state without examination of complete records, and this is impossible.

V. Residents of the city, 1,200; strangers, 4,800,—6,000. Possibly 1 per cent. were recent immigrants or their children. At least 75 per cent. had been paupers or public beneficiaries. Amount expended by the town will be given hereafter. Cannot give the sex.

VI. At the beginning of the season various plans to provide for the expected destitution were proposed; but they were not carried into effect, as the existing agencies were considered competent to deal with the situation. About \$650 was collected by the local newspapers,—notably the *Register*. This amount, with other funds contributed by societies and individuals in excess of their customary gifts for charity, were placed in the hands of our Organization for disbursement. Though our principal function is investigation, and not relief, we could not refuse at such a time to be the almoners of the public. A special relief committee was appointed from our directors, whose duty it was to inquire into the circumstances of each case brought to their attention, and to afford such relief as such investigation warranted. The work was conscientiously and thoroughly performed. About \$1,000 was expended in direct relief, as against a little more than \$400 in the same period for the previous year.

The amount paid by the town* for outdoor relief only exceeded

* Under our clumsy and costly dual organization of town and city, the town provides for the relief of the local poor.

by about \$250 the amount expended during the previous year. The town, however, paid about \$9,000 in furnishing extra labor in road-making and park improvements.

A considerable sum was also given by private individuals, until it was found by reference to our society's records that the "old rounders" were receiving the bulk of the money so contributed. In our Eighth Ward a society was formed, the members of which gave 50 cents monthly. The fund resulting from these payments was given to neighbors in distress. In this charity much discretion was used, and no bad results were reported. The city, as such, made no appropriation. To summarize:—

TOTAL ESTIMATED COST.

Paid for labor on special town improvements, ...	\$9,000.00
" extra outdoor relief, ...	250.00
Relief account, Organized Charities, ...	1,000.00
Loss in wood-yard, " "	1,000.00
" " Town, ...	300.00
General relief, churches, missions, and other sources, ...	3,500.00
	<u>\$15,050.00</u>

Or generally:—

Paid for work, ...	\$10,000.00	
Direct relief, ...	<u>5,000.00</u>	<u>\$15,000.00</u>
Estimated population of New Haven, Ct. . 100,000		

VII. Answered in No. 6.

VIII. The untrained action of benevolent people, at the outset, was mischievous in its effect,—encouraged pauperism and undoubtedly attracted a vagabond class to the city. But after a time more systematic methods prevailed, and a good precedent was established.

IX. Not so great as was currently reported. We invited all persons in need to apply, and urged the public to report cases within their knowledge, promising relief *after investigation*. The "real necessity" did not "warrant active measures," which therefore were not adopted, except in the increased number of laborers employed by the town.

X. Among the measures adopted, the temporary committee (described in answer to sixth question) seemed most effective, as help was afforded to persons who were known (neighbors chiefly), and there was little opportunity for successful deception. It may be that this city was exceptionally fortunate in that several of our largest manufacturing establishments ran on nearly full time, and many mechanics had deposits in savings banks. Should the business depression continue during the coming winter, the conditions may be different. We anticipate more applications from non-

residents than ever, as we are between New York and Boston ; and the roving class has been largely recruited during the summer, as a result of the recent strikes and from kindred causes. We shall endeavor to devise means to meet the emergency.

FRANCIS WAYLAND,

President.

S. O. PRESTON,

Agent and Superintendent.

THE ORGANIZED CHARITIES ASSOCIATION
OF NEW HAVEN, CONN., Aug. 13, 1894.

To this statement the following interesting tables were appended :—

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT BY YEARS (ENDING FEBRUARY 1) OF RESIDENT AND NON-RESIDENT APPLICANTS FOR WORK OR RELIEF AT NEW HAVEN.

<i>Resident Cases.</i>				<i>Non-resident Cases.</i>			
<i>Year.</i>	<i>New.</i>	<i>Old</i>	<i>Total.</i>	<i>Different Persons.</i>			
1891	439	862	1,301	1891	1,783		
1892	479	979	1,458	1892	2,168	21%	increase.
1893	421	853	1,274	1893	2,784	28%	"
1894	582	1,020	1,602	1894	5,925	113%	"
			5,635		12,660		

A COMPARATIVE STATEMENT BY MONTHS FOR THE LAST TWO YEARS.

<i>1. Resident Cases.</i>							
<i>Month.</i>	<i>New.</i>	<i>Old.</i>	<i>Total.</i>	<i>Month.</i>	<i>New.</i>	<i>Old.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Aug. 1892,	21	42	63	Aug. 1893,	31	73	104
Sept. "	38	78	116	Sept. "	56	83	139
Oct. "	34	67	101	Oct. "	43	74	117
Nov. "	36	69	105	Nov. "	52	105	157
Dec. "	19	74	93	Dec. "	57	102	159
Jan. 1893,	42	80	122	Jan. 1894,	157	156	313
Feb. "	30	55	85	Feb. "	101	167	268
Mar. "	27	77	104	Mar. "	42	98	140
Apr. "	33	98	131	Apr. "	36	64	100
May "	27	54	81	May "	22	57	79
June "	27	72	99	June "	32	51	83
July "	32	51	83	July "	13	24	37
	366	819	1,185		642	1,054	1,696

Increase, 42 per cent.

2. *Non-resident Cases.*

Aug. 1892, ...	85	Aug. 1893, ...	200
Sept. "	120	Sept. "	341
Oct. "	196	Oct. "	639
Nov. "	341	Nov. "	916
Dec. "	512	Dec. "	1,157
Jan. 1893, ...	308	Jan. 1894, ...	1,280
Feb. "	347	Feb. "	1,145
Mar. "	491	Mar. "	1,240
Apr. "	269	Apr. "	1,329
May "	104	May "	461
June "	73	June "	245
July "	108	July "	181
	2,954		9,134

Increase, 209 per cent.

These figures indicate a much greater increase in the wandering class than in the resident, and are significant. While the relative increase may be smaller in other cities, still it is very large everywhere, and deserves careful consideration.

As to how this augmentation is to be checked, there seems to be a lack of practical suggestions. In this State (Connecticut), the tramp law, originally effective, has been made a dead letter practically, by the repealing of the clause providing a special fee for arrests (thus depriving the average rural officer of the inducement to activity), and also by making residents of the State exempt from prosecution, the latter clause being promptly claimed by the well-posted tramp, and his claim allowed, in preference to ascertaining whether it is true or not, by the average justice. There is, additionally, a considerable degree of sympathy prevalent, inspired by the supposition that these wanderers are the victims of grinding monopolists, forced out of employment,—etc., a notion carefully cultivated by these gentry. The development of this sympathy appears in the establishment of so-called mission homes, which are largely patronized by those whose profession of a desire for a better life secures an indefinite period of rest. The politician is susceptible to the oft-repeated statements of the labor agitator that these men are a political force, and therefore fears to jeopardize his party by insisting on vigorous repressive measures, tacitly consenting to their uninterrupted foraging on the public.

That the condition is serious and dangerous cannot be doubted by any thoughtful person. The reports of petty thefts, assaults on women, and violence of various kinds are frequent; and the devising of restrictive measures is matter of self-preservation. To require every person to secure a legal residence, and to make such person liable to prosecution for vagrancy if found wandering without a passport, may be contrary to existing American notions, but is worthy of consideration.

S. O. PRESTON.

3. BALTIMORE.

Of about a dozen replies to our schedule, which gave any opinion directly, *four* said the precedent for the future is decidedly bad ; as many replied that it is good in their cities ; but the majority of the answers imply that the good and bad results were so mixed that it is hard to say which predominated. The relief was felt to be a necessity ; the methods adopted were often hasty and crude ; the one striking thing everywhere was the readiness of the prosperous to give for the relief of the poor.

In the case of Baltimore, where the exigency was made use of to improve the customary modes of dealing with the vagrant poor, it is instructive to read what those practical men, experts in charity, Messrs. Jeffrey Brackett and John Glenn, say. Mr. Brackett writes : —

The relief given in Baltimore under the "Central Relief Committee" was in the form of work only. Many men were out of work all the winter, some continuing so later. But relief in work was not begun till after the middle of January ; and that for residents ceased, from lack of funds, and opening of spring, April 5. That for non-residents is permanent. The financial panic and the stoppage of industries was the cause for relief to residents : the growing number of beggars, idlers, and "station-house lodgers" was the immediate cause of a work test for non-residents. The average number of residents to whom work could be given was only one hundred and twenty-five a day. All non-residents were received at the lodging-houses, which were *never* filled. All our charitable agencies reported an increased number of applicants for relief in fuel, food, etc. No non-residents were given work *with money payment*, unless some imposed on the committee at first, before careful investigation was made. The lodging-houses for non-residents received only such. Most of the residents who were given work had been in Baltimore for several years at least. Very few, if any, had been chronic receivers of aid before.

To the poor no city aid is given directly, outside of the almshouse, and by furnishing transportation in exceptional cases. About \$8,000, and considerable quantities of groceries and clothing, were sent to the police authorities for distribution, from individuals, societies, etc. (That was about one-half the amount sent during the previous winter, when Chesapeake Bay was frozen, and the weather was severe.) The Central Relief Committee expended nearly \$15,000, raised chiefly, by personal solicitation of a few members of the Finance Committee, from individuals. Some six thousand cubic yards of stone were broken up, and sold at considerably less than cost. The work required at the lodging-

houses is in wood-yards ; and the product is sold in retail trade, at market rates. No public works were undertaken ; but a number of employers of labor *quietly* kept many at work rather than turn them off.

That unusually large numbers of men were unemployed last winter in Baltimore is a fact ; and much more relief in money would have been given direct,—a very bad method,—had not this relief in work been put before the public. The good accomplished was greater than the evil,—the latter being chiefly the idea given to laboring men, who are *usually* unemployed in winter, that charity will provide work in dull times,—and private exertion and habits of providence may thus decrease. I desire to add that I deem the advisability of giving special relief a very serious question. It should be given only in times of very unusual lack of employment ; it should be given, as a rule, only to those who are *usually employed* in winter (the circumstances of the receiver should be known, just as any employer knows the character of his workmen) ; it should be given in the form of work ; and the work should be conducted as far as possible on usual business-like principles. If evils result, then they will arise because relief is given, not because it is relief in work.

Mr. Glenn writes : —

The good results were predominant. It served to sift the sheep from the goats, and it gave support to honest men who without it would have had no support but begging. It was abused in the beginning ; but the abuses gave us valuable experience, and after investigation was instituted these abuses became very rare. After estimating the value of relief by work in our own case, with all the good done, we found staring us in the face one fact,—that the existence of work ready at hand, relieving the applicant of the struggle required in hunting for it, had a tendency to lower the moral standard of the men by taking away one of the great incentives to action. The need was greater than expected, and neither factitious nor political. The great majority of the people relieved were those who were willing to work, and usually able to obtain work. The measures adopted were short of the actual need. The most effective was the work of the Central Relief Committee. No measures were taken by public officers, except as already mentioned (the police). The committee was the only organization of any size.

Our city has been heretofore very attractive to the tramp. The almshouse accommodations are excellent, and open to all. We are on the highway between Philadelphia, the beggar's paradise, and Washington, which is looked upon by them as an El Dorado. Oyster-dredging attracts a large number ; and many of these remain behind, either as tramps or as food for the politicians. The burning of our sugar refinery, the shutting up of the iron works at

Steelton, the curtailing of work on our railroads, and the presence of a large number of men attracted here by work offered by the rapid transit companies, but not employed, added greatly to the stress of the emergency. On the other hand, the shutting up of the police stations forced a number of tramps out of the city, and made Baltimore much less attractive than it had been.

4. THE UNEMPLOYED IN NEW YORK CITY, 1893-94.

BY MRS. C. R. LOWELL.

The various kinds of relief given in New York last winter seemed ingeniously devised to offer a temptation to dependence for all sorts and conditions of men.

Beginning with the "World Free Bread," which tempted only the tramp, and passing up through the different styles of newspaper advertising, we come to the free lodging-houses, which tempted the Bowery lodger and the man from the country; to the regular relief societies, which tempted the regular relief seekers; to the church visitors, who, going into every room in a tenement house, offering groceries, tempted many who would else have stood alone and bravely fought out the battle; to the Relief-work Committees, which tempted the man who could not be tempted by any "charity" but "charity work"; and, finally, we come to the depots where food and fuel were sold below cost, which tempted every thrifty soul within the radius of a mile.

That the need was great, and the temptation therefore the more dire, there can be no question. New York is the largest manufacturing city in the United States, and contains also the largest accumulation of ignorance and incompetence, both of which facts made the pressure of "hard times" more severely felt here than elsewhere; while, added to this, was the other fact that the fifty or sixty thousand Jews usually employed in the cheap clothing trades were completely thrown out of work as early as May, 1893, before the financial panic began, and by the autumn were already in dire distress.

Acknowledging then that the situation in the fall of 1893 and the winter and spring of 1894 was one demanding special action to relieve the undeserved suffering of a large proportion of the

wage-earners of the city, the question is, What mistakes were made by those who undertook the task?

The first and greatest mistake of all was made by the newspapers. Whether, in any degree, a desire to help those in distress was blended with the advertising indulged in at their expense, it is impossible to say; but, however that may be, there can be no doubt that immense harm was done by the sensational articles and by the various "Funds." The anxiety and distress of mind of those who were out of work were increased by the lurid articles written about them; while the prevalent tone of the newspapers that the only natural and proper thing, if one were in distress, was to get "relief" from some source, could not fail to cause a general weakening of the moral fibre of our people.

There were few among the wage-earners of New York last winter who were not poor enough to make a gift welcome; and when, day after day, for weeks and months, the offers of food and clothing were reiterated, and it was made to appear that public opinion was in favor of "getting something for nothing," it is not to be wondered at that the temptation was not always resisted, or that decent people took their children to the *Herald* office to be fitted out with clothing from head to foot. The socialistic teaching that such gifts were not a favor received, but only a small part of what was due from the rich to the poor, was fostered by the tone of the newspapers. Moreover, the publicity forced on those who received these newspaper gifts, the standing in line, the struggling in the street and at the doors, the publishing of names and descriptions,—all this was a further degradation, a moral stripping naked of the suffering and the poor, which was cruel in the extreme; and yet there was scarcely a voice raised in protest in the whole city while it went on. The fear of "antagonizing" the "Great Dailies" prevented those who ought to have warned the people from speaking.

This advertising also necessarily brought more than the usual winter number of idle men into the city to live miserably in the free lodging-houses which were opened to receive them, and which in their turn acted as a new attraction, so that a vicious circle was set up. Free lodgings and free meals brought more and more people, for whom again more free lodgings and free meals must be supplied.

Investigation, in many cases, was only an added evil; for it was used by the "benevolent" to counteract the temptations to fraud which they themselves held out. With one hand they enticed to

them those who, but for them, might have preserved their honesty and their self-respect, and with the other they exposed the falsehoods of which they were themselves the cause. Investigation was spoken of as if it were in itself a good thing: whereas it is only excusable as a necessary preliminary to efficient help; and to invite people to lie and cheat for the sake of a package of groceries or a coat, and then to expose the lie, is only to add insult to injury.

The mistakes made by the relief societies came from too little co-operation with each other. After the pressure of the winter began, each society went its own way; and the great mass of applicants led them to give hastily, without due knowledge of the conditions of the people, and merely with a view to present relief.

The work supplied by the various committees supported by the Citizens' Relief Committee had in many cases the usual faults of "relief work." It was overpaid for bad work and underpaid for good work, and there were no means of discriminating between the two, which was, so far, bad; but, as a whole, this was probably by far the best means devised for relieving the unemployed in New York last winter.

What, then, should have been done? Given the suffering and the helplessness of the people, could they be left to starve? That could not be; but, while it was necessary to provide food for the body, every precaution should have been taken to protect the character on every side, and not to weaken it either economically or morally. The temporary misfortune should not have been allowed to become a permanent injury.

To begin with the lowest class, the homeless man, seeking free lodging and free food. Whether he came from outside the city or from inside the city, it was no kindness to feed and lodge him, and to do no more. Such a life is degrading, and either more or less should have been done. If the man could have been held and trained and influenced for good, and put in the way of decent self-support, by all means it should have been done; and those who so tried to help even the very lowest tramp cannot be too highly praised. But to offer free meals and lodgings, or meals and lodgings at so low a rate that every man was sure to get enough to pay, whether he worked or not; to encourage a mass of homeless men to come into and remain in New York, daily losing more and more of their manhood,—was an injury to every individual man who was fed and lodged, and to the whole city. Far more just and far more kind

would have been the severest repression. As it was acknowledged on all hands that there was not work enough in the city for the men whose homes and families were here, it should have been settled at the outset that every homeless, able-bodied man (not boy) should be placed in the hands of the Superintendent of the Poor, to be sent to his own home, if that were outside of New York, and to be maintained by the city and put to work in the Workhouses, if he belonged here. A further duty rested on the public to see that, when under the care of the city, such men received moral benefit, and not injury.

With this "homeless" element cared for, the problem would have been far simpler for those who sought to relieve the suffering of the rest of the people.

The regular relief societies, by joint consultation and action, using the Charity Organization Society, as in Buffalo, to prevent waste and fraud, could have effectually helped all such persons as applied to them for relief, bringing moral influences to bear, and putting these people, who were often found to be improvident and shiftless, under the charge of "Friendly Visitors," who would have been easier to enroll than in ordinary years, because of the sympathy which the hard times caused to well up over the whole city.

Then to provide help for those who would not apply to a relief society, and who were as little to blame for their distress as if an avalanche had swept their belongings into the sea, would have been the task left for special Emergency Committees; and this should have been done by means of work, given without publicity, without advertising, each committee having a small locality only to attend to, and working with the churches and trades-unions, and with any other body which could guarantee that those to whom the work was given were those who most needed it.

The work should have been real work, paid at market rates; and each man should have had, so long as his need lasted, at least one week's work in every two weeks, and should have been required to do it well or be discharged.

Useful public work could have been found on the large new parks belonging to the city, and should have been paid for by money raised by private subscription. Such work would not have interfered with any regular work which might then or for many years be done by the city itself, for the parks referred to are for the present left practically untouched.

In all such emergencies as confronted New York and other large cities in the United States last winter the great object should be to preserve as far as possible normal conditions, and to let all special relief which must be given go through the regular channels.

Thus, to recapitulate : The city should care for the homeless in its Workhouse, and train and educate them.

Relief societies should appoint visitors who would influence for good all who apply to them, and as far as possible help them permanently.

Relations, friends, and employers should be spurred up to a sense of their obligation to care for those having claims on them.

And, finally, where work is given, it should be, not artificial or made work, but regular work paid for at regular prices, but not interfering with work which would naturally be done by the city or by any private contractor.

. STATEMENT BY MR. THOMAS M. MULRY, SECRETARY OF THE
ST. VINCENT DE PAUL SOCIETY OF NEW YORK CITY.

It is a very difficult matter to give a just opinion as to the effects of the different methods of relief tried last winter, because people were suddenly confronted with a state of affairs entirely new to them; and the natural impulse with those inexperienced in the condition of the poor, or the best means of helping them, was to assist them in any way whatever, regardless of the after-results of their often ill-directed but always well-meant benevolence. The Society of St. Vincent de Paul is especially careful to preserve the self-respect of the poor. Our members, in some cases, may not always bear this in mind; but the wisdom of this purpose is very apparent. Once you rob the poor of this precious quality, once you make them indifferent as to the opinion of their neighbors, and careless as to the publicity given to their condition, and they very easily degenerate into professional paupers, anxious to publish their condition to all who are likely to help them in any possible way.

It is to endeavor as far as possible to prevent this that we guard so jealously the privacy of our poor; and every member of our society is bound in honor to keep the names of the families secret from all excepting the members of his particular Conference.

Our rules are founded on the injunction of our Lord to love the poor for his sake, and we feel that we are the privileged ones in being permitted to do a portion of his work among our less fortunate fellow-beings. Taking this view of our work, and looking upon it as a religious duty, you can easily understand why we view with disfavor many of the methods of relief adopted last winter; but we would not for a moment question the excellent motives actuating all, and we must acknowledge even now, after looking

backward, that, if such concerted action had not been taken, we never would have been able to take care of the poor as they were provided for last winter.

The amount of money expended by the committee of which Mr. Morgan was treasurer, divided as impartially as those gentlemen in their judgment could divide it, had a good effect in more ways than one. It enabled the different charitable societies to give substantial assistance, and it opened the eyes of the poor to the fact that the wealthy people of the city had some sympathy for their poorer brethren. It seems to me the forbearance, the patience, the resignation of the poor to their lot in this great city, was a spectacle deserving the admiration of all. We had no bread riots, no disturbances of any kind; and yet thousands of people were continually on the verge of starvation. The generosity of the people, through the Citizens' Committee, helped materially to continue this state of affairs; and the wealthy men who contributed have reason to congratulate themselves on the good results. It was a paying investment. For a comparatively small expenditure they secured immunity from the danger of any turbulent uprising of the anarchical order.

The street-cleaning, whitewashing, etc., were also of great assistance to us, but to my mind had one very objectionable feature, which apparently could not be avoided. It was a public acknowledgment of the condition of the recipients of such relief. In going through the streets, people pointed them out; and though they were supposed to feel somewhat independent, from the fact that they were doing something for their money, still those who had any self-respect left were continually mortified at hearing the remarks made by passers-by, and it was only the thought of their starving families at home that gave them the moral courage to remain the allotted time.

I think that with the amount of money thus expended any well-equipped charitable society could have accomplished more good by helping the families privately, and the feelings of the poor would have been spared.

As a member of the West Side Relief Association, I had some experience; and I must say that a large majority of the men employed seemed to act as though it was a mere matter of form to sweep the streets, and they tried to do as little as possible. The tickets were divided among the representatives of the different religious denominations, with the result that some had more tickets than they could dispose of advantageously; and the care that should have been expended in placing them properly was not always exercised.

It is fair to say that in distributing the tickets no religious lines were drawn. Each gentleman gave to the deserving ones who came under his notice, without distinction. The only exception to this was probably in the case of the Hebrew representatives. In all my experience I always found they dealt out the tickets to

Hebrews only. Of course, I speak only of one section. I also discovered that some tickets were given out by the school principal.

Some of the applicants whom I had refused I found working on the streets, having obtained tickets through some kind gentleman, who had not the heart to refuse. My refusal was due to the fact that I knew the parties to have no responsibility, and in many cases to be loafers who would not work excepting when they needed money for drink. There is a class among the poor which, no doubt, is deserving of assistance, but have no shame about having their condition published, and look in every direction for assistance. For this class of poor the street ticket was just the thing. We had no hesitation in either forcing them to take the ticket or refusing them relief if they did not do so. Should any emergency of the kind confront us in the future, it seems to me it would be better to have the work-tickets distributed through the properly organized charitable societies, as the work would be done in a more complete manner through them.

The food stations were an eyesore to me. And the spectacles of long lines of poor waiting to be doled out their pittance, publishing to everybody their condition, must certainly have a most demoralizing effect upon the recipients of such relief.

The different methods adopted by political clubs and various well-meaning people were, without doubt, of great injury. The effect of all this indiscriminate giving was to open the eyes of many people, whose moral natures were not of the strongest, to the ease with which they could obtain means of livelihood without work; and no doubt it will discourage thrift among a certain class of the poor. I meet them every day. They are working, many of them, at present; but the corner store receives plenty of their money. They don't care. They think next winter will bring them a means of bridging over the hard times, the same as last winter; and they don't propose to stint themselves while the money lasts. This is what the newspapers have done for the poor by advertising their condition, and starting good people in a wild race to see who can do the most to raise up amongst us a race of paupers. . . .

MR. ROSENAU'S STATEMENT.

It is extremely difficult for me to give an opinion upon the result of much of the relief work done last winter, because I have not had an opportunity to make a close personal examination of the people who were relieved. Moreover, I believe it will be difficult at this time to have anybody form such an opinion, inasmuch as various industries have not as yet resumed their activity sufficiently to enable us to determine how many of the laborers have been made shiftless and unwilling to work. I do not believe that it will be safe to venture an opinion until there has been a general resumption of trade, covering a period of two or three months.

In general, it may be safe to say that four methods of relief were in vogue last winter.

First.— That of the existing relief societies.

Second.— The relief by work of the East Side Committee.

Third.— The newspaper relief, such as that of the *Tribune*, the *Herald*, and the *World*.

Fourth.— Enterprises to enable the poor to purchase at cost, such as that conducted by Mr. Nathan Straus.

First.— As to the work of the regular relieving societies. No matter how carefully this may have been conducted and how many safeguards may have been thrown about their distribution of aid in a time of such general distress as the past winter, it was well-nigh impossible to distribute aid in a sufficiently judicious manner to accomplish the greatest possible good and the least amount of harm. Generally speaking, I should deem it unwise to give relief to an able-bodied man, whose only cause of distress was lack of work; yet it was well known to all that it was impossible to find work for any but a small percentage of those in distress. Naturally, the work available went only to the more competent; and those who were only a trifle below the standard found it impossible to obtain employment of any kind. The relief distributed by the United Hebrew Charities, while not lavish in the amount given to single individuals, was yet extremely lavish in the number of cases aided. In spite of the fact that we had a comparatively large force of paid and volunteer investigators, almost all of the relief was distributed upon evidence extremely superficial in its nature. For instance, if a man applied for relief, and satisfied us that his earnings had never exceeded eight dollars per week, that he had been without anything like steady work for several months, and that he had a wife and four children, we relieved him without going into his habits or endeavoring to ascertain whether he had been sufficiently provident while in receipt of wages. The result has undoubtedly been a certain amount of pauperism, which only several years of the hardest kind of work will remove. This has been evident in the applications for relief during the summer months. Many able-bodied men, who, if they searched carefully, might find a few days' work now and then, have shown a disposition to throw themselves bodily upon us for support, simply because they found it easy to obtain relief during the destitute times of the winter.

I might add also that the necessity of curtailing the amount of relief given to individual cases, because of the impossibility of close investigation, has also worked a great deal of harm in assisting the under-vitalization of tenement-house dwellers. I have no doubt that the meagre food upon which many of this unfortunate class were made to subsist has resulted in much illness and in many permanently impaired constitutions.

Second.— As to the relief by work. It is certain that artificial labor is not consistent with economic rules. We found during the winter many persons to whom we had issued tickets for labor

coming to us for renewals, with the idea in mind that such labor was given to the poor as a matter of right, and that they were warranted in demanding such work from us. This being the case, we shall undoubtedly find during the coming winter that there will be a cry from a great many people, who are averse to finding steady employment, for artificial labor, which will not only enable them to earn a little money now and then, but the very fact of whose provision will make them objects of charity. I cannot believe that goods were manufactured by artificial labor in sufficient quantity to disturb the general commercial condition; but I am of the opinion that, if relief by work is undertaken on a scale sufficiently large to meet distress, it must have some effect upon regular employment that would be furnished by manufacturing concerns, who would be unable to compete with the results of artificial labor, because of the various expenses to which they are subject, and which are always escaped by any charitable scheme.

In this connection I may add that there is considerable doubt in my mind as to the wisdom of extensive free labor bureaus. An able-bodied man, who has lived in this country for a sufficient length of time to become acquainted with its customs, should be taught to depend upon his own resources, not only as far as living goes, but in finding suitable employment. When any considerable number are out of employment, those men find situations first who are in the habit of depending upon their own resources, and not applying to charitable institutions for relief of any nature. There can be little question that the superior influence of a free employment agency will frequently overcome the natural opportunities of this class of men, and will substitute for them in situations many men who are always more or less dependent. The natural result is an increase of the number of dependents; for the independent man, finding that the free labor bureau will afford him the only chance for occupation, must apply to it, and thus begin the career of dependence which frequently will not stop at the labor bureau, but will extend to the relief bureau.

As to the third method. The meretricious character of newspaper schemes of relief, which have for their basis advertising as much as charity, is too well understood to need comment. I pass over the *Herald* clothing scheme and the *World* Bread Fund, without expressing an opinion; but the *Tribune* Fund, which pretended to be administered with great care and on comparatively scientific lines, deserves some consideration. We found in the first place that a number of Hebrew-Christian missionaries used this fund in order to make converts; that distributions were made in some instances from Hebrew-Christian Mission Houses; and, however much it may be pretended that no religion was intermingled with the relief, the fact remains that many of the Hebrew poor pretended a desire to attend the missions, in order to prepare themselves for conversion, with the single hope before them of thus obtaining charitable assistance. Whether intended or not,

here was charity used as a premium for hypocrisy. In addition, in one instance, the baskets of provisions given to the poor were distinctly labelled by the *Tribune* with its name; and in one instance some sixty persons, who had received provisions at a near-by Hebrew-Christian Mission, came directly to our offices with their baskets on their arms, and asked for more relief. I do not know whether, as has been pretended, all these cases were investigated before the provisions were distributed, but it looks as if no investigation had been made; for I can testify from my own knowledge that in the case of one distribution the people gathered in front of the depot the night before, and remained all night in order to have the first place in line on the following morning. Such results of the *Tribune* work cannot fail to encourage a spirit of dependence, which may easily grow into chronic pauperism.

Lastly, the general call upon the public for assistance, and the accumulation of large funds for relief, undoubtedly attracted to New York a great many individuals who hoped to obtain an easy living during the winter. Such funds have always had a like effect; and New York to-day is suffering from a residuum of this class, who properly belong to other communities. The funds, moreover, had the effect of making foreigners, unused to American customs, demand relief as a matter of right, because the public prints had told them that funds had been raised for this purpose.

Yours faithfully,

NATHANIEL S. ROSENAU,

Manager of the United Hebrew Charities of New York.

5. THE SITUATION IN NEW YORK CITY THE WINTER OF 1893-94.

(FROM A REPORT BY CHARLES D. KELLOGG.)

The financial difficulties of the summer and autumn of 1893, and the consequent industrial depression, prepared the public to expect a winter of extreme hardship among the poor. This expectation was well founded, and not greatly exaggerated. The newspapers, with their inveterate sensationalism, however, told extravagant tales; and too many of them were interested in making the industrial condition out as bad as possible. The public was credulous, for the general depression touched every household not protected by superfluous wealth. Moreover, authentic statistics were rare, and loose conjectures passed current for estimates. Invaluable to students, therefore, was the one single investigation which the mayor caused to be made by the police department in January, 1894, the month in which, as a general rule, the demand upon permanent charity funds is always the heaviest. The returns

showed that there were 44,495 families, numbering 204,515 souls, in which one or more persons were out of work, and 4,186 single persons dependent on toil who were unemployed. The number of the unemployed, all told, was 67,280, of whom 22 per cent. were women and girls. Of these, about one-fifth said they were not in need of assistance. The result of this police inquiry, therefore, gave a resident population of 53,520 persons who answered that they were in need from lack of work.

This number, far as it was from equalling the sensational estimates of the newspapers, is appalling enough. Yet at all times, and especially in winter, there is a considerable number of people accustomed to work who are temporarily idle as the normal condition of their crafts and pursuits. Thus coal miners work but 183 days in a year, on an average. In winter most building industries stop, but the wages of the busy months provide maintenance for the idle days. If our inquiry is not how many wage-earners were idle on a particular day, but how many more were idle in January, 1894, than in January, 1893, we shall come more closely to an estimate of the industrial emergency of last winter. Probably, if a census were taken on any winter's day, it would be found that one-tenth of the regular wage-earners were idle at that moment, and that this condition creates no demand upon charitable relief. Moreover, there is always in a great city a considerable ratio of people who are chronic idlers, and live upon the funds of charity. It will be a fair conjecture from these facts that the addition to the regular poor-relief resident population of New York last January, caused by the industrial disorder, numbered about 40,000 persons out of employment,—with those dependent on them, 172,000 souls.

No account has thus far been taken of the homeless and vagrant, that great army of city locusts which annually glean the fields of disorganized and municipal charity. The lodging-houses which hold permits from the health department have accommodations for 13,000 lodgers, and are usually overcrowded in winter; but on the night of Jan. 6, 1894, inspection showed only 9,900 persons, and at another date about 9,100. That they were not full is explained by saying that indigent persons found places in the free lodgings provided by various charitable associations, where they are also provided with breakfast. These places were greatly overcrowded. It is probable that those who sought shelter in these charitable lodgings and in station-houses were as many as those in the licensed lodging-houses where there is a small charge. Then the migrant, non-resident poor in the city at one time averaged 20,000 persons. In this way it is estimated that there were during the winter 60,000 idle, able-bodied, indigent persons, and a population of about 200,000 to be provided for by special exertions.

What provision was made? First, the provision of self-help, the most stupendous of all. There must have been a host, larger

than the police census discovered, that had no enrolment on any report of destitution. How sharp was the pinch here was in some measure disclosed by the exceptional and prolonged activity of the pawn-brokers, and the fact that \$2,000,000 was withdrawn from a single (the Bowery) savings-bank. Let it be noted with honor, too, that 9,370 families, confessing that their earnings were cut off, declined charitable assistance. Probably they had some resources from the beneficial funds of their trades-unions and mutual societies; but these families represent a feeling and conviction full of significance. Working classes hold charitable enterprises in detestation and scorn. The feeling does not arise simply from self-respect,—because a man or woman would not have the name of being relieved,—but from an economic and class conviction that charitable relief stands in the way of a juster distribution of profits, and is an aristocratic concession to poverty in order to content it with an unequal and debasing social system. Labor demands justice, and not charity; and this sentiment is inculcated in all labor organizations. It was this sentiment which concealed more than half the dire penury of New York last winter from notice. In obedience to it, not less than 50,000 families consumed their savings, pawned their heirlooms and clothing, economized their tables, exhausted their dues in beneficial societies, and gloried in their pride of independence. We may ponder well the inestimable value of that sentiment in keeping society wholesome and manhood untainted.

There were three lines upon which the beneficent exercised their pity: (1) the permanent societies and the churches roused themselves to enlarge their operations; (2) temporary organizations were formed and managed by persons skilled in philanthropic law, in principles of co-operation, and in finding remunerated labor for those in need; (3) emergency funds were created under a management responsible to no one but their projectors.

(1) What was done by churches and permanent relief agencies can only be estimated approximately. Thirteen general societies show that their receipts for 1893 were \$261,369, and for 1894 \$369,188, or an increase of 41.2 per cent. This fairly represents about one-fifth of the regular agencies for the immediate relief of the poor; and hence the computation is made that all of them had an aggregate of \$539,094 in excess of the previous year's income. From statements supplied by a number of churches the conclusion is drawn that their poor funds were increased by an average of at least \$250 each for the same reason,—a further sum of \$150,000.

(2) The systematic and representative organizations for the emergency comprised four principal agencies that made employment the typical form of relief. The earliest began in November, and in January they were all in the field. They had names and incomes as follows:—

East Side Relief Work Committee *	\$19,244.90
Committee for Relief by Work †	100,901.25
Citizens' Relief Committee ‡	140,618.00
Business Men's Relief Committee	35,402.45
	<u>\$296,146.60</u>

(3) The city itself made no increase of appropriations to its Board of Charities and Correction beyond a trifling additional sum for coal; but the legislature authorized the Park Commissioners to expend \$1,000,000 on public improvements, in order to supply work to the unemployed. And, therefore, that sum, although wickedly diverted into partisan channels, had direct relation to the general resources for mitigating unusual distress.

Of all the irresponsible temporary relief enterprises, none was perhaps conceived in a more genuine spirit than that of one of our leading merchants. He professed to put his operations on a purely business basis, and to sell fuel and provisions, but to give away nothing. In this way he claimed to keep clear of the taint of charity and aloof from mendicancy. The fiscal side of his enterprises has not been disclosed; but it was stated in the newspapers that they cost him \$100,000 more than his receipts. We assume that this liberal sum was really his contribution to the relief of penury.

There were six other much advertised funds, managed at the caprice of their projectors, as follows:—

City Officials and Employees	\$67,500
Tammany Hall	70,000
<i>World's</i> Bread Fund	43,000
<i>Herald's</i> Free Clothing Fund	55,000
<i>Christian Herald</i> Fund	34,500
<i>Tribune</i> Coal and Food Fund	21,536
6-15-99 Club	7,507
	<u>\$299,043</u>

Add together these items; and it appears that, outside of the usual receipts of normal years, New York had \$2,414,283 available to succor the excess of destitution over ordinary years. If half of the migrant and homeless people be taken as the exceptional excess for the year, there was this sum to distribute to the 50,000 persons thrown emergently upon public sympathy, which would give them \$48.30 each. It is more than probable that those statements put both the money and the number of the necessities too low. In April last the New York *Evening Post* published, as a result of a careful canvass of sixteen of the largest charitable societies, its conclusion that the amount of money raised this year

* In addition to \$102,519 received from the Committee for Relief by Work, making \$121,763.90 expended by this committee in giving relief by work.

† Exclusive of \$50,000 received from the Citizens' Relief Committee.

‡ Gave no direct relief, but turned over its funds to other agencies; notably, \$50,000 to the Committee for Relief by Work, which in its turn supplied the East Side Relief Work Committee, and other bodies giving relief only by work, with the means to do so.

to meet exceptional conditions was \$5,000,000 more than the funds available for the poor in ordinary years.

There was much of boastful publicity and fulsome self-adulation attending the schemes set on foot by journals, with the exception of the *Tribune* Coal and Food Fund. Their distribution of tickets was no safeguard. The journals only investigated when they wished sensational articles to publish in their columns. They drew crowds to their doors, composed of those who blushed at the exposure of their condition or of those who had long since ceased to blush. They sent wagons blazoned with their names and errands into crowded tenement streets, and called aloud the names of those for whom they had a charity package. In a word, they surrounded their work with conditions that repelled real merit, and lured the shameless to their doors and carts.

Politics put its taint on what it touched. The Tammany Fund was raised by its district organizations, hundreds of saloons contributing one day's profits. Some of the money was given to Catholic societies; but much of it was distributed by district captains, so that it might prop the fortunes and increase the vote of Tammany. The Park Commissioners' \$1,000,000 and the City Officials' and Employees' Fund did almost nothing to mitigate the bitter distress of the industrious poor.

The large distribution of coal, food, groceries, etc., at prices ruinous to petty dealers, cannot be sustained on either economic or social grounds. One of their pernicious effects was necessarily the driving out of stores into the ranks of the destitute an unascertained number of small dealers, who could no longer sustain themselves against such rivalry. Doubtless the projectors of these schemes were sincere in their purpose and generous in their sentiments; but, erroneous as were their methods, let us find a gentle apology for them in the hope that what an emergency might justify will not become a permanent thing.

We can see in the retrospect the large-heartedness of modern humanity, we can note the patience and pathetic silence of the poor, we can thank God that dreadful gulf has been bridged so quietly.

6. THE RELIEF WORK AT BUFFALO, N.Y.

BY T. GUILFORD SMITH.

(ABSTRACT OF MR. SMITH'S REMARKS AND MR. F. ALMY'S DOCUMENTS.)

The work done at Buffalo had two sources,—a public meeting called by the mayor of the city, at the request of the long-established Charity Organization Society, and a Citizens' Relief Committee there appointed; and a special movement by the Charity

Organization Society. The latter became the centralizing force, and furnished both co-operation and regulation. The mayor's meeting, begun with the purpose of raising \$25,000 by subscription among the citizens, before adjourning, Dec. 16, 1893, doubled that sum, as the least possible that would be needed, and did, in fact, cause the raising of \$65,000. On its part, the Charity Organization Society secured special additions to its funds and temporarily made a large increase in its force of workers. It procured the co-operation of sixty societies and churches, and undertook the systematic investigation of cases needing work or aid. During the four months, December–April, 7,620 investigations were thus made, as against 1,573 for nine months of 1893. A census of the unemployed and needy, taken by the police, was referred by the mayor to this society; but, like other work of this kind elsewhere, it proved to be of small value.

\$40,652, and large gifts of provisions sent in by citizens, were distributed by the Poor Department, not very judiciously in outdoor relief. Besides this, the fund of \$65,000 above-mentioned, and a fund of \$3,300 raised by the Dollar Relief Society, were expended in providing work for men and women. The larger fund was paid out to 6,277 men, at about 70 cents per day: the smaller fund was paid to some 200 women, of whom 150 earned, between February 5 and May 9, from 50 cents to \$2 a week, according to their needs. The work for the men was breaking stone, filling in the State ditch, and constructing a park boulevard. This work was given steadily from Dec. 30 to March 17, 1894.

The Citizens' Relief Fund, regarded as a labor test, showed that Italians and Poles were willing to work for 70 cents a day, but that the Germans, Irish, and Americans were not willing. This presented a new problem. It is quite certain that Poles and Italians can live on less wages and under less comfortable conditions than immigrants longer domesticated in this country are willing to do. The work done by the Poles and Italians was in many instances an unexpected piece of good fortune, as many of this class expect to work only in the more open months, being day laborers. The promptness with which they availed themselves of the work offered shut out later applicants of other nationalities. The entire willingness to work for 70 cents a day makes it difficult to determine what, for this part of our population, would be a genuine labor test, and how their work and necessities can be brought to a common standard with Germans, Irish, and Americans. As Buffalo

has a population of some 35,000 Poles and some 15,000 Italians, the problem presents especial difficulties here, and demands most serious consideration ; and much has been learned of the personal habits, care, thrift, and method of living of a large portion of the population that has never before come under the observation of the Charity Organization Society.

At first, work was given to all who applied for it, with a preference, however, in favor of married men ; but investigation showed that, of 3,450 who were so given work, 2,006 could not be found at the addresses given by them or did not require relief, and after the third week employment was given only upon the recommendation of this or other charitable societies, or of physicians, clergymen, or the police.

As the winter advanced, and it was found that the charitable bodies of Buffalo had not sufficient means to meet the emergency, a number of prominent business men, acting together with the Buffalo *Courier* organized what was called the *Courier* Relief Supply. Those who had supplies of any kind of clothing, or of anything else that might be of service, were requested to notify Mr. C. W. Miller, the proprietor of a livery stable, who sent for the articles, stored them, and distributed them without charge, under the direction of the *Courier* Relief Supply, to all who could present an order indorsed by any charitable society in good standing. Over \$20,000 worth of coal, clothing, and provisions, was given out upon 4,243 orders, which represents relief to as many as 4,000 different families, or about 20,000 individuals. The Charity Organization Society feared that there might be much duplication, and that the same people would be helped over and over again ; but a registry was kept, and it was found that, of the 4,000 orders given, as many as 85 per cent. went to families who received help but once, 9 per cent. to families who were helped but twice, and that only 2 per cent. of the whole number went to families who had more than three orders for supplies. Consequently, both the work given and the supplies given last winter in Buffalo were, to a very considerable extent, given as would have been recommended by the Charity Organization Society.

A valuable feature of the work of this society last winter was a loan fund of over \$5,000 from which loans were made, usually on security at 4 per cent. interest. It is encouraging to report that nearly 50 per cent. of what was loaned has already been paid back.

In order to secure the co-operation of other agencies, every religious and charitable society in Buffalo was asked to meet with the Charity Organization Society; and the result was that the co-operation thus received has been ten times that of any previous year. These societies gave aid on their own lines, but used the records of our society as a bureau of information, and reported to some extent the relief which they gave, so that overlapping was hindered, if not prevented. The office of secretary of the Charity Organization Society was vacant during the winter; and the work fell chiefly upon Mr. Ansley Wilcox, chairman of the Executive Committee, and Miss Marion I. Moore, the assistant secretary. It was so well done that the society was greatly benefited by the year's work, and will be stronger for subsequent work if it can hold the co-operation which it then secured.

It would therefore appear that nearly \$70,000 was specially expended for work in Buffalo; and at least as large a sum, in money and supplies, went directly for aid in the five months ending May 1, 1894.

7. RELIEF WORK AT CLEVELAND, OHIO.

(ABRIDGED FROM HENRY M. RAYMOND'S REPORT AT NASHVILLE.)

The Bethel Associated Charities early found our employment and relief rooms filled with applicants who asked for work or aid. The district visitors and investigators reported mill hands and mechanics, laborers and sailors, clerks and office men, shop-girls and seamstresses, all idle, and claiming to be eager for any suitable work. In October calls for clothing and bed-covering began to be pressing. Societies and citizens made demands that applicants be investigated. When visited in their homes, it was found that, with but few exceptions, the truth had been told. They were in want of the things asked for, and with the appeal for aid came also the call for work. It was found that either the Associated Charities would have to make an effort to do all the needed work in a systematic way, or the newspapers and the scattered, disconnected societies would do a helter-skelter work that would pauperize the recipients. The first step taken was to enlarge our district committees, and enlist the most experienced and efficient workers.

Cleveland covers about thirty square miles of territory, and is divided into twelve districts. Headquarters in each district were established, where needed relief supplies could be distributed, and where the unemployed could come for work orders, furnished by

the Employment Committee. The district committees averaged about sixty persons. Each district had an investigator, paid weekly at the Central Office; and each district committee worked under the direction of the Central Committee. Daily reports were sent from the districts to the Central Office and were there tabulated. The names of all applicants, with full reports of the condition, antecedents, etc., were registered at the Central Office; and this was of great value in preventing duplicate giving and in detecting impostors.

One of the most important departments was the Labor Bureau, near the Central Office. Here each district chairman sent such applicants as could not be provided for in the districts; and they were given orders for from one to six days at \$1 a day at such work as the Street Commissioner or the Park Commissioners could provide. The orders stated the kind of pay the worker was to receive when the work was done. Some needed rent money only. To such persons a check was given, payable to the order of the landlord. Others needed only groceries, or new shoes or new underclothing, and were paid in the relief supplies called for. Relief supplies were given in payment for 8,900 days' work. There were also 1,570 cash orders on the Labor Office for \$8,119; and the money went to the house-owner for rents.

While the resident poor were provided for by the district committees, the wayfarer was looked after at the wood-yard and the Wayfarers' Lodge. It soon became apparent that the unusual numbers of homeless men at the yard would cut up all the wood we had, and more even than we could buy. We therefore arranged that sufficient work at street-cleaning should be given these men, at ten cents an hour for six hours a day, the payment being 2 lodging and 4 meal tickets, or 2 days' supply for each day's work. Each applicant was allowed 3 days' work in a week. Cleveland was furnished with 14,155 days' work; Gordon Park, 1,040 days; Wade Park, 1,815 days,—total, 17,010 days, besides 9,393 wood-yard days, making the total number of days' work furnished the city and the parks 26,403.

There were 9,086 families aided, with 25,402 children. The total number in the families was 41,981. Among the applicants the Germans, Bohemians, Poles, and Irish were in greatest numbers: Germans, 2,072; Bohemians, 1,496; Poles, 1,378; Irish, 1,242; Americans, 885; Hungarians, 409; Slaves, 267; English, 278; Italians, 182. There were in smaller numbers families of Canadians, French, Welsh, Scotch, Swedes, and Russians.

The Associated Charities has had the hearty support and co-operation of the well-to-do citizens. At no time has the work of relieving the distressed been hampered by lack of funds or supplies. This has been due in great measure to the efficient work of the Citizens' Relief Committee, who placed funds at our disposal. The amount of cash receipts from November 1 to May 1 were \$42,659.05; the expenditures, \$37,364.92. One of the good

things in the winter's work, perhaps the best thing that can be said of it, is that it brought the rich and the poor closer together, benefiting both.

8. DENVER'S PLAN.

(ABRIDGED FROM IZETTA GEORGE'S REPORT AT NASHVILLE.)

Six years ago Denver's charity workers adopted an original plan of organization. Sixteen societies are maintained on an annual expenditure of \$20,000, half of which is an appropriation of the city, and the other half private subscriptions. The Central Office receives \$4,800 per year, which is expended principally for emergency cases. The co-operating societies and institutions receive amounts according to their needs.

Denver's troubles began in the summer of 1893. Colorado was the first State to be shadowed by the dark clouds of adversity at that season of the year which is usually the happiest and most prosperous. The sudden decline in the price of silver occurred within twenty days, and in that short time a majority of our mines, smelters, and factories shut down. With every avenue to work closed, a great army of the unemployed sought relief in Denver. The Charity Organization Society was of incalculable benefit to the city in registering those who were afterwards given employment or transportation, and in the exposition of fraud.

With the first influx of idle men, Rev. Thomas Uzzel and Dean Peck threw open the doors of their respective missions, and for several days provided food and shelter to about ten thousand men. It soon became evident that more commodious quarters, under systematic management, must be provided. Accordingly, with money contributed by the State, county, and city, a place called "Camp Relief" was established. Military discipline prevailed. The camp existed only long enough to give Denver a chance to consider a wiser plan of relief. It took but a short time to convince the management that with an increased distribution of alms invariably comes an increased outcry for more alms.

Employment, such as cleaning the streets, paving, sewer work, etc., was soon furnished by the city; and the building of railroads to Cripple Creek, a prosperous new mining camp, and the revival and development of gold and placer mining, all tended to decrease the applications for charity. Many men and some families were given transportation to their old homes. We soon began to look upon our troubles as light compared with the poverty and distress of Eastern cities. After the expenditure of about \$8,000 to meet the emergency of the summer, the Charity Organization Society has gone on thus far without the loss of a society or institution, and with sufficient money in the treasury for the maintenance of all throughout the year 1894.

The county commissioners last year gave outdoor relief to the amount of \$20,000,—to the largest number of people in July and August. Their investigator has made 2,200 investigations since November 1. Being in constant communication with our office, we experience more anxiety through fear of the deserving poor *not* making application for necessary relief than of imposition or duplication.

The People's Tabernacle, of which Rev. Thomas Uzzel is pastor, is in the poorest district of the city. It embraces evangelical work, an employment bureau, two sewing-schools, free baths, and a medical dispensary. A similar institution is under the management of Dean Peck. His mission includes a reading-room, medical dispensary, employment bureau, and rescue station. Aug. 22, 1893, Dean Peck opened a restaurant and lodging-house which remained in operation 222 days. An average of 460 persons a day were fed, and 40 lodged. Then came a demand for work by which those without five cents to pay for a meal could earn it; and October 4 a wood-yard was opened, and continued in operation 138 days. It furnished 87 idle men employment every day. The wood-yard receipts were \$5,692; expenses, \$5,698.

9. PITTSBURG'S RELIEF WORK.

BY ROBERT D. M'GONNIGLE.

In December, 1893, the Citizens' Relief Committee was organized, with the mayor as chairman, and various sub-committees appointed for finances, etc. Mr. Andrew Carnegie agreed to contribute \$1 for every dollar raised by public subscription; and on this basis he contributed about \$125,000, making a total of \$250,000 that was placed at the disposal of the committee. Arrangements were made with the city Department of Public Works to put all the married men who came properly indorsed by the committee at work on two new parks that were opened by the city, and very much in need of walks and roadways. These men were paid \$1 a day, and the work lasted three months. The number of different persons employed was about 13,000, and the number of dependants they represented about 47,000. None of the fund was expended for anything but labor, and there is no question that a great deal of good was done. The whole thing was managed very systematically, and carried forward without any confusion. The Society for the Improvement of the Poor and the Department of Charities granted relief all winter very much in ex-

cess of anything they had ever done before, — just what amount I am unable to say.

The Citizens' Relief Committee set the first men at work Jan. 1, 1894, and continued until April 5. During that time 22,528 different applications for work were received. The total amount paid out was \$256,416. Out of this sum \$3,290 was paid for clerk hire and printing expenses, leaving \$253,124 paid out for labor performed. The smallest number on any one day was 2,000 men at work; and the largest, 4,571,—an average per day of 2,907. Of 13,224 men employed, there were married, 11,202; their dependants, 42,712; single, 1,841; their dependants, 4,257; not classed, 181; total employed, 13,224; total dependants, 46,969. Hence a total of 60,193 were benefited by this work. The men represented 80 different occupations, and were divided thus:—

Professional	6
Commercial	30
Skilled laborers	1,810
Laborers	11,378
Total	13,224

Of the entire number, 39.55 per cent. were classed as American-born; English-speaking, 71,217 per cent.; foreign-speaking, 28,782 per cent.

It was fortunate that the committee was able to provide this work, not only because it furnished those in want with the means of earning a little money, but because it was also a saving to the city; for much work was accomplished which the city would have had done at some time, at a higher price than it cost just then.

This system prevented hunger, starvation, and even crime. It gave the man in want an opportunity of maintaining his independence, because he gave his work for the money he obtained. It kept thousands who saw starvation staring them in the face out of the workhouse. It obviated the necessity of begging. It helped hundreds to retain their own self-respect; and it put up a barrier against the temptation of theft, robbery, murder and suicide. In no case were politics allowed to interfere, either for or against any applicant; and the greatest tribute that can possibly be paid to the committee lies in the fact that, out of the 13,224 men, not one had any complaint to make against them.

Apart from this committee there were started in Pittsburg a

number of other organizations,—missions, leagues, clubs, unions, etc.,—one of which established a soup-house that did more harm than good. In these there was no organized method for distribution of charity; and want was not decreased, but apparently grew day by day. Some of these mushroom organizations sought honor for their work through the newspapers, with the result that Pittsburg became the Mecca for all the tramps and vagabonds in Western Pennsylvania, Eastern Ohio, and West Virginia. The Department of Public Safety in Pittsburg had to inaugurate a special department of food supply, to feed all the loungers at the crowded police stations. The kind-heartedness of the people was also much abused. A little coterie, headed by one of the most notorious beggars in Allegheny County, established a place ostensibly for the benefit of the poor and suffering. They gathered clothes, money, food, and everything they could get in the name of charity, and then disposed of it to make money for themselves.

10. WATERBURY, CONN.

(REPORT OF MR. T. D. WELLS.)

I. OFFICIAL RELIEF FOR THE UNEMPLOYED.

1. *Special Appropriations for Highway Improvements.*—At a town meeting held Nov. 24, 1893, a special appropriation of \$10,000 was voted "to furnish employment to such men as may be in need of assistance from being out of work." It was decided to expend the appropriation by making certain permanent improvements on the town roads. Altogether about 400 men, a large majority of whom were heads of families, were provided with temporary employment. As many of them were unaccustomed to rugged outdoor work, and as the season of the year was unfavorable for prosecuting operations on the highways at the best advantage, it is not believed that the town received an equivalent of more than \$4,000 for the \$10,000 expended. It was found that several persons who, by the terms of the resolution, were not entitled to secure employment under the appropriation, obtained a share of the fund by misrepresenting their condition to the selectmen. The number applying for work was several times as large as the number receiving it, but no record was kept of the rejected

applications. While no definite data are obtainable, it is safe to assume, as I am advised, that about 95 per cent., of the 400 men employed, were either foreign-born, or else the native-born children of foreign-born parents. May 26, 1894, the town voted another special appropriation of \$10,000 to be expended in highway improvements. Thus far (August 1) about half of the amount has been exhausted, and employment has been given to about 150 men.

2. *Employment in the Construction of Water-works.*—During the past year the city of Waterbury has been constructing, at an expense (when completed) of about \$750,000, a large addition to its water system. This project is entirely independent of the industrial depression, but an effort has been made in hiring laborers to give Waterbury men the preference. In this way work has to some extent been provided for a considerable number of persons who might otherwise have been unemployed. Work given in this manner was not ostensibly relief, although doubtless in many cases it proved to be such.

3. *Disbursements for Outdoor Relief.*—The expenditures for public outside relief during the winter were more liberal than usual, which is saying a good deal.

II. VOLUNTARY RELIEF.

1. *The Relief Bureau.*—Last fall a Relief Bureau was organized for the purpose of distributing provisions; fuel, and clothing among the worthy poor. It began operations on Thanksgiving Day, and went out of existence March 26, 1894. The total number of applications for relief was 612, and assistance was granted in 488 cases. Aid was disbursed to the amount of \$4,707.50, as follows: Provisions, \$1,854.72; fuel, \$812; clothing and shoes, \$1,948.81; miscellaneous, \$91.97. The money and contributions were secured by personal solicitation, and by appeals through the newspapers. Most of the individual cases aided represent families. The bureau was imposed on to some extent, as the facilities for making personal investigation at the homes of the applicant were lacking. When the organization disbanded, the personal records (which had been taken fully) of the cases applying for relief were (very foolishly, as I think) ordered destroyed, and much valuable social information was thus lost. The bureau did not, as a rule, grant aid to those who had at any time been bene-

ficiaries of town relief. A great majority of the applicants were women. A large percentage of the families assisted belong to what we loosely term the foreign element of the community.

2. *The Salvation Army Wood-yard.*—On Jan. 17, 1894, the local branch of the Salvation Army established a wood-yard, in order to provide employment for needy out-of-works. Thus far work has been furnished to 209 men. Employment is not, as a rule, given to men unless they are responsible, wholly or in part, for the support of other persons. Up to August 1 \$859 had been paid for labor. No cash whatever is paid, but grocery and rent orders are given. The estimated value of the manufactured product, sold and unsold, is \$3,305. The usefulness of the wood-yard project is restricted by the limited market for the wood.

3. *A Sewing-room.*—In January the central band of King's Daughters started a sewing-room, in order to help destitute women to provide clothes for themselves and their families. The raw materials were given. The women who made the cloth up into articles of clothing were allowed ten cents an hour for their labor, payable in the manufactured product. The scheme was to give clothing in exchange for labor, although in certain cases the women were paid in grocery orders instead of in clothes. About 40 women patronized the sewing-room. The nationality of most of them was Irish. I am unable to give an estimate of the value of the manufactured product. The sewing-room was in operation about a month.

III. COMMENTS.

The occasion for special relief work undoubtedly existed. Waterbury is distinctively an industrial city. When the depression came on, the factories were compelled to cut down their force, reduce wages, and shorten the time schedule. Naturally, the inefficient laborers were the first to be discharged. Many of these lacked thrift and providence, though they did not lack large families. The situation that confronted the community was obviously serious; and the agencies which were provided to meet it were, in the main, fairly judicious. Temporary good was undoubtedly accomplished, and so was permanent harm. I should hesitate to venture an opinion as to which predominated. I suspect that, as one evil result, the measures for special relief have tended to promote in the community a spirit of dependence. The

number of persons who either apply for public alms or else seek to obtain employment from the town or city is almost appalling. In relief work among a miscellaneous population it is exceedingly difficult to do good for the present without doing harm for the future.

II. THE WINTER IN LOUISVILLE, KY.

(FROM REPORT BY R. H. BLAIN, AT NASHVILLE.)

Early in the fall of 1893 the Louisville Charity Organization took up the question, How shall the emergency be met? Should there be relief to the able-bodied without work? No! was the unanimous response. Should there be free soup-houses? Emphatically no! Experience had taught that relief without work was demoralizing, and free soup-houses were vicious. But one thing was left,—to give relief in exchange for work. With this in view a more commodious Wayfarers' Lodge was erected, and a large supply of wood was laid in. The winter came. As expected, the first cold spell found hundreds of families without coal, many without bread and suitable clothing. Those in distress were people who had never before been in such straits,—carpenters, moulders, brick-layers, and laborers. They would conceal their distress from neighbors, but would tell it to the Charity Organization Society agents. Wood was on hand, and some 30,000 bushels of coal were contributed by the city. Work was at once offered, and cheerfully accepted. Carpenters were employed to erect a woodshed, pull it down, and put up another, to fence the yard, and to do all the work that could be found. They were employed not less than three days in a week at \$1 a day, and paid in coal or provisions, as they chose. Outside work, such as making tables, they were allowed to do on their own account on the premises. Laborers and other mechanics split kindling-wood at ten cents a barrel. These were allowed to make fifty cents a day, and were paid in groceries, coal, or clothing. No one was allowed to do more work in a week than would pay for coal and provisions sufficient to supply his family during that time. From thirty to sixty men a day, heads of families, were thus assisted during three months of the winter.

Arrangements were made with responsible grocers in different parts of the city to accept our orders, and supply groceries at the lowest price. A foreman from the applicants for help was appointed to superintend work. Each evening the foreman gave each man a certificate showing how long he had worked or how many barrels of kindling he had made; and this was presented to the secretary. If coal was wanted, an order was mailed to the

coal-office, and the load delivered next morning; if groceries, an order on the grocer was given for fifty cents' or one dollar's worth. The grocer supplied whatever was asked for, to the amount of the order, noting on the blank the items and prices. These orders were returned at the end of the month to the secretary, with the grocer's bill. At an expense of less than \$2,000, from October to March, 1894, work was given to many persons, and the actual necessities of life supplied to their families. Many thousand barrels of kindling were made, which were sold as fast as the market would admit. The Wayfarers' Lodge in the same months accommodated 2,311 transients, furnishing 25,774 meals and 10,803 lodgings, and turned out 17,000 barrels of kindling.

The latter part of the winter the Woman's Club opened rooms, furnishing work to women. On certain days women cut out garments. On other days sewing women came to get the work, and were paid by a fixed schedule. The Charity Organization Society sent sewing women known to be in need.

How did the efforts thus put forth meet the emergency? The answer is, Well. At a meeting of the unemployed a resolution was adopted, most appreciative of the Charity Organization Society.

It would be wise for cities to lay in coal at a low price, and, instead of giving it to able-bodied men, to supply it at first cost in exchange for work at half-wages, giving also food in exchange for work, and giving no more work than is sufficient to supply actual want.

It may be asked, Where did the money come from to pay for so much work? Mostly from unsolicited contributions. Hard weather and a notice that money is needed by the Charity Organization Society usually bring enough.

12. THE WORK IN CHICAGO.

An organization called the "Central Relief Association" was formed before Dec. 13, 1893, and proceeded at once to its work. It was found that existing charitable organizations were overwhelmed by applications from destitute families, and that, aside from the sleeping quarters improvised elsewhere, upward of 2,000 men were nightly accommodated in the police stations and in the corridors of the City Hall. The police authorities estimated that about one third of these were tramps.

The Association made arrangements with the city authorities at once to put a stop to the influx of tramps who came by reason of

the widely advertised soup-houses and free lodging-places. This was done by placing policemen at railroad depots and freight-yards to bring before the Association every man entering Chicago without baggage or money to provide for his entertainment, or a letter from some responsible party offering him work. Such persons were examined, and returned at once to the place from which they came. The police also went to the eating-houses and lodging-places that were giving free entertainment, to take in charge every man who was able-bodied and willing to give an equivalent in work for food and lodging. This effort was made in order to regulate and systematize the free soup-houses, so that a suitable labor test might be exacted of all who were fed and sheltered.

The Association about January 1 assumed entire control of the Lakeside and Kirkland Kitchens, and made definite arrangements at 66 Pacific Avenue, and went on furnishing substantial and wholesome food to those who, by performing work on the streets, had earned fair treatment. No better evidence of the success attained could be supplied than the words frequently used by the men,—“It is a square deal.”

Tools were purchased for those willing to work, and arrangements made for all such in the better class of cheap lodging-houses. The city authorities co-operated effectively in the work of street-cleaning by providing a foreman for each group of laborers, and the necessary teams. Toward the end of winter, men with families were given the preference in street-cleaning work. In return for their labors they received supplies from the warehouse valued at the exact cost. They were permitted to select such food as was best adapted to their need. As spring approached, the single men were told they must find employment elsewhere. The justice of this was acknowledged, and the men rapidly disappeared. 66 Pacific Avenue was closed March 5, Kirkland Kitchen March 17, and Lakeside Kitchen March 24.

The Women's Clubs' Emergency Association inaugurated an admirable plan for relieving the distress among women by sewing-rooms, where such women as were either the support of families or especially destitute could be furnished with employment.

The plan of giving men an opportunity to return an equivalent in work for food, lodging, and clothing, proved a satisfactory method with the men who were floating about the city,—nearly all single men without homes. Whether or not this may under ordinary conditions be wise and practicable, it was effective in this

emergency. On the opening day, Dec. 23, 1893, 2,019 men were given breakfast, and were offered the only work that could be found for them; namely, sweeping and shovelling on the streets. Only about 400 were willing to accept it; but, as others soon found free entertainment closed to them, they gradually fell into line. The force at its maximum was 3,760. We required three hours' work each day, giving in return two full meals and a good bed. Provision for Sunday was made by three hours' over-time during the week. We also allowed those needing shoes or clothing extra time, for which "extra tickets" were given, valued at ten cents each for each extra hour. For six to nine tickets we gave good strong shoes that would cost in a store from \$2.00 to \$2.50; for one ticket, a pair of good stockings; for seven tickets, a full suit of woollen underclothing; for one ticket, a pair of mittens; for two, a warm cap with ear-laps; for twelve, good woollen trousers and other clothing at corresponding prices. Like provision was also made for laundry and barber tickets. The married men could exchange their lodging or extra-time tickets for flour, groceries, meat, or vegetables. Four tickets secured twenty-five pounds of good white flour; one ticket, twelve pounds of corn-meal, or three-quarters of a pound of coffee, or four pounds of good broken rice, or two and a half pounds of sugar. All staple articles of food were given at correspondingly low prices, the manufacturers and wholesale dealers furnishing them at prime cost.

Those who came early in the morning were given work in the long hours' squad, or "shoe gang," as it was called by the men; and it was interesting to note that as early as four o'clock in the morning the "shoe gang" would begin to form so as to be the first admitted to the six o'clock breakfast, and first in line for tools and work tickets. Each man was given a tool ticket as he passed into breakfast, which, on presentation, was punched with the letter "T," and, after the work of the day was finished, the same ticket was punched by the foreman with a punch of different pattern, as many times as they had worked hours; and, when the tools were turned in, this ticket was taken up and a coupon ticket given in exchange, good for supper, breakfast, and lodging. The color of these tickets and the pattern of the punch was changed each day in the week to prevent duplication and forgery. This proved the safest and cheapest system of keeping accounts and making settlement. No books were kept.

The meals given were substantial and abundant. Breakfast

consisted of three thick slices (one-half pound) of family bread, with sliced meat between two of the slices; a quart of coffee, sweetened; a large plate of corn or oatmeal mush with syrup. Dinners were Irish stew, made of good and abundant meat and vegetables, and three thick slices of bread; on special occasions, bread pudding. Oysters were several times added to the stew. 2,000 men could be served in one hour at Lakeside, 1,500 at 66 Pacific Avenue, and 1,000 at Desplaines Street. A good lunch was given at noon for one "extra" ticket to those who wished; but most of the men were satisfied to take two meals only, commonly using at noon a large slice of bread saved from breakfast.

As the men passed the ticket-taker, they took up their bread and meat, passed along to the coffee basin, and carried the whole into the next room, where they stood up on both sides of tables 150 feet long. As they finished breakfast and passed out of the tool-room, they were given tools and sent out in gangs of fifty to one hundred, with one foreman and one sub-foreman for every twenty-five men. The sub-foreman was selected from the ranks. The head-foremen were usually married men who had dependent families, and who understood the business. This working army averaged about twenty-eight years of age, of all nationalities. About 30 per cent. were American born. Nearly all were poorly clad, having only what clothing was on their backs; all surplus clothing having been sold or pawned. They especially needed shoes, so that for the first two weeks we gave for six hours' work shoes that cost 90 cents. After the most needy were supplied, we charged nine tickets, the exact cost. Putting shoes on the men's feet gave them a new lease of life, and added greatly to their comfort and self-respect. When they were able to earn a change of clothing, many could find other employment or go to friends, which they were unable to do in their dilapidated condition. Many of the younger men were stranded here after the World's Fair, had worn out their clothing and shoes in walking the streets, and were sleeping in the police stations and on the City Hall floors.

The gradual improvement in the personal appearance of the men, and the greater cheerfulness and courage shown in taking up the daily work (which resulted from better sleeping quarters, good food, improved clothing, and the medical attendance given) was a great satisfaction to the committee. Nearly all showed their appreciation of what had been done for them, and gave many expressions of satisfaction and thanks to the committee in charge.

Few of those aided were "strikers." Such are apt to be mechanics or skilled laborers who receive good wages, and lay by money for an idle day. When they strike, they can usually borrow of their associates, or the unions care for them until work is resumed. But few union men apply for relief. The majority of those who worked for the Relief Association during the winter of 1894 were men who had no trade, or were not well fitted to make a living when there is a great depression. These are generally the men first discharged when business gets dull, because they are least valuable to their employers, or are raw hands and have not become indispensable to the business; some because they are physically or mentally defective, or are lazy, and careless of the interests of those they serve. Many such come for assistance every winter, and they were predominant in the work of relief the past winter. The families where sickness is the main factor, or where the family is too large for the wage-earners to meet all the demands, are usually on the books of the regular relief societies or church organizations.

Up to this time a very small portion of charity funds in this city has gone to the support of the striking workmen. In fact, the labor unions insist that they will care for their own needy families. If the strikes continue much longer, there will be a greater demand for charity, both in city and country, because suspension of labor by skilled men inevitably destroys the opportunities of a much greater number of common laborers.

13. PHILADELPHIA.

The Citizens' Permanent Relief Committee is a permanent organization that has been in existence for some fifteen or sixteen years, and has dealt with many questions of public relief and distress, as the Pennsylvania floods of 1889, the relief of the starving Russian peasants, the care of the unemployed during the last winter, and many charities of smaller importance. The report of the work of our committee is complete, as far as it goes; but it in no way represents the relief to the unemployed that was extended by this community during the last winter. The other principal avenues for assistance were the churches of the various denomina-

tions, and it is quite likely that the amount of relief extended through these channels aggregated more than the great amount of relief by our committee. Our system was good and practical, and prevented duplication. It is my impression that Philadelphia has, upon this question, an amount of experience that, if put in form by some capable person, would be a very positive contribution to the department of Social Economy of the American Social Science Association.

(Signed)

ROBERT C. OGDEN.

14. RELIEF AT ST. LOUIS.

BY THE EDITOR OF THE "POST-DISPATCH."

The chief work of relief in St. Louis last winter was the making of a large pleasure-lake in Forest Park, the principal pleasure resort of the city. This plan was conceived and carried into execution by the *Post-Dispatch*, with the idea of furnishing work at \$1 per day to laborers who were out of employment and in need. Over \$39,000 was gathered into our fund; and of this amount about \$34,000 was expended in wages, all the work being done by hand labor.

The charitable ladies of St. Louis raised a supplementary fund of nearly \$1,000, and with this furnished the laborers throughout the inclement winter weather with a warm lunch on the banks of the excavation, from which 125,000 yards of earth were removed, and used in making road-ways and ornamental mounds.

Through this work relief was extended to 4,000 men. The carrying out of the project was intrusted to a Citizens' Committee, composed of Rev. Mr. Niccolls, pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, Mr. Henry C. Haarstick, president of the Mississippi Valley Transportation Company, and Dr. Thomas O'Riley, a prominent physician. On all sides it was conceded that the results of this undertaking were most beneficial, avoiding through its execution the dangers in introducing paternalism into our municipal government or in making public work to be paid for out of the public treasury.

15. SYRACUSE, N.Y.

The relief given to families thrown out of employment and into a condition of pressing need last winter was administered by a Citizens' Relief Committee, which was appointed at a general meeting. The work took a somewhat different direction from what was anticipated. A very considerable sum of money was raised by subscription obtained from our business men; and this committee disbursed it in furnishing direct relief to those who were adjudged needy, and also in a degree worthy. We endeavored, as a society, in the utmost to guard against the giving of aid to those who ought not to receive any. And it would have been much more consonant to our own views that the money should have been expended in the direction of providing work for the unemployed, since nearly all who were aided were able to earn, but suffered through the want of opportunity for work.

We are not able to give information as to the amount of charity bestowed through any other organized medium. Each one of the churches, or at least most of them, have some charitable organization connected with their own body, and give more or less relief to people who come under their immediate cognizance; but we have never been able to obtain any specific statement of the amount thus disbursed.

In regard to the question VIII., I would say that, in the opinion of the Citizens' Committee (at least of the treasurer and the president), the results produced were good,—so nearly entirely so that the evil can be regarded as comparatively little. I should be very glad if it may prove so; but my own apprehension is that a precedent has been set which will be felt to be harmful, and that in the not distant future. As soon as the cold weather shall be upon us and outdoor work brought to an end, we shall doubtless find a large amount of destitution in this city in consequence of the comparatively little outdoor work that has been done this summer. It will be our endeavor to induce the municipality to provide some employment for mechanics, laborers, etc., who find themselves entirely unable to obtain employment. In our view, that is the only rational solution that lies before us. The condition in Syracuse is much like that which obtains in other cities of the United States and Europe. There is a very considerable amount of work being done by the city in the way of laying water-

mains, paving streets, constructing sewers, etc., and I presume that as compared with other cities we are doing quite as well (or better) as most in the matter of furnishing labor; but it seems inevitable that there must be much destitution and suffering this coming winter.

Yours cordially,

CHARLES D. B. MILLS,

*General Secretary of the Bureau of
Labor and Charities.*

SYRACUSE, Aug. 16, 1894.

The above reports and letters are the most important received by the Department, and are here published for the information of the public during the coming winter.

F. B. SANBORN, *Chairman,*
JOSEPH LEE, *Secretary.*

BOSTON, Nov. 1, 1894.

II. PAPERS OF THE JURISPRUDENCE DEPARTMENT.

I. THE ELMIRA SYSTEM.

BY CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER.

[Read Thursday, September 6, 1894.]

There are certain influences and conditions which go to make what we call progress in this world—that is, a better state of the human race—which are of universal application. They apply to men in the mass; and under them society moves forward, creating from age to age an improved social state. Inventions and the discovery of new applications of the laws and forces of nature contribute largely to this result. But, of all the forces that have been slowly transforming the world since the beginning of our era,—a brief era in comparison with civilizations before it,—the most important incomparably is Christianity. Its insistence upon the brotherhood of man, its recognition of the value, the duties, and the responsibility of the human soul, its clear statement of the relations between man and his Creator, are the principles upon which the whole of modern life rests, wherever modern life has improved its social, moral, and material conditions. Those States have most prospered in well-being where the spirit of Christianity has had the freest and most intelligent recognition. There we look for, and there we find, without any exception, the finest fruits of what we call civilization. This spirit is the underlying motive of modern life.

And yet neither the prevalence of this spirit, nor the forces which we reckon as causes and signs of our progress, can be said to have extinguished the evils which existed before they came into play. We see their effect in a general transformation; but in our progress there are details of misery which are alarmingly out of keeping with our boasted advance. Poverty assumes a more hideous aspect, perhaps in contrast with our materialistic achievements; and crime increases, or seems to increase, perhaps in contrast with our general enlightenment. Is the fault with Christianity or with science? or is it in our failure to apply the principles of

either to men as individual beings, in the problems that perplex and discourage us?

One of these problems is the treatment of criminals. In this paper I propose to consider it alone, with little reference to the causes that produce criminals. I am perfectly well aware that in our social evolution this subject is not isolated. The problem of crime is complicated with the quality of education, with labor and wages, with wealth and production, with hygiene, with poverty, with economic legislation. To some emphasis is laid upon the study of heredity and psycho-physical pre-possession, and with them it is mainly a question of the management of children. With others poverty and intemperance are the chief factors of crime. Inquisition in all these directions throws light upon the best methods of lessening crime and of dealing with the criminal. It does not need to be insisted on that all forms of social evolution are interdependent, and that in moving forward society cannot afford to have any weak places in its line. But, for the moment, I wish to direct your attention solely to the criminal as a more or less finished product, when his own conduct authorizes society to lay its hands on him for its own protection. We need not entangle ourselves with any theories as to the right of society to compel an individual into any certain line of conduct, as, for instance, to coerce him to be good. We deduce the right of society to coerce him to be law-abiding from its indisputed right to protect itself. I shall consider this problem wholly as an educational one, meaning, by education, discipline, development, training. And, in asking you to examine the Elmira system, I am asking you to consider a system under which, for the first time in history, the criminal shall be subjected to strictly scientific treatment, and where science does not come into conflict with humanitarianism or religion.

There would be no breaking the law, which is called crime, if men were in a normal condition; that is, if the body were sound, the intellect clear enough to discriminate between what is legal and what is illegal, and the moral sense and the will-power strong enough to enforce this discrimination. Men commit sin easily, and some will say naturally; but, in civilization, society is so arranged, so powerful are the checks of tradition, example, and public opinion, that the commission of crime, at first, requires an effort. In such a community as ours the general habit is to keep the law, as it is to tell the truth. The criminal and the liar are

exceptions. A man who is starving is not in a normal condition; and, if he breaks the law by stealing a loaf of bread, we do not, in reason, reckon him as guilty as the idle vagabond who never works and habitually steals his food. We make distinctions. Going further, we recognize the fact that men commit crimes under peculiar temptations, and only occasionally, that they have not got into the fixed habit of breaking the law. These are the occasional criminals. There are others who live only by breaking the law, who have a fixed habit of criminal and dishonorable life. These are habitual and professional criminals. Some have the fixed criminal habit before their first arrest for violation of the law. They have fixed their own status, before we can apply our very loose and unsatisfactory definition of the professional criminal as one who had been twice or three times convicted. Thus there are plenty of first offenders who imperatively need the discipline of recidivists.

Treating men in the mass, the law does not much discriminate. It deals with crime, and not with individuals, under our present unenlightened view of criminal law. It is what the politicians would call a sort of horizontal tariff on crime. The judge has some discretion as to the length of sentence, but little or none as to the psychological, physiological, or moral condition of the individual criminal. Everybody knows that, of two men convicted of the same crime, one should have a very different treatment from the other. But this is practically impossible under our unscientific and barbarian notion that the criminal law is for the punishment of the law-breaker, and not simply for his reformation and for the protection of society.

Take the protection of society first. What is protection for it? Nothing is real protection except permanent relief from the attacks on its lives and its property. If a man is in the habit of burning houses, is there any protection from him except locking him up where he cannot apply the torch? If a man's business is to enter your house in the night and steal the silver, and to protect himself from discovery by murdering its occupants; or if his occupation is to steal your horses, to forge your checks, to counterfeit your coin, to swindle tradespeople and hotels,—in a word, to live by breaking every moral and statute law, and incidentally to create dens of thieving and lechery in every city and town,—can society protect itself against such a marauder except by locking him up where he will be harmless? I do not mean locking him

up for a brief time, and then letting him loose, unchanged in habit and intention, to prosecute his warfare on society. There never was such folly as this. It is our recognized process of creating and solidifying our criminal class, and one may say of licensing crime by putting a sort of tax on it. The criminal pays his penalty of imprisonment, and then goes on with his business. And his business is incorporated into our general system of living. There is nothing else so astonishing in our civilization, nothing that fifty years from now will seem so absurd, as our present treatment of criminals. We separate from general society the person with small-pox and the lunatic until they are cured. We do this for the protection of society, and for their own benefit. Our treatment of the criminal is as unjust to him as it is to society, for it gives him almost no chance of being reformed. Our method is not only immoral and unchristian: it is — and this consideration will appeal to the voting majority when they understand it — the most expensive we could adopt. A large proportion of our taxes for the support of police, detectives, sheriffs' offices, lock-ups, and jails of detention and criminal courts, which incur the enormous expense of trying over and over again and sentencing the same people, are required simply on account of the criminal class, who are a constant terror to us, who are known to have declared war against society, and for watching whom we pay enormous sums. The actual damage these law-breakers do is only a small part of their cost to society. How little, for instance, is the plunder got by a gang of bank robbers compared to the sum paid for watching them when they are off duty, for their apprehension, trials, and periodic imprisonments! And we do this on the untenable theory that we cannot interfere with a man's personal liberty. Society is constituted on its right to interfere with a man's liberty to do wrong to his neighbor. There is no liberty to commit crime. The habitual criminal has forfeited all right to liberty, he has certainly forfeited the right to protection in his criminal life, and every law-breaker has for the time forfeited his right to liberty.

The statement of these propositions seems to me to need no further argument. Remember, I am speaking of the convicted criminal. What shall be done with him? I say without hesitation, and I say it quite as much for his benefit as for the security of society, that he should be shut up for an indefinite time, until the day comes when the criminal habit is weaker in him than the law-abiding habit. Would not this be a hardship,—a hardship,

say, in the first conviction for a felony? I think not. It is the most merciful thing that can be done with him. It takes him out of the line of the established process by which we manufacture hardened criminals. It gives him a chance to become a decent, law-abiding citizen. There is a stigma put upon him by the conviction. That is true and pitiful. But it is no worse, if he is sentenced indefinitely, and put under reformatory conditions, than if he is shoved into the criminal class on a short term. If he is an accidental criminal, and not yet in the criminal habit, he will work his way back to liberty in a comparatively short time. If he is confirmed in the criminal habit, it will take him longer to do so. The only possible test as to which class he belongs to is not a first or a second or a third conviction, but a trial of him in conditions favorable to his reform. Society meantime is protected from him in his abnormal state. And there is another consideration which is a strong argument for the indefinite sentence of every person convicted of a felony. Our prisons now are too little deterrent to the criminally inclined. Such persons look upon prisons as incidents possibly to be endured in their career. Nothing would more certainly deter a person from beginning a life of crime than the knowledge that to begin it was likely to end his proposed career, that he was not entering an avenue of adventure, but that he was marching straight into a confinement limited only by his reformation. The corollary of this, of course, is that every penitentiary must be a reformatory.

The distinction of the Elmira system is in the discovery and application of the value of the law of habit in the reformation of criminals. It is the law recognized in every educational process,—in physical training, in the development of the minds of idiots, in the drill of soldiers, in the education of the deaf and dumb and the blind, in every school from the kindergarten to the university. Physiology gives this account of it.

The phenomena of habit in living beings, says Mr. William James, are due to the plasticity—weak enough to yield to an influence, but strong enough not to yield all at once—of the organic materials of which their bodies are composed.

The brain matter is plastic. It is affected by the blood or through the sensory nerve roots. The nervous currents leave their traces in the paths they take. Any subsequent currents move in the line of the least resistance; that is, in the paths made by the former currents.

Naturally, a more permanent impression is made on the growing organism than on the adult.

Any sequence of mental habit or repetition tends to perpetuate itself. We are automatically prompted to think, feel, and do what we have been accustomed to think, feel, and do under like circumstances, without any consciously formed purpose or anticipation of results.

Every state of ideational consciousness which is either very strong or habitually repeated leaves an organic impression on the cerebrum, in virtue of which that same state may be repeated at a future time, in response to a suggestion fitted to excite it.

Our nervous system grows to the modes in which it has been exercised. We all know how much our life is simplified by the automatization of our members. A spinal cord without memory would simply be an idiotic spinal cord, says Dr. Maudsley.

The ethical implications of this law of habit are evident. Habit is second nature. It is two times nature, the Duke of Wellington said.

If we can apply this law to the treatment of criminals, it is evident that reform is not simply a cessation of criminal conduct: it involves a structural change. Nature will not have a vacuum. It is not enough to stop a bad habit: you must put a good one in its place. The solitary system was foredoomed to failure. It was never reasonable to suppose that the criminal simply in communion with himself could become better. His vicious mind works upon itself, in want of any other object. He is, in his depravity and ignorance, an exceedingly bad companion for himself. In nine cases out of ten — the exceptions are very rare in which a vicious mind, unassisted by external influences, can by reflection better itself — the man sinks into a sort of mental paralysis, or thinks and contrives himself into further depths of depravity. The congregate system, generally substituted for the solitary, is more humane and has more elements of vitality; but it made the mistake of supposing that putting a crowd of vicious persons in touch with each other, overlooked by keepers whose sole object was to keep them in decent order, would work any beneficial change in them. The congregate system, without classification and without the application of discipline to individuals for their educational development and the creation of new habits of life, was also bound to be the failure we see it is.

The Elmira system rests upon two simple propositions. The

first is that the object of imprisonment is not punishment, but the protection of society and the change of the criminal into a law-abiding citizen.

The second is that it is possible to change and create habits by coercive measures long enough applied to produce what physiologists call structural changes, physical and mental.

For the protection of society the imprisonment must be co-extensive with the criminal intention of the imprisoned. The term must necessarily vary with each individual case.

The formation of good habits in men whose systems are wholly warped into bad habits, and obstinately reluctant to change, can only be accomplished by coercion, which means simply behind all other means a physical force competent to compel obedience and enforce discipline. All law rests ultimately upon this force. Its use in the penitentiary should be not for punishment, not in vengeance, but for discipline, as it is or should be in the enforcement of parental authority in the family.

The Elmira system, therefore, contemplates a penitentiary of compulsory education. It differs from other institutions not in its educational theories, but in its feature of compulsion, rendered necessary by the material it has to deal with. Its pupils are all in an abnormal condition. Some of them yield obedience more readily than others; but there are a few—just as there are a few children—whose natures cannot be aroused to any effort for better habits except by the infliction of corporal pain. This is a brutal fact about a great many brutal people in this world, and some of them are found in the penitentiaries.

The discipline in the Elmira system necessarily divides itself into three branches, because its subjects are physically, intellectually, and morally warped.

The first is physical development. This involves good sanitary arrangements, wholesome food, the training of the body by gymnastic or military drill, by massage and Turkish baths in the case of the weak and diseased, and regular labor in the workshop,—labor fitted to the constitution of the subject. The workshop has, however, other uses than mere physical training. It is an intellectual stimulus, by arousing and fixing the attention, and by occupying the mind with other thoughts than its own vicious circle of reflection. It has the moral virtue of teaching application and patience. Incidentally also, in the varied occupations that must be engaged in in order to the best development of the individual

pupils, it teaches a trade or a profession, by which the criminal after discharge can gain an honest living. The penitentiary is, therefore, an industrial school.

The second is intellectual development. This is accomplished in the school-room by studies and lessons according to the capacity of the pupil. The disciplinary use of this is the invigoration of the mind and the consequent strengthening of the will-power, and the driving out from the mind of low and sordid ideas, and replacing them with others of a totally different stamp. In the case of criminals who are already well educated the school-room is still a necessary part of the discipline for all, and of the test of fitness for liberty. The notion that further to educate a criminal is only to increase his power of villany is not worth serious consideration. We might as well abandon our whole theory of intellectual education, for we may now be training rascals in our universities.

The third is moral development. This is attempted by the enforcement of certain minute rules of conduct and behavior, embracing particulars of dress, neatness, and bearing, exceedingly irksome to those who have never in their lives submitted themselves to any sort of obedience or order. This discipline has a distinct moral value, and tends to create a standard of conduct and an *esprit de corps* of manliness in the institution. It must of course be accompanied by a spirit of guidance and helpfulness, by insistence upon the preference of a moral to an immoral life, by nursing the power of discriminating between right and wrong, and by such religious help as can be given without sectarian bias.

There is an analogy in this threefold discipline, which affects the entire man, to that of West Point. The difference here, again, is in the material to work on, and in the fact that the inept cannot be "dropped" in the penitentiary as they are at West Point.

When we turn from the Elmira System — which, I think, we all agree is a convenient name for the method I have been outlining, and which the world will very likely call the Brockway system — to the Reformatory at Elmira, we find the most interesting, the most scientific, and the most hopeful treatment of the convicted criminals that has ever anywhere been tried. It conforms to sound theories, and its results have been good beyond all expectations. It was not, however, built upon a theory. Its inception was due to the genius and experience of Mr. Z. R. Brockway, who had had a long practical training in prison management in Albany and Detroit, and was profoundly acquainted with the nature of the

law-breaking class. I used the word "genius" advisedly, because it requires sane genius to apply known physical and moral laws to practical affairs. It is true that it was begun as an experiment, in the face of scepticism that always attends a new departure, and in opposition to prejudices that still cling to the old traditions of prison life and the radically false ideas about punishment and reformation. It has had a gradual and healthy growth for eighteen years, a development step by step, always on the original lines of what we now call the Elmira system, until it has attained its present magnificent proportions, and is to-day the most interesting educational institution in the world. There are being worked out many of the profoundest problems of sociology which claim the attention of scientific investigators. If I were asked by a foreigner to say what has been the most important contribution of the United States in this century to dealing with the abnormal excrescences of our civilization, I should point to the Elmira Reformatory. I fear that we scarcely begin to realize the value of this pioneer institution.

It is not possible within the limits of this paper to describe in any detail this Reformatory. Nor is it necessary. Its whole organization and management have been repeatedly set forth by experts and in popular publications. Its history and internal economy have been always open to the world. There has never been any concealment about it, nor anything covered up in it. Officials, whose duty it is to examine it, and students of penology and visitors interested in the subject, have had free access to study all the workings of the system there administered. There has been no concealment from any proper person of all the means and methods of enforcing discipline. Every act of this sort has been carefully recorded, and duly reported to the State. Every year the managers have issued a full and elaborate report, so that the internal history of the reformatory is better known, to all who care to read, than that of any other penal establishment in the country.

I will give a brief outline of the Reformatory for the benefit of those whose attention has never been called to it. Those sent there must be between the ages of sixteen and thirty, and on the first conviction of a felony. They may be detained there for the full term for which they could have been sentenced to a State prison. They may be released in one year. The inmates are divided into three grades, each having distinctions of lodgings,

dress, food, and privileges. The new comer is put into the second grade. He is carefully examined as to his qualities, physical, intellectual, and moral, and is then assigned to the labor for which he is best adapted, and to the school fitted to his acquirements, and is instructed in the rules of conduct. At that moment his threefold training, physical, mental, and moral, begins. He is strictly marked for performance in the school, in the shop, and in conduct; and, if he falls below the standard, he is degraded to the third rank. If he maintains the standard six months, he is promoted to the first grade; and, if he maintains it there for six months, he is a candidate for liberty on parole. This is granted by the board of trustees on an examination of him and his record, and only when a proper situation is found for him. There must be a satisfactory report monthly of his conduct for six months, upon which he is given unconditional liberty. If his conduct is not satisfactory at any time in the six months' probation, he can be recalled to the reformatory. This hope of liberty presents the strongest possible inducement to personal improvement. It would be in most cases sufficient if the sentence were strictly indeterminate. But, besides this, the whole atmosphere of the reformatory is hopeful, calculated to eradicate bad habits and form good habits, and stimulating to self-respect and manliness. To the most casual visitor the physical alertness and the hopeful mental attitude of the inmates are in strong contrast to conditions found in other prisons. Mind and body are kept wholesomely occupied, and little by little the new life has its effect upon the most intractable material. If an inmate is wholly obdurate and will not submit to the discipline, there is the physical force in reserve; and in nine cases out of ten a judicious application of the strap, the infliction of physical pain, has a most quickening effect upon the mental and moral processes. I regard this reserve of physical pain as an essential part of the Elmira system. If an inmate proves finally incorrigible, he can be transferred to a State prison.

There has lately been added to the discipline of the Reformatory a complete system of military drill. This has not only the most salutary effect, but proves an invaluable intellectual stimulus and a great aid to order and correct deportment. If any discipline of this sort is useful in an institution where the inmates are normal, it is still more useful where they are abnormal. The Reformatory, besides assuring to every inmate an elementary school education, instructs in thirty-two trades. The graduate, therefore, has an

occupation by which he can earn his living, a modicum of intelligence to distinguish right from wrong, and fixed habits of conduct likely to make him law-abiding.

The result of the comprehensive and philosophical treatment in this institution is that over eighty per cent. of the inmates become law-abiding citizens; that is, over eighty per cent. have behaved well after leaving the Reformatory, while under observation, which is usually for a year, and when they have passed out of sight have not come into notice again as criminals. This astonishing proportion of men whose life has been changed would doubtless be increased under indeterminate sentences.

This has been the uniform record of the Reformatory ever since it was got into good working order. It has been annually indorsed and commended by the New York State Board of Charities, whose duty it was to make a searching examination of its methods and administration. It has been approved by scientific penologists and by all the intelligent students of the principle upon which it is conducted. I cannot say that it has been approved by the criminals whom it has failed to reform, nor by all the sentimentalists who have set up as reformers.

As an experiment, it has been badly handicapped by the lack of the indeterminate sentence, which is an essential of the Elmira system. Also it has, owing to the failure of the New York legislature to provide the other reformatories authorized by law, been put to too severe a strain. It is overcrowded, having by several hundreds more inmates than one administration should be required to handle. It is possible also that the best administration of the Elmira system would be in a series of prison-schools, each of which should contain only one grade. This is only a suggestion. I can see strong practical objections against it, in the necessity of quick and frequent transfers from grade to grade, up and down, under one system of discipline, and the stimulus to the inmates of the sight of those who are favored, in consequence of good conduct, and the warning in sight of those whose bad conduct puts them in disgrace.

But when all allowances are made, and quite aside from any personal quality or consideration, it must be said that, if for any reason the work of the Elmira Reformatory were now to be defeated, enough has been done to demonstrate the unique and practical value of the Elmira system.

The Elmira Reformatory, after running for many years as the

most interesting object-lesson in penology and with the increasing approval of experts and of the general public, has lately been attacked. This attack is due to three causes:—

1. The hunger to make money and notoriety by exploiting a sensation.
2. The determination to bring the Reformatory into the control of the political machine, that it may be used as the State penitentiaries are used,—to give places and profits to partisan workers.
3. The sentimentalists, who are the most discouraging element in any robust, vital reformatory work.

As to the first two no comment is necessary. The motives are naked, and do not need any elucidation.

The sentimentalists generally are actuated by good motives. They desire to reform the wicked and make the world better. They are simply misled by excess of emotion and by ignorance of the fundamental bases of both religion and science. They fancy that there is a way of coaxing men to be good without discipline, of changing the habits of the bad without continual coercive pressure. They have a disease which is common in this country, and which may be scientifically described as moral-mushiness,—speaking pathologically, a fatty degeneration of the heart. They are generally approved by the criminal class, who want to be well treated, but do not want to change their habits. They have no conception that the true and divine altruism lies only in the enforcement of law and in the discipline of the human race. They are encouragers of lawlessness. They are the apologists and the intercessors for anarchists. For over thirty years in this country, from ten thousand pulpits and platforms, they have been preaching the gospel of moral-mush. They have incited discontent, they have stirred up hostile feelings between classes, they have talked always of rights, rights, rights, and very little of duties, they have taught that, whoever has a hardship, somebody else is responsible for it. Whether it is a crime or drunkenness or poverty or laziness, somebody is responsible, either society or some rich man,—a rich man who in nine cases out of ten in this country has worked his way by industry and thrift and ability up to a competence for himself and the many dependent on him. We see the results of this preaching and haranguing in this country to-day in the chaos of thought on ethical questions, in the frequent failure of popular suffrage to select either honest or capable men for rulers, in the great following of demagogues, and in the

frequent spasmodic efforts of the honest people to get control of their own affairs. Perhaps these sentimentalists thought all along they were preaching the gospel of love. They have been preaching the gospel of disorder.

In the field of penology and of charities the work of the sentimentalists has been as disastrous as elsewhere. They have doubtless initiated many noble charities, but they have rendered many of them ineffective by their sentimentalism. Nowhere have their efforts been more misdirected than in their dealings with convicted criminals. Even the public has come into a habit of speaking ironically of the Model Prison.

The point selected for the attack on the reformatory is alleged cruelty in the infliction of corporal punishment; but there is a wider attempt to discredit the institution with the public and to take its administration away from the general managers, on the ground that it is a place of arbitrary, tyrannical, and excessive discipline. The use of corporal punishment, when all other means failed, has never been concealed. As to specific instances of cruelty, I have seen no testimony yet, worthy of credence, considering its source, which would not probably have a different aspect under a full statement of the facts. Much of it has been shown to be manufactured. It is not difficult to obtain this sort of testimony from the inmates of prisons and reformatories. But I wish to say that, if investigation shall show that there have been excessive castigations and sudden blows, which no just person could defend, my confidence will not be shaken in the Elmira system, including its necessary use of force, nor in the Elmira Reformatory, nor in the fitness of Mr. Brockway to be at the head of it. He is human, he is liable to err; and, in view of his great purpose and his long tried character, I could forgive him — though I do not expect it will ever be necessary — a passionate moment. He is not by nature cruel, he is not brutal. On the contrary, he is eminently humane, and has a most sympathetic spirit; and he has the invaluable quality of arousing in others an enthusiasm for a better life. His ruling purpose, his anxiety day and night, is to benefit every criminal put into his charge and make him a law-abiding citizen.

I ask you for a moment to consider the purpose of the Elmira institution and the material it has to deal with. The purpose is a radical change in the thoughts, habits, and direction of men's lives. It is this more than anything else that makes it hateful to the

average criminal. It is not because he has passively to endure something, loss of liberty and severe regimen, but that he has to make an active effort to change all his habits. He expects occasional punishment in his career. What his whole nature revolts against is being reformed. He has never come in contact with any authority, any serious interference with the lawless habits of body and mind. Naturally, he rebels at taking an active campaign against himself. He rebels, and is much less tractable to ordinary discipline than the experienced occupant of a penitentiary, whose personal habits are not much interfered with, who accepts the jail routine, and who may be a model of good conduct in the hope of shortening his term of confinement and getting back to his life of adventure. The Elmira inmate has a much more difficult task. As I said, it is not to endure punishment, but to work out a reformation. Besides, with fiery and uncontrolled impulses, he has a feeble will. When he sees the right way, it is very difficult to keep in it. Some natures, when they stray, can be kept in this way, or repeatedly helped into it, by long-suffering kindness; others, only by severity. They have to learn that to spoil the rod is to spare the child.

Again, as to material, the inmates are sent there on a first conviction of a felony. It may not be the first offence: in the majority of cases, they are of depraved habits. It is the first conviction for a felony or crime of high grade, though it may have been preceded by many convictions and imprisonments for misdemeanor. Yes, criminals between the ages of sixteen and thirty are more easily influenced than older criminals; but they are in the full vigor of passion, of wilfulness, of the impulses of self-indulgence. They have not learned the submission that hardened criminals have learned. To merely control a thousand or fifteen hundred lusty, vicious men at this age is not easy work. To change their habits is a gigantic task. When I see what has been done at Elmira, I am lost in wonder.

If I had space, I should like to speak of the wider application of the Elmira system. It should be extended to all penitentiaries. It is so scientific, so economical, and so humane that I have no doubt it will be, when the public understands it. The idea is embraced in one phrase,—the indeterminate sentence of all felons with a view to their reformation. But the carrying out of it will require radical changes in administration. The head of an educational institution of this sort must be a man of high character.

There is no other place where character will be more influential. He must be an educated man, a man of executive ability and capable of enforcing discipline. His subordinates must be like him in degree. They must be pervaded with the spirit of the system. To reform diseased bodies and crooked minds is the work of experts, it is scientific work. Such an institution as I have in mind, and as Elmira is, affords an opportunity for the exercise of the highest talent, the best scholarship, the investigation by the most interested students of the laws of the human mind and body. To rectify the bodies, to develop and train the abnormal minds,—this is a glorious work. When we go at it seriously, we shall begin to deal adequately and intelligently with the refuse and slag of our civilization.

The attack upon the Elmira Reformatory is not altogether to be deplored. It is a sign that the work tells. This work has aroused the active opposition of the criminal class and of those who pander to it. It shows that we are moving in the right direction against an entrenched position of the enemy,—the enemy of orderly society, of law, of discipline. If we were having no effect, we should not be opposed. There is little opposition to the soft-shell institutions either of reform or religion. The work will go on, and go on all the more vigorously, owing to the clamor and detraction. It will rally to it the clear-sighted well-wishers of humanity. The fight will be a long one, and mainly an individual one. Our forefathers looked for an Armageddon, a field whereon the forces of good and evil were to meet for a final conflict. There will never be an Armageddon. The powers of evil will never risk all on a single fight. Nor is it in nature. For the conflict of good and evil is in every man's heart. But daily we get a little more light, and the area of darkness withdraws. Let us have courage.

2. LYNCHING AND MOBS.

BY GEORGE C. HOLT, ESQ., OF NEW YORK.

[Read September 6.]

It is a truism in politics that the greatest danger in a democracy is the tendency to public disorder. This tendency has always existed in this country since its earliest settlement. As the line of the frontier has slowly worked westward, there has always been a region on the border where an anarchist could find his favorite system established in a practical form. The wild frontier life has always been surrounded with an element of romance which has tended to create in the more settled portions of the country a subtle and unacknowledged sympathy with the prompt, rigorous, and effective, although entirely indefensible, methods of new settlements. The Indian wars, the frontier feuds, the vigilance committees, the lynchings, the shootings at sight, and all the strange turbulence and violence of the unsettled Western communities were all elements of that wild, free life of the border, the delineation of which in Parkman's histories, Cooper's novels, Harte's poems, Remington's pictures, Buffalo Bill's show, and in many other methods of representation, still appeals with unrivalled power to the American imagination.

It is frequently said that the tendency to lawlessness in this country is increasing. This appears to be true in some respects, while in others it is not true. The duel, which forty years ago was common, and twenty years ago not infrequent, has almost entirely disappeared. The practices of tarring and feathering and riding on a rail are very rarely heard of. The calithumpian serenade at rustic weddings has been substantially abandoned by country louts; and hazing Freshmen has almost been abandoned by college louts. At the last session of the New York legislature an act was passed making hazing at colleges a criminal offence,—legislation which public opinion would not have upheld twenty years ago. Many forms of personal violence, such as fighting, blows, and violent public altercations, have gradually become less frequent; and it may be justly claimed, in respect to various forms

of public turbulence, that there has been a marked amelioration of American manners and conduct in recent years.

There are, however, certain forms of lawlessness in this country of an extremely dangerous character, which seem to be increasing. The practice of lynching, the disorders attending strikes, and the lawlessness of organized tramps are public evils so serious, so peculiar, and so needless that they deserve the most serious consideration.

The revolting atrocities which characterize most lynchings are the features of them which attract the most general attention; but I shall not offend you with the details of these infamies. The descriptions of the death torments of the prisoners of the Iroquois do not exceed in savage horror the filthy details of some American lynchings. The important questions, however, in relation to these atrocities are why they occur in this country, and why they are not punished; and it is to the facts bearing upon these questions that I purpose to ask your consideration.

The practice of lynching originally took its rise in mining camps and unorganized communities on the remote frontier. Now, however, lynchings occur, from time to time, in the old and settled parts of the country. They occur more frequently in the South and South-west, but occasionally in other parts of the Union. New England is the only part of the United States which has never, so far as I am aware, been disgraced by a lynching.

It is difficult to obtain accurate statistics of lynchings. Judge Parker, a United States judge in Arkansas, in a charge to a grand jury in the spring of 1893, said that in the United States in the year 1890 102 persons were executed by law and 127 were lynched; that in 1891 123 were executed and 195 lynched; and that in 1892 107 were executed and 236 lynched. I do not know from what source these figures were obtained. The precision of the numbers given has an air of accuracy; but, upon various grounds, I think that the numbers of lynchings reported in this statement are somewhat exaggerated. Governor Jones, of Alabama, in a communication to the General Assembly of that State on Feb. 6, 1893, stated that in the previous two years sixteen citizens of Alabama had been taken from jails or the custody of the officers of the law, and executed by mobs, two of whom certainly were entirely innocent.

Last winter, before seeing these figures, I undertook to obtain some statistics on the subject. I had a clerk examine the index

and files of the New York *Daily Times* for the first six months of 1892, and make a note of all the instances of lynching reported there. I intentionally selected a period far enough back to be able to ascertain definitely whether any action had been taken to punish the lynchers, and, if so, with what result. It is probable that there are some lynchings in remote parts of the country not reported in the New York papers; but the details of most lynchings exhibit so clearly the journalistic idea of facts of contemporaneous human interest that I think it may be satisfactorily assumed that the publication of such news is not often intentionally omitted. At all events, the cases actually reported in the newspapers probably afford a very fair average basis of cases for statistical examination.

The number of lynchings which were reported in the *Times* for the first six months of 1892 was thirty. In many of these cases more persons than one were put to death, and the total number killed was forty-two. These cases were distributed among the different States as follows:—

Four lynchings occurred in each of the States of Alabama and Tennessee; three occurred in Virginia; two occurred in each of the States of Arkansas, California, Kentucky, Missouri, South Carolina, and Texas; and one occurred in each of the States of Florida, Illinois, Louisiana, Mississippi, New York, Ohio, and West Virginia.

Of the forty-two men put to death, twenty-nine were black, and thirteen white.

The crimes with which they were charged were as follows: twenty-one were charged with murder; nine with assaults on women; four with attempts to assault women; four with burglary; one with administering poison without fatal results; and three were lynched as the result of an old feud, without, according to the report, any special crime having recently been committed. It therefore appears, contrary to the general impression, that lynchings in this country are not principally confined to cases of assaults on white women by black men. Less than one-third of the total reported number of men lynched during the period in question were charged with such assaults or attempts at such assaults; and, while more black men than white men were lynched, the number of white victims constituted almost one-third of the whole number.

After obtaining a list of the cases reported in the *Times*, I drafted a circular letter of inquiry asking for information in respect

to the name, age, residence, and occupation of the man lynched, the charge against him, his probable guilt, the circumstances of the lynching, and what legal steps, if any, were afterwards taken. In each reported case of lynching I mailed three copies of the circular, with a stamped envelope for a reply, addressed one to the district attorney of the county, one to the postmaster, and one to any clergyman of the city or town where the lynching occurred.

To the printed circulars sent out answers were received in relation to sixteen out of the thirty cases of lynching. No answers were received in fourteen of the cases, although the envelopes bore the usual direction to the postmaster to be returned if not delivered, and only one of them was returned. Of the sixteen cases in respect to which answers were received, there were three cases in which three answers were returned, five in which two were returned, and eight in which one was returned. Most of the answers were unsigned; many were very vague; a few declined to state the facts; and several requested secrecy. The general impression derived from the attempt to obtain information by the circular was that there was, in many cases, a strong disinclination, from some cause, to give any information.

In most of the cases reported the persons lynched were undoubtedly guilty, and the crimes of which they were guilty were usually of extreme atrocity. In three of the reported cases, however, there is strong ground to believe that the parties lynched were entirely innocent; and in three others they were either innocent or there were such mitigating circumstances as would certainly have prevented severe punishment in any court of law. In six of the sixteen cases in respect to which answers were received, and probably in most of those in which no answers were received, no legal proceedings of any kind were taken after the lynching. In ten cases a coroner's inquest was held. Some of these coroner's inquests appear to have been serious investigations, and others to have been perfunctory, and, in some cases, sham. In seven cases the grand jury made an investigation, and in five cases indictments were found. No conviction in any instance took place. As it is particularly desirable to comprehend clearly the reasons for the failures of the prosecutions honestly undertaken in these cases, it may be interesting to state the substance of the proceedings in the cases in which indictments were actually found.

On the night of March 12, 1892, at Forsyth, Mo., John Wesley Bright, a white man, aged about forty, by occupation a farmer, residing in Taney County, Missouri, was taken from jail at Forsyth by a mob composed of twenty or thirty worthless and drunken characters, who, after killing the deputy sheriff, George T. Williams, who resisted them, and battering down the door of the jail, took Bright out, and hanged him. Bright was imprisoned on the charge of having murdered his wife. He did kill her, but is reported to have been undoubtedly insane. Sixteen of the lynchers were identified, arrested, and indicted. The venire of jurors summoned for the term at which the indictments were to be tried contained so many men friendly to the defendants that the prosecuting attorney nolleed the indictments, intending to obtain others; but no further proceedings were taken. It was commonly believed that the venire was packed by the connivance of the judge, sheriff, and a number of citizens, who feared that a prosecution would be instituted against them for a previous lynching if this one were punished.

On the night of July 13, 1892, at Franklin, Ky., John Redfern, a white farmer, aged about fifty years, residing at Franklin, was taken from the jail by a mob of about thirty men, hanged, and put to death with peculiar atrocities. He had killed a neighbor, but there were various mitigating circumstances. The mob was mainly composed of relatives and laborers on the farm of the man killed, including some negroes. A full investigation was made. Three indictments were found. Two cases were vigorously prosecuted, and the proof in each case warranted a conviction; but the jury in each case acquitted, and the third indictment was abandoned and dismissed. One of the correspondents in this case ended his letter by saying: "This is one of the few instances in Kentucky where mobs have been prosecuted. One seldom finds a case in which a grand jury indicts, and I never heard of a conviction."

J. H. Winne, aged sixty-five, white, residing near Burns, Tenn., a farmer and mechanic, killed his wife and step-daughter on July 26, 1892. It is believed by a great many people in the neighborhood where he lived that he had been for some time insane. He was arrested, and, while being taken to jail, was taken from the officers and hanged by a mob of about three hundred persons, including, as the report states, "some of the best people in the State." Six of the lynchers were indicted and tried for

murder; but, as the report adds, "the jury said they were not guilty, although it was clearly proven that they were."

Alfred Blount, a negro, about forty years old, a laborer, residing at Chattanooga, Tenn., was taken on Feb. 14, 1892, from jail at Chattanooga, and hanged by a mob of about two hundred men. He was charged with assault on a woman. She could not identify him. Many of the leading citizens investigated the case; and most of them thought, and still think, that Blount was not guilty. I received but one reply in this case, and that says: "There is no doubt that the man lynched was innocent. . . . The people still believe that the lynching was a great mistake." About fifteen persons were indicted by the grand jury. Ten were tried, and acquitted. Four left the State, and one remains on bail untried.

Robert Jackson, *alias* Lewis, a young negro, residing at Port Jervis, N.Y., was taken on June 3, 1892, from the jail at Port Jervis by a mob of about one thousand men, and hanged. He was charged with an assault upon a woman, and was guilty. For some time no arrests were made. At the next session of the grand jury Judge Cullen charged them that it was their duty to investigate the matter, and to indict the guilty. The first grand jury found no indictments. At the next session of the grand jury Judge Cullen charged them again in the most emphatic manner, insisting that they should spare no pains to discover and indict the guilty. This grand jury indicted nine persons, five for assault and four for riot. Two of these were officers of the village. The district attorney informs me that the indictments have never been moved for trial, because he has not succeeded in procuring evidence on which he could ask for a conviction. The village of Port Jervis is an ordinary typical Northern village, situated in Orange County, New York, on the line of the Erie Railroad, eighty-eight miles distant from New York City, with a population of about ten thousand persons. It has, according to the *Gazetteer*, seven churches, many schools, several newspapers, two banks, and all the standard modern appliances to make men good. The lynching was participated in by a mob of about one thousand persons, in broad daylight; and probably three-quarters of the people in that town know who took part in the assassination of the victim, and have either actively aided or passively approved the immunity from punishment of the assassins. So long as that nefarious crime remains unpunished, citizens of New York may

well refrain from criticising the Southern States for not punishing lynchings.

It will be observed that in four of these cases in which indictments were found the persons lynched were either not guilty of any crime or were insane. Whenever men lynched are, in fact, guilty or are generally believed to be guilty, it appears to be impossible even to obtain an indictment. It is only in that class of cases in which it is apparent that the punishment of death could not have been legally inflicted that even an attempt has been made to indict the lynchers, and in no case have the lynchers been convicted. Indeed, I am not aware that any instance has ever occurred in the United States in which persons who have been concerned in lynching have been legally punished. There is not only no instance, so far as I am aware, of any man having been hanged for murder, of which crime not only every principal, but every accessory in a case of lynching is guilty, but I know of no instance in which a lyncher has been subjected to any criminal punishment whatever.

It is undoubtedly true that in many cases of lynching genuine efforts are made by the officers of the law, and by law-abiding citizens, to prevent the lynching, and to punish it after it has occurred. In many instances it is extremely difficult to obtain proof of guilt. Lynching usually takes place at night. The mob is often masked. The respectable element of the community has taken no part, and has no knowledge of the facts. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that usually the gravest difficulty in punishing lynching is the public approval of the crime. It has frequently happened that substantially the entire community has taken part in it. I think, however, that there are various evidences of an improvement in public opinion in this matter. There is a large number of respectable citizens throughout the country, and particularly in the regions where lynchings are most frequent, who are exerting all their influence to stop them. The legislature of Georgia, in the session of 1893, passed an act to prevent mob violence and lynching, which authorized any sheriff who may have reason to believe that violence of that character is contemplated to summon a posse of citizens, who must respond or be punished for a misdemeanor; and it is made a misdemeanor for a sheriff to fail to call together a posse in such an emergency. Citizens who respond are authorized to carry weapons in the performance of their duties. To participate in a mob, or to band together for the

purpose of inflicting violence upon any citizen, is made a felony punishable by from one to twenty years' imprisonment; and, if death result from mob violence, each participant is made guilty of murder.

The legislature of North Carolina also, in 1893, passed an act providing that any person who should conspire to break into any jail or place of confinement of prisoners for the purpose of killing or injuring any person there, and any person who engages in such breaking or entering with like intent, is guilty of felony, and is punishable by imprisonment not less than two or more than twenty years. It is made the duty of any prosecuting officer of the State to take proceedings against the guilty parties, and jurisdiction of the offence is conferred upon the Superior Court of any county adjoining that in which the violence is committed.

In the State of Louisiana, in which the wholesale lynching of Italian prisoners a few years since, after their formal acquittal upon a legal trial, gave rise to very grave international complications, a great number of citizens have recently petitioned the legislature to enact stringent laws to punish lynching; and there is little doubt that such legislation will soon be adopted in that State. The successful result of the struggle to suppress the Louisiana lottery has done much to strengthen the tendencies to good government in that State.

In February, 1893, Governor Hogg, of Texas, made the matter of lynching the subject of a special message to the legislature, denouncing the practice and strongly urging special legislation to prevent it. The legislature adjourned without enacting a law on the subject, but it is something to have had a governor of a Southern State devote a special message to such a subject.

The passing of such acts by Southern legislatures and the recommendation of such measures by Southern governors are certainly encouraging. So far as criminal law is concerned, however, there can be no doubt that the existing law in all the States is competent to punish all such offences. Every man intentionally participating in a mob engaged in putting a man to death is guilty of murder, and is liable to be punished as such. The evil, however, is such that it is desirable to adopt additional remedies in those States where they do not already exist. In this State a sheriff who does not perform his duty may be summarily removed from office by the governor; and under that power there can be no question that a New York sheriff who had notice of a contem-

plated lynching, and who declined to do his full duty for the prevention of the crime, would be liable to be summarily turned out of office by the governor. Such a law might well be adopted in all the States. Another remedy which has been suggested, and which I think might prove useful, would be to make the city or county in which a lynching occurs liable in damages to the representatives of the man lynched, upon proof that the officers of the law failed, after knowledge of the danger, to afford adequate protection, upon the same principle that municipal corporations are made, in many States, responsible for the destruction of property by a mob after notice of the danger given to the sheriff or other officers of the law. It would, also, seem entirely just to make the sheriff of the county, or other officer of the law charged with the duty of protecting the man lynched, personally liable in damages to his representatives. But, above all, the efficiency of the administration of the criminal law should be increased in every way possible. The fundamental fact which leads well-meaning people to sympathize with or to tolerate a lynching in the case of some repulsive crime is the general insufficiency, uncertainty, and delay of the ordinary administration of justice. If crimes, other than the crime of lynching, were habitually punished by the courts promptly and rigorously, there probably would be few cases of lynching; and, if there were a few instances of the prompt and just punishment of the participants in a lynching, the practice would very quickly stop. It is the immunity extended to lynchers which leads men to resort to it. When a crime is committed which is peculiarly atrocious, or is regarded by the community as peculiarly atrocious, there is a natural impatience with the slow procedure of the courts of justice. Lynch law naturally suggests itself, and the fact that lynching is never punished tends to make men readily resort to it. The essential remedy is to arouse public opinion to an appreciation of the enormity of the evils of such lawlessness. An agitation should be carried on; and it is peculiarly fitting that that agitation should be led by respectable members of that race which suffers most from this form of lawlessness. It is a matter of public congratulation that recently an intelligent and eloquent black woman has taken up this cause, and by a series of admirable addresses and letters in England and this country has aroused public attention to the enormity of American lynchings. If her advice is followed, and the colored citizens of the United States organize thoroughly, and agitate thoroughly,

they may well hope to bring about the immediate diminution and the ultimate abandonment of the practice of lynching in this country.

Another form of mob violence, which has greatly increased in recent years in this country, and which presents, in some respects, even graver questions than those connected with lynchings, are the cases of organized defiance of law by men engaged in strikes. These cases are becoming more and more frequent and more and more formidable. In large portions of the United States, during the past spring and summer, there has existed a condition amounting substantially to a state of civil war. An examination of recent cases, however, is of little use in throwing light on the immunity from punishment of rioters. As in the case of lynching, I have selected for consideration the action of striking mobs during the year 1892, as being a period far enough back to illustrate the singular and universal neglect of prosecuting officers in this country to proceed against offences of this character.

In the summer of 1892 there were three notable instances of mob violence growing out of labor difficulties,—one in Tennessee, one in Pennsylvania, and one in New York. The general details of these riots are probably familiar to all of you; but I think that a concise statement of the facts as an entirety will bring out vividly the enormity of the offences committed and the seriousness of the neglect to punish them.

In Tennessee there had been, for some time previous to 1892, serious difficulties existing, growing out of the opposition of the miners employed in the various mines in that State, particularly in the mines of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company, to the employment of State convicts as miners under contracts with the State. In July, 1891, a large force of convicts leased to certain mine-owners was stationed at Briceville, in Anderson County Tennessee. A mob of three hundred miners went to Briceville, overpowered the guard, and forced the lessees of the convicts to put them upon a train and take them to Knoxville. The governor of the State took several companies of militia to Knoxville; and, the mob having dispersed, the train with the convicts was attached to the governor's train, and taken back to Briceville. The governor then attended a meeting of the miners, and consulted with them about their grievances, and returned to Nashville. The miners again organized, overpowered the guard and militia, and the convicts were again placed upon a train and taken to

Knoxville. The governor, thereupon, had another conference with the mob; and an arrangement was made by which the mob agreed to return the convicts to Briceville, if the governor would call an extra session of the legislature, and recommend the abolition of the leasing system. The governor did so. The legislature met in special session, and after deliberation refused to make any change in the leasing system, but enacted laws conferring greater powers on the governor to preserve order, and imposing heavy penalties for interfering with convicts. After the close of the session, on the night of August 30, an armed mob of about 2,000 persons took possession of the convict camps, and released at one place 305 convicts, and at another about 150 more, furnished them with citizens' clothes, set them free, and burned the camps. The governor offered \$5,000 reward for the capture and conviction of the mob leaders, and \$25 for each convict recaptured. About 300 of the escaped convicts were recaptured, and the rest permanently escaped. The stockades of the mine at Briceville were rebuilt, and the convicts recaptured were returned there for the third time, about the end of the year. But no arrests or prosecutions of any of the leaders or members of the mob ever took place. All this occurred in 1891.

On Aug. 13, 1892, the miners, emboldened by the fact that the rioting of the previous year had passed without punishment, again organized, overpowered the guards, brought out the convicts, burned the stockades, and put the convicts again on a train, and started for Nashville. On this occasion 360 convicts were taken from Tracy City, and 280 from Inman. Other places were threatened. The governor first ordered the sheriff of Knoxville to call out a posse of 500 men. He reported that he could not get them, owing to the popular sympathy with the miners. The governor then ordered out the whole organized militia of the State, which, under their commander, Colonel Anderson, took possession of the stockades of Tracy City. The mob attacked the stockade, and the militia repelled the attack. The mob then sent up a flag of truce, and asked an interview with Colonel Anderson. He went out, and was immediately taken prisoner, and ordered, under threat of immediate death, to write to his lieutenant, directing the surrender of the stockade and fort. He refused, and was kept all night in the mines, while the mob discussed the policy of hanging him. Meanwhile General Caines had advanced with reinforcements from Chattanooga; and on the 19th a regular battle

with the miners took place, in which the miners were routed. A number on each side were killed in this battle. Some prisoners were taken; and the miners were informed that, unless Colonel Anderson's detention in violation of the flag of truce was abandoned, and he returned in safety, the prisoners would be put to death. He was thereupon returned. General Caines proceeded to arrest the leaders, and about 500 men in all were arrested. But a large number of these were afterwards formally discharged without trial; and, apparently, no one has ever been tried or punished in any way for his connection with this affair.

In July, 1892, the riots known as the Homestead riots took place at Homestead, about eight miles from Pittsburg, Penn. A strike of workmen in the Carnegie Works had been going on for about a month. The Carnegie Company had shut down, and the men threatened to prevent any one from working there. The company called on the sheriff for protection, and he sent a few men, who were persuaded to disperse by the strikers. The company then employed Pinkerton men, and the men attempted to come up the river in barges to the works. As soon as this attempt was discovered, they were attacked from the banks by the strikers, armed with Winchester rifles, and also with a cannon. A bloody battle lasted for two days, in which seven of the Pinkerton men were killed and about thirty wounded, and eleven strikers and workmen killed. The Pinkerton men ultimately surrendered, and were obliged to abandon their arms, and, while being taken through the streets, were surrounded by a savage mob, and brutally attacked with clubs and stones and with every circumstance of ferocity. The governor ultimately called out the entire force of Pennsylvania militia; Homestead was put under martial law. For several months all business was substantially suspended. During this period an attempt was made to assassinate Mr. Frick, the superintendent of the Carnegie Works; and attempts were also made by some of the strikers to poison non-union men. Prosecutions were instituted against the assassin of Frick and against the poisoners, and some of these men were convicted. But all the prosecutions for acts connected with the rioting and killing of men in the attack upon the Pinkerton party were ultimately abandoned, and no person has ever been punished for his connection with those outrages. The military service of the troops called out in that transaction is said to have cost the State of Pennsylvania over \$400,000.

In August, 1892, a great railroad strike took place at Buffalo, in the State of New York. This strike lasted for a number of weeks. The railroad tracks, stations, and cars in that great railroad centre were substantially taken possession of by the strikers. Frequent instances of non-union men being beaten and stoned occurred. Numbers of trains, both freight and passenger, were thrown from the tracks. Coal trains were repeatedly started down steep trestles, crashing into other cars and causing great destruction. Finally, many buildings and more than 1,000 cars were set on fire and destroyed. The governor called out a force of militia, numbering over 7,000 men, many of whom were sent from the eastern part of the State, and were detained at Buffalo a number of weeks. The troops while at Buffalo were often stoned and attacked by strikers; and in several cases collisions occurred, which resulted in the troops firing upon and killing several persons. Order was finally restored, and, incredible as it may seem, some indictments were found against some of the militia for causing the death of rioters by shooting; but, so far as I can ascertain, no indictments were ever found, and no convictions ever had, against any of the rioters engaged in these long-continued and flagrant disturbances.

This immunity from punishment, in such cases, seems to have become universal. Rioting, in the case of a strike, seems to be regarded as a sort of natural and inevitable concomitant of the strike. If the strikers have a just cause of complaint, the public sympathy often extends, not only to the strike, but to the disorders connected with it. As soon as a strike is abandoned, public sentiment seems to demand that the offences connected with it should be forgotten. No course could be more ill-judged. Rioting is a crime. It always was a serious offence at common law. In most of the States it is made an offence by statute. If, at the first beginning of tumult, men guilty of rioting were arrested and were punished, the habit of resorting to violence would be abandoned. An ounce of prevention in this matter is worth many pounds of cure. The criminal punishment need not be severe. If arrests were made at the outset for mere rioting before any flagrant crime had been committed, and imprisonment for a few months, or even a few weeks, inflicted, rioters would quickly be brought to their senses. Such a course would be vastly more merciful as well as more effective than to temporize with disorder, and let it run until rioting results in arson and murder, and then to punish the graver crimes severely. But, when rioting

is permitted to run on unchecked for days and weeks and months, and such flagrant instances of the open and continuous defiance of the law as the miners' war in Tennessee, the Homestead riots in Pennsylvania, the Buffalo railroad strike, and the tramp disorders and the mining and railroad strikes which have occurred this year in various portions of the country, are permitted to occur without punishment or prosecution of any kind whatever, the very gravest apprehensions must be felt in regard to the fundamental condition of society. That such a condition of affairs should exist at all is a disgrace to the United States; and, unless it is put a stop to, it is not too much to say that the very existence of social order is in danger. The great railroad riots which have occurred this summer seem at last to have aroused the public attention to the necessity of punishing acts of disorder and violence attending strikes. A number of indictments have been found, and there is strong ground to hope that the guilty will be convicted and punished; but, however the pending prosecutions may ultimately result, it remains true that up to the present time, so far as I am aware, there has been no criminal conviction for the crime of rioting by strikers in this country in recent years, although no crime has been more frequent or more serious.

A very grave evil in the lenient treatment of rioting is the frequent necessity of calling out troops to suppress mobs after the disorder has grown to large dimensions. Most mobs can be put down at the outset by the sheriff and his posse. That was the good old way. Now, in many cases, before any honest effort is made to suppress disorder by the constabulary force, troops are ordered out. They are usually militia, and militia in ordinary times are always rash and inexperienced. Militia regiments are usually made up of young fellows who have joined them for exercise and good comradeship, very much as they join a tennis club or gymnasium. They are at a hot-headed and impulsive age, and they have had no actual experience in dealing with hostile masses of men. They are likely, when called into the presence of a mob, to be jeered at, hustled, perhaps stoned, or even fired on. Such troops are not well fitted to act with coolness and judgment in such crises. There is always danger that they will lose their heads, become exasperated, and begin an indiscriminate firing with terrible results. Moreover, this modern practice of instantly ordering out armed troops leads the strikers to arm themselves in turn; and, once armed, their minds become used to the idea

of forcible resistance to law with fire-arms. All this is a dreadful school for the future. Troops should only be called out when actually necessary. Mobs, of course, should be put down at once. Whatever force is necessary should be used. But in most cases vigorous action at the outset by the sheriff's posse, without fire-arms, would arrest the leaders, and, if speedily followed by criminal sentences for rioting, would in most cases stop the disorder.

The same measures which have been suggested to prevent lynching could also be advantageously adopted in the case of rioting. Sheriffs and peace officers should be given efficient powers to call in the aid of the county. They should be liable to summary removal by the governor for neglect of duty; and they and the municipal bodies which they represent should be made pecuniarily responsible for all injury, not only to property, but to persons, caused by mobs, which after due notice might have been prevented. The criminal law as it exists should be efficiently executed. Above all, every effort should be made to arouse public sentiment in the support of law and order. The most essential thing to be done in that direction is to put men of higher character into public office.

The real reason why there is not a greater respect for law and order in this country is that the public representatives of law and order are in many cases not respectable. The general standard of character of the executive officers, especially of those most directly concerned with the repression of disorders, such as sheriffs and mayors, of the members of legislative bodies, and, above all, of the judges in this country, is, with very many praiseworthy exceptions, mediocre and inferior. The community does not feel that reliance on the administration of law which would be felt if its administrators were the fittest men who could be obtained for that purpose. This of course is no excuse for disorder. Every citizen should inflexibly oppose all forms of disorder, because it is disorder. The worst law is better than the best anarchy. But much could be accomplished by generally placing in office men of such high character and ability that public opinion would instinctively recognize that, in their hands, under all circumstances, order would be maintained and justice done.

3. STATE SURGERY.

BY H. L. WAYLAND.

There is a prejudice against surgery. It is associated with the gleaming knife, and with the flow of blood, and with the infliction of pain; and yet surgery is the most intelligent, the most progressive, and the most merciful of all branches of the healing art. In administering drugs, we have to poison the whole system in the hope of reaching some one spot. We go by guess-work. We try experiments, the effect of which we learn after the effect has taken place, sometimes by an autopsy. Said a medical expert in a well-known dialogue; "When we give medicines, it is like firing with a shot-gun into a tree: we don't know what will come down." "True," was the reply, "very often it is the patient." The surgeon knows just what he wants to do. He fires with a rifled gun, and his triumphs are almost incredible.

Surgery sacrifices a part to the welfare of the whole: it amputates, it extirpates, that it may save the entire body. Surgery sacrifices present ease to future welfare: it procures permanent relief and recovery by inflicting present pain. Surgery acts promptly, realizing that the quickest and most radical step is usually the most merciful. Surgery subordinates sentiment to sense. Sentiment says, "Ah! this poor suffering leg, which has been crushed and is mortifying, be gentle with it: don't sacrifice it." Surgery says, "Sacrifice it, lest the whole body be sacrificed." Sentiment says, "Deal mercifully with this throbbing ulcer." Surgery says, "Out with it, cost what it may." I was once present when a physician was opening an angry swelling upon the forehead of a child of tender years. After the incision had been made, and the pus about half evacuated, the sympathizing mother said, "Now don't do any more to-day: let it rest till to-morrow." The result would have been prolonged and needless agony.

State surgery will act similarly. A few months ago the mayor of Chicago was murdered: the murderer, after considerable delay, was convicted. Then came delays and investigations. It is

doubted whether the murderer was perfectly well balanced. It is altogether probable that every murderer lacks something of perfect sanity; and, indeed, if inquisition were made to find any man, in jail or out, in the asylum or at large, who absolutely and always obeys the dictate of perfect reason, the inquisition would be vain. And so Prendergast went unpunished for more than half a year; and the criminal virus spread. An attempt was made on the life of the prime minister of Italy. Then the best ruler that France ever had was murdered. For the lack of State surgery (in the strong language of a valued friend, who uses much plainness of speech) "hell is going round on bicycles."

Prompt and radical steps with the Chicago murderer would have saved, no one knows how many lives, each one worth a million times as much as his. If he had been hung promptly, very likely Carnot would now be living. We must cut out the cancer of anarchy with the knife and with the axe.

In regard to all murderers, we should exercise State surgery in the interest of the innocent. It is not the guilty and the murderers alone who have rights. Dr. Andrew D. White, at the Social Science Association Meeting of 1892, said in substance: "Every year, 7,000 innocent men are murdered, and not more than 200 murderers legally executed. I plead for the 7,000 men innocent of crime who during the year to come will be murdered."

We need a State surgery that will act before the action of the law is frustrated by the ill-judged and often criminal exercise of the pardoning power.

The other day, in the course of the Lexow investigation in New York, there came on the stand George Appo, whose father, Quippo Appo, a Chinaman, is serving a life sentence at Sing-Sing for murder. The young man's bringing up has been all that hell, in its most exorbitant demands, could desire. He breathed crime from his birth. He began to be arrested when he was fifteen, and has been arrested at intervals ever since. Probably he has never done a stroke of honest work, nor earned an honest loaf. State surgery would long ago have put an end to George Appo, the budding criminal, and would have put in his place a civilized citizen. I was reading in some account of the Salvation Army, about mothers in London offering to the "slum sisters" their children for a shilling, or a sixpence, or for a glass of gin. It may seem without precedent; but I believe that it would be wise and economical for the State to buy these children. When the

mother is willing to sell her child, it is a plain indication that the worst thing you can do with that child is to leave it in her hands.

Not far from my residence is a family (if it is right to use that heaven-born word in such a connection) in which the father is a drunkard. The mother, a not badly meaning woman, but weak, after years of resistance has succumbed; and she, too, is a drunkard. The eldest daughter is a prostitute, and is demoralizing and infecting the neighborhood. All the children are growing up to be paupers, prostitutes, criminals. After the ruin is accomplished, perhaps some day society will rub its eyes, and say, "My! ought we not to raise the inquiry whether there is not here a question which should be considered?" State surgery would long ago have broken up this home, would have confined the father and mother apart until they showed some signs of improvement, and would have assumed the office which the natural parents had abdicated. This is what State surgery would have done with the mother of the Jukes family, saving no end of money and no end of human degradation and of moral and physical contagion.

State surgery would act in the matter of tenement houses, which are the hot-bed and distributing point of every form of communicable disease. When one thinks of the tuberculosis and the typhoid and the filth diseases which pervade these ulcers of society, I wonder that the death-rate is not infinitely more than it is. This same State surgery will arrest at whatever cost the reckless dissemination of tuberculosis through the dried and powdered *sputa* which are scattered upon the air, and which the street sweepers by their malevolent art convey to the sensitive lungs of multitudes.

In all the mining and manufacturing districts there are hordes of Hungarians, Poles, and Italians,—ignorant, addicted to the anarchy which is the reaction from despotism,—who are murdering American citizens because the Americans desire to work for a wage agreed upon between themselves and their employers. State surgery will deal promptly with those who are here; and it will also deal prophylactically with those who are not yet here. It will shut down the door before we become further swamped by shiploads of ignorance, superstition, violence, thirst for blood.

The time will come when State surgery will deal with ignorant and injurious and destructive so-called "charity," which is nourishing and multiplying the tramp class, which is offering every

inducement to men now industrious by constraint to join the great army who live by their wits (or rather by the want of wits in other people), the misleading charity that is drawing people from the country, where they might earn a modest subsistence, into the city, where they swell the host that lingers about soup-houses and feasts upon unearned bread.

State surgery will summon up strength and courage to deal with the saloon by the ways that experience shall prove to be most effective. It will at least make the saloon pay for the damage which can be traced to the saloon; and, when that is done, the saloon will no longer be profitable.

State surgery will recognize the idleness of imprisoning men for six days, twenty days, one hundred days, a year, five years. It will imprison the culprit until there is the fullest reason to believe that the necessity for his further imprisonment has ceased. With crimes dictated by sexual passion State Surgery will deal in the only way which is at once natural, just, and appropriate, and sure to prevent a repetition of the offence.

A few weeks ago there was a disagreement between employers and employed at the Pullman works. It is not in the least necessary to raise the question who was right and who was wrong. Presently out of this difference grew the greatest railroad strike known to history, with the destruction of twenty lives, and with the loss of measureless property. Transcontinental commerce was interrupted, and reproach was brought all over the world upon American institutions. Those who desired a strong government, and who by strong meant a despotic government, received efficient re-enforcement to their argument.

Here was a case for State surgery to come in before the evil had reached its gigantic dimensions. Mr. Pullman said, "There is nothing to arbitrate." I will not enter into this question further than to say that the first thing for arbitrators to find out is whether there is anything to arbitrate. It is not worth while for one of the parties to settle it in advance. But, granting that there was no question between Mr. Pullman and his employed, did that exhaust the demands of the situation? Nine years ago I had the honor to lay before this body, in brief, the principle that in every contract there is not only the party of the first part and the party of the second part, but there is also the party of the third part, without whose assent and contrary to whose interests no contract is binding. This unnamed party of the third party is the State.

Supposing that there was nothing to arbitrate between Mr. Pullman and his wage-earners, did not the State have a place? Had Mr. Pullman a right to take a position out of which would grow such unmeasured calamity to the entire nation? State surgery would come in here at the start, and would say to employer and employed, "This does not concern yourselves alone"; and State surgery would insist upon compulsory arbitration.

I shudder at my temerity in pronouncing the words "compulsory arbitration," because the scheme was denounced and annihilated last year upon this floor; and it has been demonstrated by our former president, Hon. Carroll D. Wright, in the *Forum*, that "compulsory arbitration is an impossible remedy."

Fifty-four years ago Macaulay imagined, in some remote age in the future, "a traveller from New Zealand sitting upon a broken arch of London bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's." In these words he supposed himself to be indulging in the wildest possible flight of imagination. That London bridge and St. Paul's should be in ruins was utterly inconceivable, and yet more inconceivable that any one from New Zealand could be so far civilized as to take an interest in visiting England and in sketching its great cathedral, even in ruins. But the traveller from New Zealand is no longer a stranger: he can hardly be called a foreigner. New Zealand has become one of the most prosperous and progressive of the British colonies. Cities have sprung up on the Twin Islands. The colony has its real estate booms, its panics, its bankruptcies, its glittering and fraudulent schemes, its defalcations, its nervous prostration, and, indeed, all the characteristics of advanced civilization. English clergymen entertain calls from Auckland and Christ Church as the Boston ministers do from San Francisco and Seattle.

Now, volume 45, No. 164, of the United States Consular Reports upon Commerce, Manufactures, etc., contains a report from the United States Consul at Auckland, New Zealand, of the most profound interest. The colony has adopted a great many advanced steps, some of which would be denounced as a part of socialism; but I trust that we have long since gone by the period when people can be frightened by being called names. It is only in China that military victories are achieved and hostile armies dissipated by the athletic beating of the tom-tom and the gum-gum.

A most important measure which passed in the New Zealand lower house, but failed to become a law, was the Industrial Conciliation Bill. Under this law all labor disputes are to be settled

by a board of arbitration, one of whose members is to be a judge of the Supreme Court. This arbitration is compulsory, and its findings compulsory. The consul states that the labor organizations are prepared to accept the bill, but capitalists and employers are opposed to it. This is a very short-sighted policy on the part of the employers. I do not know why they should expect that the findings of an impartial board of arbitration will not be just to them as well as to the employed.

The August *Review of Reviews* contains an article upon Labor Troubles from Hon. W. P. Reeves, minister of labor in New Zealand. After speaking of the wastefulness, cruelty, and uncertainty of the strike or lockout, he asks, "What should we put in its place?" He answers, "Systematic conciliation, backed by compulsory arbitration." He adds: "Alarming pictures are drawn of tyrannical awards, under which factory owners will be forced to carry on at a ruinous loss, and men ordered to labor at less than a living wage. Granting that an arbitration court be insane,—given a lunatic president, flanked by two crazy assessors,—I will admit that the awards might speedily cause a revolt; but, under the same conditions, an ordinary law court might do the same. We are justified in assuming that the president appointed by the State would be swayed by reason, and that the assessors elected by employers and unions, respectively, would be men of more than average good sense." Minister Reeves adds, "The general election in New Zealand has insured the passing of a Compulsory Arbitration Act within the next six months, and I venture to think that New Zealand is in this but a step ahead of the continental colonies."

Perhaps even while this distinguished body is proclaiming arbitration impossible, it may have become an achieved success, like a great many other impossibles which within our own time have passed into the region of commonplace.

State surgery will feel that the unblushing arrogance of iniquity is no reason why it should reign supreme. It will not hold that the tumidity of an ulcer or the prevalence of proud flesh is any argument why it should be undisturbed.

The August *Forum* contains an article by Isaac L. Rice upon the Legalized Plunder of Railroad Properties, in the course of which he makes statements relating to the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad of a character so amazing as almost to pass belief. The statements have been, however, before the public for nearly two months; and I have seen no denial of them attempted.

It appears that Mr. McLeod, the former president of the road, entered individually into a speculation, in the course of which he had to furnish \$350,000 of certain bonds as margin. Having only \$320,000 of them, he secretly took \$30,000 from the treasury of the company, and presently took other bonds, amounting in all to \$842,000. There was a loss of \$420,000 on his speculation. The Board of Directors in general terms approved his action. Encouraged by this action of the Board, perhaps feeling that he was doing a very virtuous thing, Mr. McLeod went again to the safe of the railroad company, and took out \$250,000 more in bonds and later \$1,500,000 in bonds, and \$250,000 in cash, \$1,000,000 of the bonds and the \$250,000 in cash being taken on the very day in which the company went into the receivers' hands. Thus there was a loss of nearly a million and a half, and nearly three and a half millions in bonds have been involved. This loss largely led to the downfall of the company. Thereupon, the Master in Chancery, an eminent member of the bar, decided that the company had no remedy against the President or against the Board of Directors. If Mr. McLeod and the directors did wrong, they must be left to their own consciences. There is no law which can reach them. I apprehend that State surgery will find somewhere in the armament of law, either present or possible, some means of reaching even the most gilt-edged malefactors.

But do not think that Justice has abdicated: she still wields her dreaded sword, and holds the balances. Only week before last four little boys were arrested for standing outside the door at Wanamaker's, and soliciting of customers the job of carrying home their parcels.

It has been the fortune of modern surgery frequently to achieve not only what was impossible, but what was inconceivable, and to set at naught a great many universally recognized axioms. Thirty-five years ago, if a man were shot through the bowels, the most skilful surgeon did not dream of disturbing him by well-meant efforts at saving his life. One of the saddest recollections of my life is going into a tent on James Island in the summer of 1862, where was lying a fine young man, a member of the Third Rhode Island, whom I had known in former years. He had been shot through the abdomen, and lay undisturbed, simply waiting for the inevitable hour. To-day, surgery would treat him with a very fair prospect of success.

State surgery will remand a great many axioms to the number

of open questions. It has been taken for granted that the legislature or the municipal authorities may make perpetual grants, and that these grants are irrevocable. The councils of cities give to the street railways a franchise conveying to them for all time, without competition, without interference, the use of a public road. Whether with or without consideration to the members of councils, I shall not attempt to suggest. What I have observed is that members of councils and other similar officials, while serving without a salary, manage after a few years of unpaid labor to have an adequate provision for their old age and for their heirs. Such are the blessings bestowed upon the upright.

A gentleman asked a man formerly employed upon one of our railroads, "How is it that you, with a salary of \$1,500, manage to have a palace, and are able in middle life to retire with an ample fortune?" With a pleasant smile the railway man replied, "It is by strict economy, and by doing without a hired girl."

State surgery will recognize the fact that, when the mayor and aldermen of New York and the councils of Philadelphia grant perpetual franchises, giving away the use of the streets for all coming times, they give what does not belong to them just as much as if they were to give away the sun, the moon, and the seven stars. Under the auspices of state surgery, these grants will be reconsidered and the property restored.

State surgery will raise the inquiry, "How long must a wrong be persisted in before it becomes right?" "To what power must you raise a minus quantity, so that it will become plus?" Under state surgery, no doubt the nation will resume a great deal of property that has passed unrighteously into the possession of corporations and persons.

State surgery will find a great many malignant ulcers and cancers. A well-informed officer, of high rank in the United States Army, said to me, "There is not in Russia or Turkey any branch of government so hopelessly corrupt as our Indian Bureau."

State surgery will not be liable to the condemnation that is divinely pronounced against those of whom it is said, "They have healed the hurts of my people slightly." State surgery will so heal that the healing will last; and in the great body of instances it will seek to heal before the crisis has come, before the disease has produced irreparable disaster. The time for warm water and emulsions and flax-seed tea is past. The time has come for State surgery.

III. PAPERS OF THE HEALTH DEPARTMENT.

I. THE INTERNATIONAL SANITARY CONFERENCE OF PARIS.

BY STEPHEN SMITH, M.D., OF NEW YORK.

[Read Thursday, September 6.]

Those diseases which are classified as contagious and infectious are the common enemies of mankind. Every human being inherits a predisposition to these affections. No one, therefore, is exempt from an attack, on proper exposure, by reason of nationality, civilization, rank, or condition. In their spread these pestilences have no regard for the lines which bound nations, but wherever man finds his home there they find a congenial soil for propagation.

The influence of these diseases upon the history of our race has always been disastrous. They have proved more fatal to human life than all other causes combined; they have destroyed the armies of conquerors whom no earthly power could resist; they have, indeed, obliterated from the earth, as by an omnipotent force, whole races of mankind. They have often given the death-blow to an advanced civilization, or have left a strange enduring impress on the intellectual life of great nations. The historian states that among the causes which brought about the fall of the might and civilization of Greece and Rome must be mentioned destructive pestilences which swept over the Eastern and Western Roman Empire during the period between antiquity and the Middle Ages. (Ziemssen).

The problem of preventing and suppressing these scourges of the race has been studied exhaustively in ancient and modern times, but with very different degrees of success. To the ancient student their origin remained a mystery which no means at his command could penetrate. With all his research he could discover neither their causes nor the laws governing their propagation. One solitary fact of vast importance was impressed upon his mind

by the abundant opportunities for observation ; namely, that complete non-intercourse of the sick, and his personal effects, with the well was a reliable means of protection and prevention. Hence came the famous institution of quarantine, or forty days' isolation of vessels from infected ports, a period believed to be sufficiently long for the destruction of the contagium. Its true significance was non-intercourse of the sick with the well. This was, indeed, the only means by which a city could at that time protect itself from an invasion of the pestilence. And even now cities and States, when left to their own individual resources against epidemic diseases, find quarantine the most effective measure which they can adopt. It is true that the quarantine of to-day differs greatly from the quarantine of the past. Formerly time was the chief feature relied on to destroy the contagious principle, and hence the period of detention was of long duration. Now detention is enforced only during the period necessary for the destruction of the contagium by germicides, or of the incubation of the germs of disease. Still, quarantine means the detention of the traveller and his effects, and of articles of commerce liable to convey infection.

Though the rigors of the ancient quarantine have been relaxed, it was not until within the last decade that there began to be a clear conception of a method of substituting for them measures far more effective, and comparatively free from inconvenience, either to traveller or to commerce. This was the co-operation of the States exposed to the epidemic in well-concerted measures against a common enemy.

The first step toward international action in regard to public sanitation and maritime quarantine was taken in 1847 by the French government, which has always been foremost among the nations of Europe in advancing sanitary science. Preliminary to the calling of an International Sanitary Conference, she appointed medical sanitary agents in the East. The posts of observation thus created were at Constantinople, Smyrna, Beirut, Alexandria, Cairo, and Damascus. The information in regard to sanitary conditions in those cities derived from these sources formed the basis for the Conference of Paris, which was convened on invitation from the French government in 1851. Twelve powers were represented by delegates at this conference. The results obtained were a relaxation of the rigor of quarantine in Mediterranean ports and a scheme of rational maritime prophylaxis.

Thus was inaugurated international hygiene, a system of sanitary administration which seems destined to control, suppress, and finally exterminate contagious and infectious diseases.

Nine International Sanitary Conferences have since been called, and six have been held. The earlier conferences were not fruitful of immediate results. The field of labor was new and unexplored, and diplomatic questions arose which greatly interfered with that harmony of action of States essential to success. The discussions of representatives of different States did, however, improve the sanitary administration of each. But their greatest value appeared in the better understanding which the States of Europe came to have of the aims and purposes of each other when discussing measures of prevention against a common enemy. Mutual confidence was in a measure established, which led to far more effective work in future conferences. This was apparent in the Conference of Venice, the seventh in the series, held in 1892, which was called to consider the means of preventing direct communication between Europe and the infected regions of India, by way of Egypt and the Mediterranean ports. The Conference succeeded: first, in regulating the duration and method of quarantine in the Suez Canal; second, in preventing the passage through the canal of infected vessels; third, in requiring disinfection of suspected vessels; fourth, in creating the Council of Alexandria, with a preponderance of European influence.

The resolutions adopted by the Conference were embodied in an agreement which was signed by the plenipotentiaries and afterward ratified by the powers represented,—the first formulated conclusions of any conference made authoritative by the signatures of the plenipotentiaries.

Still greater progress was made toward the creation of international laws by the Eighth Sanitary Conference, which met at Dresden, March, 1893. The programme proposed for consideration the following subjects:—

1. The duty of a government when cholera is reported within its territory.
2. The measures to be taken when cholera exists in a neighboring country.

The Conference decided that the declaration of the presence of contagious diseases is obligatory, and that every means should be taken to prevent its spread. It formulated a system of sanitary measures which afforded a maximum of protection for public

health with a minimum of restriction to travel and traffic; it fixed the period of detention and isolation; it defined the distinction between medical surveillance and observation; and, finally, it permitted a person arriving from an infected port to proceed to his destination, but it maintained a rigid observation of him during the period of incubation of the cholera germ. The resolutions of this Conference were followed by a convention which was signed, with but one or two exceptions, by all the Powers represented. These last two conferences proved conclusively that international agreements could be made designed to prevent an invasion of Europe by cholera, which, though placing severe restrictions upon commerce and travel, were not incompatible with the laws and customs of the contracting powers. But, valuable as these agreements might prove to be, they were simply barriers erected around the immediate frontier of the State against a foe whose habitat was in the far distant delta of the Ganges. Modern science has proved conclusively that the germs of this plague have never left their native soil except they were conveyed by human agency.

Repeated epidemics had also demonstrated the fact that cholera never invaded the districts of Northern and Western Asia, except when large bodies of people made pilgrimages to the holy places of the Orient. The chief and most important of these pilgrimages was that to Mecca by the pilgrims of India. It was equally demonstrated by repeated observations that cholera reached Europe only through its pilgrims who visited the holy places of Asia, and especially Mecca. It became, therefore, a well-established fact that the transmission of the cholera infection from India to Europe was, in its first stage, through the pilgrimages of the Mussulmans from India to Mecca, and other places of resort. At these places it was transferred to the European pilgrim, who conveyed it to Europe. It was evident that the international rules and laws enacted did not meet existing conditions. As a matter of fact, cholera appeared at Mecca eight times between 1871 and 1893. The European States, therefore, could not be certainly protected when the cholera infection was brought without hindrance to Mecca, and the European pilgrim was allowed to visit Mecca and return without any proper sanitary surveillance.

Such considerations as these induced the French government, always alert in its efforts to provide adequate measures for the prevention of cholera epidemics, to issue a call for another

Conference, the ninth in the series, and the fourth called by the government of France. The object of this Conference was to provide measures for preventing, by international agreements, the transmission of cholera from its native habitat by pilgrims. The task was the greatest and most important ever undertaken by any State or combination of States.

The Ninth Conference met in Paris, on Feb. 7, 1894, and was attended by representatives from sixteen States, namely: all the powers of Europe, except Switzerland; and Persia, the United States, Egypt, the British possessions in India, and the Strait Settlements of the Netherlands.

In his opening address the president of the Conference, M. Casimir-Perier, now President of the French Republic, eloquently portrayed the duties of the assembled delegations. "The modern scientific spirit," he remarked, "has proved both its firmness and its flexibility in the course of extended efforts to combat the Asiatic pestilence by means of international agreement. By more exact information of the disease and the phenomena attending its transmission, it has gained a knowledge of prophylactic measures both more certain and more prompt. It has demonstrated that the more simple methods are at the same time the more efficacious. It has conserved public interest while it has protected human lives. The connections which diplomacy has had the honor of concluding have been matured in the laboratories where men of science pursue their disinterested researches. It is the common labor and the common honor of science and diplomacy to acquire and exercise the knowledge necessary to reconcile the customs which govern international commerce and the laws on which depends the protection of human life. . . . You have to continue now the labors which were commenced at Venice. It is your duty to pursue cholera toward its source; toward that part of Central Asia where it is said to have its origin so far as it affects us. This part of your task is particularly delicate, and the method and the principles which have heretofore guided you should again govern your actions. They are now recognized as correct, and they have hence acquired a high authority. But, in applying them, you should not forget that sympathy for those who suffer, individual kindness, and international fellowship, generosity, and equity ought also to have their proper place in your deliberations. It is in these previous deliberations that you will have found the discretion necessary for uniting to all the guarantees

that health and the public interests may require, a respect for local customs, usages, and traditions, and especially that persuasive influence which shall secure to your decisions the concurrence of all upon whom they ought to be binding."

M. Barrère, the acting president, after explaining at some length the events which led to the present Conference, introduced Professor Proust, who read an elaborate paper, in which, after reviewing the work of preceding conferences, showing how effectually they had protected the immediate approaches to Europe from an invasion of cholera, he proceeded to detail the questions which the present Conference was called to consider. They involved problems more difficult of solution than any ever presented to a deliberate body. The danger to Europe from an epidemic of cholera, primarily, depends upon the periodical migration of large bodies of the Mussulmans from India, the natural habitat of the cholera germ, to the holy places of North-western Asia, and especially to Mecca. Cholera has never visited Europe except when transported from the delta of the Ganges by pilgrims. These pilgrimages are made by vast hordes of people, the greater number of whom are poor and feeble, or actually sick, and all are accustomed to filthy habits. It appears that sixty per cent. of those who leave India on these pilgrimages never return to their homes. The problem of preventing epidemics of cholera in Europe could only be solved by subjecting these pilgrims to rigid sanitary regulations; and, to effectually accomplish this object, there must be international agreements.

The difficulties to be encountered in adopting and enforcing sanitary rules for pilgrims were numerous. 1. The pilgrims themselves would be intolerant of any restrictions upon their performance of a religious obligation. 2. Sanitary regulations adequate to prevent the transportation of cholera infection must, in some degree, interfere with the ordinary freedom of commerce. 3. These sanitary rules and regulations, in order to be effective, must be enforced under the supervision of a central authority, and not by local authority.

It was very evident, therefore, that this Conference was confronted with difficulties which no other had to encounter. While it might prove an easy task for the technical delegates to formulate an ideal code of sanitary rules, which, if rigidly enforced, would effectually prevent the transportation of cholera by the pilgrims, it was apparent that the diplomatic delegates would have

no slight difficulty in reconciling the various commercial and public interests involved.

It will forever redound to the credit of this Conference that it resolutely set to work on the programme laid before it, and not only created a body of admirable sanitary rules governing pilgrimages, but provided adequate means of enforcing them.

The programme presented by the French delegation was as follows : * —

- I. Prophylaxis of the Pilgrimage of Mecca.
 - II. Protection of the Persian Gulf ports.
- The programme of discussion was formulated as follows : —
- I. Prophylaxis of the Pilgrimage to Mecca.
 - (A) Sanitary police in Indian ports.
 1. Medical inspection of pilgrims.
 2. Disinfection.
 3. Refusal of embarkation to infected or suspected persons.
 4. Refusal of embarkation to all pilgrims who shall fail to show that they possess means to defray the expense of the pilgrimage ; five days' observation of other pilgrims.
 5. Sanitary passports.
 6. Disinfecting apparatus on each vessel.
 7. Adequate supply of potable water protected from infection.
 - (B) Sanitary surveillance of pilgrims at the entrance of the Red Sea.
 1. Choice of site for quarantine station.
 2. If Camaran be chosen, improvements to be instituted.
 3. Disinfecting apparatus.
 4. Formation of a board of management to be under the control of the sanitary council of Constantinople.
 - (C) Improvements to be instituted at Abou-Saad and Vasta.
 - (D) Supervision of land caravans of pilgrims to Mecca.
 - (E) Reorganization of the sanitary station of El Tor.
 - II. Protection of the Persian Gulf ports.
 - (A) Establishment of sanitary posts at Fao, Bender-Abbas, Koveit, Bender-Bouchir, Bassorah, Mohammerah.
 - (B) Sanitary surveillance at Menama, in the Bahrem group of islands.
 - (C) Sanitary supervision at Mascate and Guadar, in Beloochistan.
 - (D) Constitution of a sanitary authority to have charge of carrying out quarantine measures.

* See Abstract of Sanitary Reports issued by the United States Marine Hospital Service for a Summary of the Conference Proceedings.

A wide divergence of views, in regard to the best method of treating an epidemic of cholera, very early appeared among the technical delegates, and became very pronounced in the discussion of many questions throughout the entire session. These different opinions were as follows:—

1. The French delegates held that cholera infection should not be allowed to be conveyed from place to place, either by travellers and their effects or by articles of commerce. Hence they approved of enforcing such sanitary rules as would free the traveller and his baggage, as well as articles of commerce, from the contagion of cholera at any place in their transit where they were discovered or suspected to exist. This policy was sustained by every delegation except that representing Great Britain and its dependencies.

2. The British delegation held that the proper method of dealing with cholera is to perfect the sanitary conditions of cities, villages, and the homes of the people, and allow the contagium of the pestilence free course along the routes of travel, whether by sea or land. All barriers to the entrance of cholera into any State were condemned, especially any form of quarantine which delayed the progress of vessels into ports and the immediate discharge of cargo. This public policy was supported only by the delegation from Great Britain.

3. The delegate who represented the British possessions in India held that cholera is due to epidemic influences quite beyond human control: hence he advocated non-interference. This policy was supported only by the delegate who represented India.

The scope and character of the regulations adopted can be illustrated by a few selections. In general, it may be stated that the pilgrim is placed under sanitary surveillance of a very rigorous character from the moment he announces his intention to go on a pilgrimage till his return home. First, he must obtain a sanitary passport from the local authority. This rule is taken from the Netherlands' Straits Possessions. Before the passport is issued, the intending pilgrim must prove that he has complied with all of the conditions necessary for his departure, and that he has money sufficient for the voyage and to sustain his family in his absence. This passport the pilgrim must retain, and show to the sanitary authorities *en route*; and he can enter Hedjaz, the province in which Mecca is located, only on presentation of it, and on passing an examination. He is under sanitary observation while at

Mecca ; and on his return a new passport is given him, which he must show to the authorities *en route*.

At the port of departure the pilgrim comes under the sanitary police, and the following regulations are to be enforced :—

Medical inspection of all persons taking passage on board a pilgrim vessel, made individually, by daylight, on land, and by a physician appointed by the local sanitary authority.

Thorough disinfection made on land, under the direction of the physician appointed by the sanitary authority, of all infected or suspected articles.

Refusal of embarkation to any person attacked with cholera or choleriform disorders.

When a case of cholera exists at the port, embarkation on board of pilgrim vessels shall not take place until the persons to be embarked have been segregated and subjected to observation for five days.

Each pilgrim vessel must have the following provisions :—

Every vessel embarking one hundred or more pilgrims shall carry a physician commissioned by the government to which the vessel belongs. If the number of passengers exceeds one thousand, a second physician shall be engaged.

The physician should see that the rules of hygiene are observed on board, and that food and water are distributed according to agreement.

Pilgrims shall be lodged between decks.

The deck should remain clear. It should be placed at the disposal of the passengers.

Passengers shall be allowed to retain only such baggage as is strictly necessary.

The vessel shall be provided with latrines in the proportion of one to each one hundred passengers. These shall not be located in the hold or between decks. They shall be cleaned three times daily, and flushed with sea water.

Each person shall be gratuitously furnished with five litres of drinking water a day.

If there shall arise any doubt as to the condition of the drinking water, it should be boiled and sterilized ; and the captain is directed to empty it overboard and replenish at the first stopping place.

Two kitchens shall be provided for the use of the pilgrims. They shall not be allowed to cook elsewhere.

Medical care and attendance shall be furnished gratuitously to the pilgrims.

A regularly organized infirmary shall be provided for the sick. It shall be large enough to accommodate five per cent. of the passengers, with a space of three square metres per capita.

The vessel shall be provided with the means of isolation in case of choleraic attack.

Each pilgrim vessel is subjected to the following regulations at the port of departure :—

The captain of a pilgrim vessel is required to declare to the port authority, at least three days in advance, his intention of embarking pilgrims. He must also declare the date of intended departure and the port of destination.

The sanitary authority of the port shall then inspect and measure the vessel. The consul representing the flag carried by the ship may assist, if he so desires, at this inspection.

The port authority shall not permit the departure of a vessel until he is assured :—

(a) That the vessel is clean, and, if possible, disinfected.

(b) That it is in condition to undertake the voyage, and that the sanitary conditions are good.

(c) That the food and fuel provided for crew and passengers are sufficient in quantity and good in quality.

(d) That the water is good and obtained from a pure source ; that it is sufficient in quantity, protected from contamination on board, and dispensed by faucets.

(e, f, g, h) That the vessel carries distilling apparatus capable of producing five litres of water a day per capita for all persons on board, passengers and crew ; that it carries a disinfecting stove, and has on board a physician and a ship's medicine chest ; and that the deck is clear.

The captain shall post notices drawn up in the principal languages spoken by the pilgrims, stating :—

1. Destination of the ship.

2. Daily ration of food and water.

3. The price of provisions not included in the daily distribution.

The captain shall not be free to leave port until he holds :—

1. A list of the pilgrims whom he is authorized to embark, viséd by the port sanitary authority.

2. A bill of health stating the name, nationality, and tonnage of the vessel, name of the captain and physician, the number of persons embarked, crew, passengers, and pilgrims, nature of the cargo, place of departure and destination, and condition of public health in the port of departure.

During the voyage the following requirements are enforced :—

All articles that have come in contact with the sick shall be promptly disinfected. Articles of no value should be thrown overboard if the vessel is at sea, or else burned, if the vessel is in port.

In case of a death occurring on board during the voyage, the captain shall note the fact with all particulars.

The bill received at the port of departure shall not be altered in any way during the voyage. It shall be viséd in every port at which the vessel stops by the sanitary authority, who shall note thereon :—

The number of passengers landed or embarked.

Any facts touching the condition of the passengers and any incidents of the voyage.

The sanitary condition of the port at which the vessel is stopping.

The captain shall see that all prophylactic measures taken on board during the voyage are inscribed in the log.

The captain shall pay all sanitary taxes.

Arriving at the Red Sea, and before preceeding to Hedjaz, the pilgrim ship must touch at the sanitary station at Camaran, and there be subject to the following treatment : —

Vessels declared upon medical inspection to be clean shall be allowed free pratique after compliance with the following regulations : The pilgrims shall be disembarked ; they shall take a spray bath or a bath in the sea ; their soiled linen and such of their baggage and effects as may be suspected of infection shall be disinfected. The duration of this process, including landing and re-embarkation, shall not exceed forty-eight hours. If during this period no case of cholera, diarrhœa, or choleriform disorder shall develop, the pilgrim shall be at once re-embarked, and the vessel shall proceed to the Hedjaz.

Suspected vessels — that is to say, vessels on board of which cholera declared itself at the moment of departure, but on which no new case has occurred within seven days — shall be treated as follows : The pilgrims shall be disembarked ; they shall take a spray bath or else a bath in the sea ; their soiled linen and such of their baggage and effects as may be suspected of infection shall be disinfected, at the discretion of the medical officer. The duration of this process, including landing and re-embarkation, shall not exceed forty-eight hours. If no cases of cholera or choleriform disorder shall develop during this period, the pilgrims shall be at once re-embarked, and the vessel shall proceed to Djeddah, where a second medical inspection shall be made on board. If the result is favorable, on the written and certified declaration under oath that no case of cholera has occurred during the voyage from Camaran, the pilgrims shall be disembarked. If, on the contrary, cholera or choleriform disorder shall have declared itself during the voyage or at the moment of arrival, the vessel shall be remanded at Camaran, and there undergo a second time the treatment for infected vessels.

Infected vessels — that is to say, vessels on board of which cholera and choleriform disorder shall have declared itself within seven days — shall be treated as follows : The persons attacked with cholera or choleriform affections shall be disembarked and isolated in hospital. Thorough disinfection shall be performed. The other passengers shall be disembarked and isolated in groups, consisting each of as few persons as possible, in order that only a

small front shall be exposed to choleraic attack, should the disease develop. The soiled linen, utensils, and clothing of crew and passengers shall be disinfected; also the vessel itself.

The sanitary authorities shall decide whether the unloading of the larger baggage and the cargo is necessary, and whether the entire vessel or only a portion of it shall be disinfected.

The passengers shall remain five days at Camaran. If the cases of cholera date back for several days, the period of isolation may be curtailed. It shall vary according to the date of the last outbreak, and in the discretion of the sanitary authority.

From Camaran the vessel shall proceed to Djeddah, where thorough medical inspection shall be made on board. If the result is favorable, the pilgrims shall be disembarked. If, on the contrary, cholera or choleriform disorder shall have developed on board, either at the moment of arrival or during the voyage from Camaran, the vessel shall be remanded to Camaran, and shall there undergo for a second time the treatment for infected vessels.

Such is but a summary of the rules made by the Conference governing the pilgrimages from India by way of the Red Sea. Similar rules were made to apply to pilgrims going by way of the Persian Gulf or approaching Hedjaz from the north. These rules were to be equally enforced on the return of the pilgrims to their homes by any route. While at Mecca, the pilgrims were under rigorous sanitary surveillance.

An examination of these rules will make it apparent that, if they are rigidly enforced, cholera cannot reach Europe again through the medium of Mussulman pilgrimages. And herein we have the possible failure of the work of the Conference. Sanitary rules are worthless, if not faithfully executed; and yet no class of laws is so difficult of enforcement as those designed to protect the public health.

In their practical application, to be effective in the prevention or control of contagious and infectious diseases, individual rights, religious observances, commercial interests, and even national customs must be subordinated to the exigencies which these pestilences create.

It has been held that health laws are anomalies in civilized government. They arbitrarily set aside ordinary laws because they are adapted to an anomalous condition of the people. When it is considered that the health laws created by the Conference were to be applied to people intolerant of any restriction upon individual liberty, and especially upon the customary performance of ancient religious obligations, it will be apparent that, when the technical

delegates had perfected their work of completing the rules and regulations, a serious responsibility was imposed upon the diplomatic delegates in providing the ways and means for their execution.

There was a strong disposition manifested by those States within whose jurisdiction these rules were to be chiefly executed to be alone responsible for their enforcement. But the other States very properly opposed such action, alleging that local interests might interfere with that rigid execution of every necessary detail so essential to success. A failure of one State, through which the pilgrims might pass, to rigorously apply the rules, would imperil the entire scheme. It was determined, therefore, after much discussion, that all of the contracting powers should have a part in the enforcement of these international agreements. The following method of accomplishing this object was finally agreed upon:—

1. The application of the measures adopted by the Conference in regard to the pilgrimages shall be intrusted to a committee chosen from among the members of the Council of Health of Constantinople. This committee shall be composed of three representatives of Turkey and of the several Powers who accepted the sanitary agreement signed by the Conferences of Venice and Dresden. The president of the committee shall be Ottoman.

2. To secure effective service at the several sanitary stations, competent corps of physicians, disinfectors, mechanics, and sanitary guards, recruited from among ex-officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, shall be created.

3. The expense of carrying out the system proposed by the Conference shall be divided between the Ottoman government and the Council of Constantinople, according to the scale already fixed by the several Powers interested.

4. The sanitary authority at the Ottoman port of arrival or departure shall draw up a statement of any infraction of this agreement, to which the captain of the offending vessel shall attach any explanation he may have to make. A certified copy of this statement shall be transmitted to the consul representing the country to which the vessel belongs. The consul shall require the fine to be placed in his hands. In the absence of the consul the fine shall be deposited with the sanitary authority. The fine shall ultimately go to the Council of Constantinople, when the consular commission shall have declared it valid. A second certified copy of the statement shall be forwarded to the Council of Constantinople, who shall refer it to the consular commission.

5. A consular commission shall be formed at Constantinople to have cognizance of disputed cases, and to act as judge between

the sanitary agent and the ships' captains. It shall be elected every year.

6. The taxes and sanitary fines shall not be diverted to any objects but those relating to the sanitary councils.

In addition to these regulations the Conference provided for the equipment of suitable stations on the route of the pilgrims, with all the apparatus necessary to make each a sanitarium, where the traveller will receive the most perfect sanitary care and treatment. The Ottoman Government had already created several stations, and the Conference took measures to perfect them and add others. Thus the island of Camaran, near the entrance to the Red Sea, it recommended should be entirely devoted to a sanitarium for the pilgrims coming from the south. For this purpose all the present inhabitants are to be removed, the harbor is to be rendered secure to shipping, and every facility supplied for the comfort of passengers, and the thorough cleansing and disinfection of themselves, their effects and the pilgrim ships. In the same manner Djebel-Tor, at the northern extremity of the Red Sea, is to be provided as a sanitarium for the pilgrims from the north. The ports of the Hedjaz, where the pilgrims debark for Mecca, are to be equally well equipped as sanitary stations. A large number of similar sanitary stations will be created along the Persian Gulf route, and also along the overland caravan routes. Finally, Mecca is to have its sanitary conditions perfected, and a complete surveillance of the pilgrims organized.

For nearly two months the Conference devoted itself assiduously to its duties. It was aided and encouraged in its work by the highest officials of the French government. President Carnot frequently met the delegates. M. Casimir-Perier, the Premier, accepted its presidency. M. Barrère, now Ambassador to Switzerland; M. Hanotaux, now Minister of Foreign Affairs; Professor Brouardel, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, of Paris; Professor Proust, Inspector-general of the Sanitary Service; and M. Monod, Councillor of State,—comprised the French delegation. To the courtesy, constant efforts, and judicious management of this delegation is due in large measure the harmony which characterized the deliberations of the Conference and the happy consummation of its labors.

The code of sanitary rules governing the migration of large bodies of people from or through districts infected with cholera which the Conference finally completed and adopted is based on

the most advanced principles of sanitary science. When this code is finally accepted by the Powers of Europe and Asia, and by the United States, and thus becomes in effect international law, it will mark the commencement of an era which will be characterized by the extermination of those roving pestilences which have heretofore been the scourge of the human race.

One feature of the Conference remains to be noticed, which is of special interest to the people of the United States.

As this Conference was called to devise international measures to prevent the transportation of cholera by the migration of large bodies of people, it seemed to the delegates from the United States, or at least to a majority of them, that it would be a fitting occasion to consider also the closely allied subject of the conveyance of cholera from Europe to the United States by emigrants. It was apparent that the sanitary rules and regulations relating to travel and traffic, which would prevent the transmission of the cholera infection from India to Europe by the pilgrim, would, if properly applied, prevent the transmission of cholera from Europe to America by the emigrant. The instructions which the United States delegates received from their government led them to believe that the President also entertained the opinion that the question of the transportation of cholera by emigrants would be a legitimate subject of discussion in the Conference.

Actuated by these considerations, the delegation brought the matter before the Conference at its third session in a formal paper. It was shown in this statement that cholera has as yet never reached the United States from Europe except through the emigrant classes. The imminent danger of an invasion of the United States by cholera, when it is prevalent in Europe, will appear when we consider:—

1. The vast numbers of immigrants who land on our shores annually. In 1893 357,857 emigrants from Europe arrived at the single port of New York. In some years the number has been quite half a million.

2. These immigrants are, for the most part, the poorest, filthiest, and most insanitary class of the population of the States of Europe. They are not only extremely filthy in their persons and habits, but they bring large quantities of filthy baggage and household goods, which are admirably adapted to preserve the germs of contagious and infectious diseases in all their potency.

3. The rapidity with which the transit of the ocean is now made

by the great passenger vessels — and it is on this class of steamers that the bulk of the immigrants reach the port of New York — renders it possible now for an emigrant to receive the cholera into his system in Europe and be safely domiciled in New York City before the period of incubation has fairly expired.

To meet these exigencies, the United States has but one remedy; and that is a rigorous quarantine. Such sanitation of cities, villages, and the homes of the people as might make it safe to allow the cholera contagium free access to our ports is impossible. The opinion was expressed that, if by an international agreement such sanitary regulations could be enforced as would secure to the emigrant from Europe to America cleanliness of person and baggage, adequate means for his care during the voyage, and a reasonable guarantee that he is not the carrier of the cholera germ, it would be followed by greatly diminished restrictions which our government must otherwise impose upon travel and commerce in our ports.

The communication of the delegates concluded by requesting that the programme of the Conference be so enlarged as to include the preparation of international sanitary rules governing the migration of the laboring classes of Europe to America.

At a subsequent session the United States delegates submitted more in detail, at the request of the Conference, the questions for consideration. The several propositions were nearly those already under discussion in regard to the pilgrims, namely: —

1. Measures to be adopted to enable the emigrants to come to the port of departure free from contagious diseases. Each emigrant should obtain from the local authority a passport or certificate, showing the sanitary condition of the place from which he came, the route that he has followed to the port of departure, and, as far as possible, the state of his health during his journey. The passport for the pilgrim made nearly the same provision.

2. Measures to be taken at the port of departure to prevent the germs of cholera being taken on board of vessels, either by the emigrants personally or by their clothing, or other effects. These measures would correspond with those adopted by the Conference with reference to pilgrims at the port of departure; namely, detention for several days in reception quarters, where bathing and disinfection could be thoroughly performed and any infection present destroyed.

3. Measures to be taken to secure the best sanitary condition of

vessels carrying emigrants, before their embarkation, in order that the health of the emigrants may be preserved during the voyage. The excellent sanitary regulations which the Conference adopted for pilgrim ships would apply with some modifications to emigrant ships.

4. Measures to be taken during the voyage both to preserve the best sanitary condition of the ship, and of the emigrants and equipage, and to promptly suppress any focus of infection which might develop on board. These provisions were amply made by the Conference with regard to pilgrim ships during the voyage.

5. Measures to be taken at the port of arrival, which would comprise such changes in the regulations of our quarantines as would adapt them to the new conditions which these international regulations would secure as to the liability of emigrants to be the carriers of cholera infection.

The communication of the American delegates was received with marked attention by the members of the Conference. It was conceded that there was such a close analogy between the methods of conveyance of cholera infection from India to Europe by the pilgrims, and from Europe to America by the emigrants, that the international sanitary regulations governing the migration of one class would be nearly applicable to the other. The delegates of several States cordially adopted the views of the American delegates, and were disposed at once to consult their respective governments to obtain the power to enlarge the programme in accordance with our request. Others, while acknowledging the great importance of the subject, were of the opinion that, as the present Conference was called for a specific purpose, it should not add to its duties another obligation, however closely it might be allied to the one in hand. They proposed that the emigrant question be deferred to another Conference called for that special purpose. The British delegation opposed enlarging the subjects for discussion at the present Conference, and also to the calling of another Conference to consider the emigrant question, basing their objections upon their often reiterated opinions that the prevention of the spread of cholera should not be attempted by restrictions upon travel and commerce, but that every State should secure to its people homes so healthy that they would defy the potency of the cholera germ. It should be stated that, at one of the sessions of the present Conference, on the occasion of the statement of the above opinion by the distinguished medical officer of the Local

Government Board of England, the technical or medical delegate of Greece replied that his government had no such power as would secure that degree of sanitation of the homes of the people of which the English boast, and it must therefore rely upon a rigorous quarantine against cholera. As to the value of home sanitation compared with a rigorous quarantine in the protection of the people against cholera, he reminded the British delegation that during the last year there were several outbreaks of cholera in England, with a number of deaths, while for forty years there had not been an outbreak of cholera in Greece, though the pestilence had many times prevailed in surrounding countries.

After considerable discussion the Conference decided not to change its programme, but with much unanimity concurred in the opinion that another Conference should be called, if requested by the government of the United States, to formulate international sanitary regulations governing the migration of European populations to America.

Meantime the delegates from several of the Powers received instructions to unite in the call of such Conference, and two delegations presented the formal requests of their governments to be permitted to entertain the Conference at their respective capitals. The United States delegation reported the action of the Conference to their government, and asked for instructions. The President replied that it was too late in the season to call another Conference. Thereupon farther efforts to arrange for a Conference were discontinued; but the final sentiments expressed to us by many members were to the effect that, whenever the United States government signified to the European Powers its desire to enter a Conference with them for the purpose of establishing an international agreement relating to the sanitary supervision of emigrants from Europe to America, all of the States invited would respond.

To one who has practically studied the problem of the prevention and suppression of such world-wide epidemics as Asiatic cholera, the importance to the people of the United States of the co-operation of the governments of Europe with our government, in freeing the emigrant from the germs of contagious and infectious diseases before he embarks for our ports, cannot be overestimated. The proposed scheme of sanitary surveillance of the emigrant would begin at his domicile abroad, and follow him every step of the way to his home in this country. His passport, issued by the

local European health officer, and viséd at every point in his progress, would not only contain a record of his condition as regards his freedom from infection and his health, but it would be his only guarantee that he could travel at all on railways to the port of departure or that he could embark on any steamship bound to a port in the United States. It is at once apparent that such an international agreement would bring to our shores only healthy emigrants and in healthy ships. Two consequences would inevitably follow: first, cholera would never be brought to this country by the European emigrant; and, second, our quarantine would consist only in a detention for the examination of the passports of emigrants and the inquiries and inspections necessary to determine that shipmasters had faithfully complied with the international sanitary regulations.

Thus closed the Ninth International Sanitary Conference, in many respects the most important of the series. It was in fact a congress of nations summoned to create a code of international laws entirely in the interests of human health, and consequently of human happiness. Its sessions were characterized throughout by that earnestness in the discussion of theoretical questions and that conciliation in harmonizing practical methods which distinguish the modern scientific spirit. We cannot doubt that, when the laws which it enacted are faithfully executed, not only will Europe and Northern Asia be relieved from periodical visitations of the most destructive plague of modern times, but that the vast hordes of roving pilgrims which traverse Asia, scattering a pestilence that decimates the people among whom they pass, while it strews their own pathway with their dead, will be transformed to an orderly body of travellers, characterized by that physical and mental health and cleanliness of person and baggage so essential to the rational discharge of religious obligations.

But have not the nations which in this Conference accomplished so great a work in the relief of the Mussulman pilgrim, and the protection of Europe from cholera, a similar duty to perform toward the western emigrant, who, taking up the germs of the plague brought to Europe, conveys them in his filthy person and effects to America? M. Casimir-Perier complimented the delegates to the Ninth International Sanitary Conference on the suc-

cess which science has had in breaking down those ancient barriers which the varied interests of mankind have created, and urged them to persevere in the good work until all such restrictions are removed. Must there not be a Tenth Conference, that shall unite the efforts of the European Powers and the United States in removing the barriers with which commerce and custom now protect the emigrant from the application of those sanitary measures which would strip him of every form of contagion, and bring him to our shores in good physical and mental health?

2. IS NEWSPAPER WORK HEALTHFUL FOR WOMEN?

BY MRS. MARGARET H. WELCH, OF NEW YORK.

[Read Wednesday, September 5.]

As an occupation for women, newspaper work is no longer an experiment. Woman in newspaper work, however, so far as her physical capacity to endure it is concerned, is still one to a very considerable extent. Although it is true that in few of the 342 occupations now open to women is she more pervasive, if the word may be permitted, or is more fully recognized, yet her rapid and successful charge upon newspaperdom is comparatively recent.

There are a few women veterans of the press. A distinguished, if small, band they are, too. But fifteen, ten years ago, a consideration of the topic assigned to me for this morning would have little timely or practical value. That it has both to-day is still more because of the coming than the present newspaper woman.

Is, then, newspaper work a healthful occupation for our sex? I can recall, with two minutes' thinking, a dozen newspaper women of my acquaintance who are struggling with some form of nervous exhaustion directly consequent upon their newspaper duties. I think of four or five more who are out of that and all work, completely broken down, with the story of their recovery uncertain; and two other women whom I have known, bright, gracious, lovely, lie to-day in untimely graves because of their labor in newspaper offices. With these in mind the reply quickly suggests itself, "No," the work is not healthful: it is killing.

On the other hand there comes with equal promptness the recollection of a dozen other women of the craft who are in perfect health, and evidently at no odds with their occupation.

Mrs. Rebecca Harding Davis, Mrs. Lucia K. Runkle, Mrs. Margaret Sullivan, are in full physical vigor after twenty-five years of brilliant newspaper work; Miss "Midy" Morgan, of revered memory, died at the end of a long and splendid newspaper career, but not, as I have ever heard, because of it; and there is a formid-

able list of other women whose names would be almost as familiar if I should quote them to you, who are in unimpaired health after ten and fifteen years' services in newspaper offices, to their credit. When these facts present themselves, the first opinion is reversed, and becomes a decided "Yes."

Still, it is not wholly the woman rather than the work which is the factor in the answer.

There are places in the newspaper world which are well within the physical resources of any woman in normal health. Special critical work that can be done with some degree of deliberation and leisure, and editorships involving weekly work,—these are not wearing of themselves. Women who fill them, however, too often unite with them a difficult home life, the care of children or the sick, the need for an absorbing economy, or perhaps a busy social or philanthropic existence,—some necessary or assumed strain on time or energy that permits scant leisure for rest, yet keeps life at continuous high tension. When these women go under, as they often do, their newspaper work is frequently and misleadingly pronounced the only cause for it.

Nor is the inability to endure such complex pressure any significant confession of sex-weakness. Men subject to the strain of carrying domestic cares down to the office, and business worries back to the home again, often give way. Over and over again it is said of a man who dies suddenly or goes insane that he had troubles outside of his business cares which precipitated his downfall, and the reason is accepted as good and sufficient.

Social distractions, too, too many of them, are quite as wearing upon men as upon women. So well is this recognized that employers claim the right to inquire, even dictate, how their clerks shall spend their evenings, as bearing upon their usefulness the next day; and society women plan "small-and-earlys" to secure the presence of the desirable young business man without sacrificing his needed rest.

Yet men have the great advantage of the fact that business instinct is a sort of inheritance with them. Generations of business men have had their influence to create in their sex a natural gravitation towards business life. When a boy is old enough to learn to swim, he is often thrown overboard beyond his depth, and the youngster thrashes and flounders till he suddenly strikes out for himself. It is what his father did before him, but no parent expects his daughter to have this skill in water by the same sort

of natural selection. In one of the Sandwich Islands, however, infants, girls and boys alike, are put into the water in their rush baskets when they are a few days old. They play and sleep in the lapping waves, and both sexes can swim by the time American babies can walk. The business instinct may come in time to be a birthright of women, but as yet it is not. To paraphrase an oft-quoted verse : —

Business to woman's life is a thing apart :
'Tis man's entire existence.

Any career in the business world is still abnormal and difficult for us. However grateful and proud we may be of our success, when we are honest, we must admit that it is hardly gained. Only the other day a woman who has won and held a high place in the newspaper world, and who is often quoted as a woman of remarkable poise and judgment, told me confidentially that she never turned the knob of the office door without a fluttering of the heart that cost her an effort to subdue. "I suppose," she went on, "it is because I lack the confidence born of training and long experience. I feel always that something may lie beyond the threshold that I have not yet encountered, something that my small stock of business knowledge may be unequal to." And an editor of one of the big New York dailies (a man) showed his appreciation of this point in his reply to an inquiry concerning his opinion of women in the work. "Frankly," he said, "I am delighted with them in many ways. They are faithful, untiring, and never complain of work or hours. I have but two faults to find with them: they have little or no self-reliance, and are seldom able to direct or plan for others."

Both of these faults come from the same source,—a sense of newness to business responsibility.

Many more newspaper women will admit the same experience in some guise or other. It is not helpful, and it is a tax that the coming newspaper woman may not have. The wage-earning woman is growing younger every year: she is entering upon her work earlier in life, choosing, often, like her brother, some field of labor as soon as she has finished her scholastic education. The influence of this fresh, energetic, well-equipped young woman must make itself felt in every occupation she invades; and we may look to see the coming business woman, newspaper or other sort, as capably confident as any man of affairs is to-day.

The twentieth century is not now slipping away, however, is not yet even here; and we may well leave this clever creature of fifty years hence to look after herself.

The women of the moment and the newspaper work of the moment should not be antagonistic. That she and it are, more often than she realizes, is due to and preventable by herself. As has been said, there is a class of this work that ought not, without extraordinary outside handicap, to overtax any woman of average health. There is another, however, that is seriously trying. The regularly daily work done at a desk, with the rest of the staff, and subject to the conditions of pressure and excitement never absent from a daily newspaper office,—whether this work be editorial, reportorial, or what it may be,—is often, I almost say usually, done at serious cost to her health. And in proportion as a woman has the quick responsiveness, the mental alertness, and the nervous energy that make the successful newspaper woman,—or man, either,—does her work seem to consume her; and every step of her advance is paid for out of her vitality. This should not be so.

In some respects, newspaper work is almost ideal for women. In no other that I know of can she command a fair salary while learning the business. The hours of the hardest of the places are irregular, indeed, but they are apt to be regularly irregular; and it is not difficult to adjust one's mode of life to conform comfortably to them. The work is exacting and worrying, and in one way irritably unprogressive. The success of yesterday does not mitigate the failure of to-day. "Dead selves" do not make good "stepping-stones" in a newspaper office, particularly if the managing editor chances to be in at the death.

The work is never monotonous, however,—a feature that should make it especially acceptable to our sex. Teaching is still the favorite employment of educated women; and ten years of teaching, it is said, finishes a woman's usefulness at it. She is worn out in nervous force. Newspaper work seems incomparably easier than teaching, notwithstanding the three months' vacation of the schoolmistress. Life with a copy-pad or wielding a blue pencil can never, to my mind, touch the routine drudgery of over and over drilling of the young idea.

I believe women are equal, physically, to newspaper work when they rid themselves of some of the handicaps of their own making.

Two serious ones are improper dressing and unhygienic eating. Now, this is no plea for a distinctive business—much less a news-

paper woman's — costume, or for Dress Reform, in capital letters. It is to urge, merely, rational clothing fitted to the work the wearer will do, and worn while doing it.

It never occurred to Mrs. Peary, when she started for the North Pole, to rely on modish gowns to protect her from the arctic weather. She wore her sealskins and birdskins with the natives, and kept warm and well. But a young woman reporter starts out on a day's trip about the city, buttoned in a tight bodice that gives her barely half the breathing room she needs, with heavy skirts dragging from her hips, with thin kid shoes that keep out neither wet nor cold, and are pretty sure to fit more snugly than they should; and thinks it is her search for copy that sends her back to the office almost ready to drop with nervous fatigue. She has worn such clothes all her life, she says. So she has, and her mother and grandmother before her; but, until she became a business woman, she has not had to wear them all of the time. The home woman does not think of keeping herself girded in her armor all day. She begins it in a loose wrapper. A marketing or a shopping expedition demands a change for the street; but, on coming in to luncheon, she is likely to slip back into her morning gown, "it is so easy." So with the rest of the day and evening. When not actually in public view, she will wear various house frocks, whose distinguishing feature, after their prettiness, is their comfort. Women do not realize how much they temper the evils of their dress by keeping out of it, until they find themselves where they must wear it from morning until night. Fancy a man trying to write an editorial article on the tariff or the sugar trust with his neck clasped almost to the point of congestion by a high, stiff collar, every movement of his arms restricted by a tight-fitting sleeve, and his chest and body held firm and unyielding in a panoply of bone and drilling! There would be more spleen in his paragraphs than there is now in some of them on these much discussed questions.

Suppose, further, that this unhappy man is laboring under the additional disadvantage of an outraged stomach. What kind of a leader do you think he could produce on a vanilla éclair and a cup of chocolate? or at 8 P.M. how brilliant a two-column "story" could he write with a fast unbroken since the morning meal, except by a glass of ice-cream soda-water?

These reliefs may seem sharp, but the picture needs them.

"There!" I heard a young woman reporter say not long ago:

"I've just got thirty cents to last me till Saturday for luncheons. It will, too," she added proudly. It was Thursday.

The very same day I was admitted to another newspaper woman's office—an editor this was—with an apology that I should find her eating. It was four o'clock, and she had just taken leisure to send a boy out for a sandwich and a cup of coffee. "This is an economy of time, too," she explained; "for now I need not stop for dinner."

We women subordinate our physical well-being entirely too much. We are far too willing to take it out of ourselves. We feel a positive glow of satisfaction when we have dragged our tired bodies five or six blocks to save a car-fare. Men do this sort of thing less, have done it less always. In the matter of his meals a man's care that he gets them often and ample is proverbial. "Every one observes," said somebody in print the other day, "that men retain their youth longer than women. At fifty men are erect, active, gray-haired, to be sure, but fresh-colored and bright-eyed. At fifty women are gray-haired, dull-eyed, wrinkled, and colorless. Why is the difference?" Because for twenty-five years or so men have been eating good substantial luncheons down town, while women have been having toast and tea and cold sliced meat at home.

There was exhibited recently in Boston two statues, one of the average man and the other of the average woman. Each was modelled on measurements taken from a large number of average young men and women, and the female figure fell much further short of the ideal woman than the male figure of the ideal man. Her hollow back, narrow chest, and curved spine were not a pleasant, though they should be a valuable, object lesson to the modern ambitious woman.

We women must equip ourselves better, physically, for the opportunities that are before us. Higher educational facilities offer us a higher intellectuality and greater privileges, but they are one-sided, with a feeble physique to pursue and enjoy them in. It is a sound mind in a sound body that is power; and it is this power which the newspaper woman needs. She has demonstrated that one part of it is not out of her reach: let her now turn herself assiduously to cultivating the other. With it the work is not beyond her in any respect.

A word in closing, as to the congenial character of a newspaper life for women, is not, I think, beyond the province of this paper;

for we moderns have learned that what influences the mind agreeably reacts healthfully upon the body. The criticism has been made that the educated, sensitive woman finds some of her duties, notably that of interviews, extremely distasteful. So she may. There are distasteful duties in any sphere of life, but it depends upon the woman herself if she doffs her dignity or refinement at any time. She need not in her newspaper life, if she will not.

As to the future of this work for college-bred and superior women, I believe there is no future more promising in the way of social and financial rewards. The few sensational workers and adventuresses in the profession have made it a little difficult just now for the good average newspaper woman to take her rightful social position; but the introduction of every cultured lady into the ranks raises the level, and dignity and appreciation follow. Except in cases where a genius for art or music exists, there is, to my mind, no career opening more of honor and of promise for a woman than in the field of newspaper work.

IV. PAPERS OF THE EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT.

I. ENGLISH AS A UNIVERSAL TONGUE.

BY D. G. PORTER, OF WATERBURY, CONN.

[Read September 4.]

A common speech, not exclusive, but existing side by side with the vernaculars of different nations, as a general means of communication between them, to be used in travel, traffic, correspondence, and polite intercourse, and as a means by which the thought of each nation might be freely shared by other nations, would unquestionably be a most important element of intellectual and social progress. The Greek language, more nearly than any other, achieved the position of a universal tongue in the ancient civilizations; and to the fact of its wide diffusion the early and easy progress of Christianity was, to a considerable extent, unquestionably due.

In more recent times Latin, French, English, and the artificial or manufactured language called Volapük have been candidates for the honors of universal speech; and to show that the subject is not quite without present interest, I may state that at the recent European medical congress a petition was presented from 700 practising physicians of British India, praying for the re-establishment of Latin as the universal means of scientific intercommunication. English, however, at the present time seems to be distancing all other competitors, and is doubtless the most likely to win, its success being due as much to the proper excellence of the language itself and its easy adaptation to all the uses of speech, as to the fact that it is the language of peoples who are leading the progress and enterprise of the world.

But it must be admitted that English has almost as much to condemn as to commend it, in reference to the use and purpose in question. It has defects—nay, positive disqualifications—so deeply rooted and of so serious a nature that we could not see it

achieve, in its present form, the position of a universal language without grave misgivings and serious regrets.

In order to an intelligent discussion of the general subject, and in considering the question of the possibility of removing some of these disqualifications, it will be necessary to remind ourselves of the peculiar circumstances of the formation of the language, in which are to be traced the sources of both its excellences and its defects. When the Norman English, about the beginning of the thirteenth century, having lost their possessions in France, began to regard England as their home instead of a subject province, and the Saxon English as their countrymen; and when, in consequence, the two races began rapidly to mix and mingle by intermarriage and otherwise so as to become one people,—it was inevitable that the two languages should also be mixed so as to form a substantially new tongue. The Saxons were too numerous and the Normans too important to render it possible for either party to give up their own speech and adopt that of the other. It was inevitable, also, that this mixture of languages, if formed at all, should be made and carried out by the common people in their daily speech; and it was impossible, during the process, that any one should speak the mixed or mixing language correctly, according to any accepted standard, since there was not and could not be any such standard. Those to whom it seemed important to speak or to write correctly, had to use Latin or French; while the common people, the boors and peasants, whether Norman or Saxon, had not, of course, the slightest thought of any rule or principle of grammar. Their use of language was from the paramount necessity and for the sole and simple purpose of being understood.

Of course, no complicated system of inflections could survive such conditions. Artificial gender, being complicated with the inflections, had also to give way. The Normans from their superior position and importance were able to force their language into Saxon forms, and in doing so they gave the finishing stroke to the Saxon inflective system, which had already been considerably weakened by the mixture of Saxon and Danish. But the great predominant necessity of being mutually understood in their speech by the two races thus suddenly thrown into mixture, and that without the aid of inflection, developed a clearness in the use of pronouns, prepositions, and auxiliaries, and in the logical, perspicuous order of the collocation of words, which had never

before, and probably has never elsewhere, been reached; while the abolition of artificial gender, and the reduction to a minimum of inflectional terminations, made the resulting language, as compared with other tongues, remarkably easy of acquisition.

At the same time that it was thus gaining in clearness and facility, it developed also an extraordinary fulness and variety by appropriating the vocabularies of both the languages which supplied its component parts, receiving also contributions from the Celtic and the older Aryan tongues, with the result that "in force, in richness, in adaptation for all the highest purposes of the poet, the philosopher, and the orator, the English language is, unquestionably," as Macaulay declares, "inferior to the tongue of Greece alone." We may add that in some respects it is superior even to the Greek, and that especially through its close affinity with the German, the Dutch, and the Scandinavian languages, and also with the French, it has unequalled advantages as a candidate for the honors of universal speech. It is, indeed, remarkable that the youngest of all the great tongues should have already become the speech of so large a portion of the human race.

But the advantage of the language in this regard, resulting from its wide-spread affinities, is largely nullified by certain unfortunate peculiarities. To understand the nature and effects of these peculiarities, we may revert to the fact that the language was not formed by learned men, in whom a trained faculty and use of speech might be supposed to have fitted them for the task. In the nature of the case, such people, so far as there were such, would be excluded from all participation in the work. All who were disposed to indulge any sense of propriety or correctness in the use of language were shut up to Latin and French; and they must have looked with a feeling somewhat akin to contempt upon the crude, broken, mixed, and ungrammatical utterances of boors and peasants, whose learning of language was a mere imitation of vocal sounds.

We have seen how these rude, unlettered classes, compelled by a hard, practical necessity, and with the simple, direct, predominant object of making themselves understood, did excellent work with the rich material which the two languages afforded. We should not be surprised to find that in the two or three hundred years during which the new language was forming they did some bad work as well. Their bad work was done especially in connec-

tion with the vowel-sounds, and is of such a nature as to indicate a natural inability, or, at least, a most imperfect development as regards the faculty of distinguishing and imitating sounds. In the course of these two or three hundred years they lost entirely at least two of the vowel-sounds common to both the tongues from which the new language was formed; and what was vastly worse they mixed and confused at least three other vowel-sounds of the language and of all languages in such a manner as to involve the written speech in what is generally regarded as hopeless and inextricable confusion.

The characters which had always substantially been called *ah*, *ay*, and *ee*, and which had represented these sounds in all languages since the invention of the alphabet, came to be sounded *ay*, *ee*, and *eye*, by a dull-eared and thick-mouthed peasantry, so persistently in familiar, daily, conversational usage and in oft-recurring words in their limited peasant vocabulary, that learning and literature, after long resisting the tendencies of illiterate speech, at length gave way, and consented to a change in the names of the characters themselves. I know not who is responsible for this ignominious surrender of the interests of the language, and of all languages, to the demands of illiterate ignorance. Doubtless, however, the schoolmaster of the period, who may be regarded as the connecting link between education and ignorance, must come in for a large share of the responsibility. But, with the change of the names of the characters representing the three leading vowel-sounds of the language, the *coup de grâce* was given to anything like phonetic system, or, indeed, to any system as regards vowel-sounds in English orthography.

Children naturally learn the force of letters by their names. That indeed is, or should be, what the names are for. Accordingly, in their ears *r-a-n* would spell *rain*. It really does spell *rain*. But we are obliged to tell them it does not spell *rain*, but *ran*, leaving them to solve the puzzle or reconcile the contradiction as best they may. *R-a-n-e* would spell *rain* according to our method or lack of method, *r-a-i-n* spells *rain*, *r-e-i-n* spells *rain*, *r-e-i-g-n* spells *rain*, *r-a-y* spells *ray*, *g-r-e-y* spells *grey*, and *g-r-e-a-t* spells *great*. Here are seven different methods of representing the sound *ay*, each one of which has to be learned and distinguished from the others for every word in which the sound occurs, so that whatever is, or is called, phonetic in the use of these characters actually misleads and confuses rather than assists in the acquiring of the language.

But the letter has also to do duty for its own proper sound, either alone, or re-enforced by *u*, *w*, *h*, or *gh*; and it is safe to say that the sound is false to the name, or rather that the name is false to the sound, in nine cases out of ten in which it occurs in our language. To make it sound true to its name at all, it has generally to be assisted; and the fact that it is assisted by several different devices instead of by one uniform method multiplies, in equal proportion, the difficulty for the learner.

So, also, the character which we have come to call *ee*, but which all other peoples and nations and languages call *ay*, does not generally sound *ee* unless assisted in some one of six or eight different ways, each to be learned and distinguished and separately applied; and even then it does not sound according to its name nearly half the times it occurs in the language. Of course there can be no properly phonetic principle in such a mixture and jumble of vowel-sounds. In the change of the *ee*-sound and character to what is called the long English *eye*, the abomination is, if possible, worse; though, owing to the comparative infrequency of the sound, the results are less serious.

The destructive force of these changes upon the phonetic principle is not diminished, but is rather aggravated, by saying that each of these letters has a long and a short sound, as *a* in *mate* and *mat*, *e* in *mete* and *met*, and *i* in *mite* and *mit*. The statement itself is not true, neither of these instances showing the long and the short of the same sound; and representing them as such cannot fail to be puzzling to the learner, however we may succeed in reconciling it to our consciences.

It is not to our purpose to trace the origin of these dozen different methods of representing the same sound, to show which are French, which are Saxon, and which were invented when the written language undertook the hopeless task of trying to keep pace with the vagaries and uncertainties and differences of pronunciation in the clumsy mouths of an unlettered peasantry. The important fact is that we have this abominable absurdity and confusion and contradiction in our written speech, and that the false names of the letters representing the vowel-sounds, more than anything else, serves to fix it there.

Different theories have been advanced to account for this remarkable *Lautverschiebung*, this displacement and derangement of vowel-sounds in the English language. One of the most plausible, perhaps, is that of a natural process of attenuation, like

that according to which "Angland" was written "England" and is pronounced "Ingland," and which was supposed to be due to the chill of the northern climate tending to prevent a free opening of the vocal passages. But people who inhabit a much colder climate than that of England do not seem to have been affected in the same way, as indeed the inhabitants of England were not previous to the fourteenth century.

That the changes in question were due to the peculiar dulness of apprehension of an unlettered peasantry—capable enough, however, in work and in war—or, at least, to an absence on their part of any faculty of nice discrimination in matters of speech, is shown, first, by the fact or the strong probability that the more cultivated classes, who could perhaps have held the sounds to their proper moorings, would naturally and did really exclude themselves from all participation in the formation of a language which must have seemed to them essentially vulgar and boorish until it was too late for them to interfere to any good effect; secondly, from the fact that at least two vowel-sounds still retained in each of the two parent languages, or their nearest relations, were lost in the formation of the new tongue; and finally by the fact that a defect of this kind is still apparent among the lineal descendants of those who formed our English speech. No observing man can live a month in England, even at this day, without becoming aware of the variation and uncertainty which many vowel-sounds still have in the mouth of the average cockney or provincial.

The English common people take their beer or their whiskey "afe an' 'afe" instead of "half and half," when they dilute it at all. The criers from the London 'buses call "Baink" and "Straind" instead of "Bank" and "Strand," and will invite you to get up "be-ind" and ride to "Chawncery Lane." People of fair intelligence say "rowd" for "road," "pyeper" for "paper," "toffy" for "taffy," and "yerr" for "year." Now most of those who to-day speak in this incorrect, uncertain, variable way, hear, or at least read, what is called good English every day of their lives. What then could we expect of the rude, unlettered ancestors of these same classes, when for two or three centuries they were cut off from the conservative influences of literature and learning, and were left entirely to themselves while forming a new speech? I am convinced that there can be no sufficient explanation of the changes of vowel-sounds in English which does not

take into account the fact that the language, during its formative period and loosed from every mooring of literature and learning, was delivered wholly into the hands of a rude peasantry, ignorant with an ignorance which it is difficult in these days even to conceive, to generation after generation of great, stupid children, whose ears were untrained to any nice discrimination of sounds, and whose organs of speech were unskilled to imitate closely such sounds as they did distinguish.

The attempt of Champneys, the latest writer on the history of English, to give a scientific explanation of the change in vowel-sounds, is confined to the letter *a*, and is, to the last degree, obscure and unsatisfactory.

It may be worth while in passing, however, to notice his statement that the Irish did not keep up with what he calls the progress of the language in changing the sounds of the vowels. We may add that even at the present day many an Irishman, fresh from his native bogs, can give us points on the correct and classic pronunciation of English; and in parts of Ireland the names of the characters which we call *ay* and *æ* still correspond to their proper original sounds. The same is true also to some extent in Cornwall, where, doubtless, the proximity to France has operated as a conservative influence.

But the object of our discussion at this point is mainly to show the illiterate, discreditable origin of the great blemish, disadvantage, and disgrace which have come to the English tongue with the change of the vowel-sounds,—which change is also so largely responsible for the unfortunate and needless estrangement of English from its own nearest relations in the great families of speech. It may be worth our while seriously to consider how far we ought to carry our loyalty to stupidity and ignorance because it is ancient, or even because it is English, and to what extent we ought to adopt the principle so widely accepted in England that a thing is right simply because it has been wrong so long.

As the interest of the discussion centres largely about this point, let us try to make our position clear. The question is as to the propriety of correcting some of the most disastrous of the blunders of the rude, unlettered generations through whom our language received its present form. The answer will doubtless be given that we cannot do it; that it was these same unlettered classes who made the language, and therefore their usage is the highest and ultimate authority, and we have nothing to do but to take the language as they gave it to us, for better or for worse.

We reply that these ignorant peasants did not *make* the language. They simply compounded it from elements which had existed for centuries. They had no intention of leaving the rule of habit and custom which had extended to their time, and which had hitherto been fixed by some sort of literary use. They simply blundered away from the hitherto prevailing practice through their own illiteracy and a childish incapacity in the matter of distinguishing and imitating sounds. Now, shall the mere blunders of ignorance and incapacity, even when crystallized into a habit, be accepted as the unvarying rule for our scholarship? Or shall we assert the right of allegiance to a higher principle,—namely, that of the ancient and honorable line of historic continuity, which has always ruled in all the languages of Aryan descent, the only important exception being this same blundering, unintentional revolt of the English peasantry of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries? Surely, there is no scientific or scholarly interest which requires us to make blunder or its results the standard of accuracy, or ignorance the rule of our scholarship, especially when by so doing we work harm to the language and its prospects, with positive loss and misfortune to every one who is obliged to learn or to use the English tongue. On the contrary, every interest of science and scholarship, as well as of utility and humanity and civilization, requires us to correct, as far as possible, some of the worst and most disastrous of the blunders in question.

Nor will the present movement be by any means the first attempt in this direction. As soon as the new language was so far developed as to be capable of literary uses, a protest was of course made by writers against the illiterate tendencies which were everywhere rife in the speech of the people. This protest is the origin of what is termed historic spelling; which, however it is, or ought to be, discredited at the present day, was in its origin in the highest degree honorable and creditable. It did not represent merely or mainly, as has sometimes been said, the common or prevalent pronunciation of the people contemporaneous with the writers who used it. It naturally looked much farther back, and represented also, and more largely, what may be termed the proper or classic pronunciation of words as the writers had learned them, perhaps a half-century before, from those who had learned them still earlier. We can readily understand that it would be long before we would be willing to stop pronouncing the terminal *g* of the present participle, and allow it to pass to the grade of his-

toric spelling, though it should be universally discarded in vulgar speech.

Historic spelling, then, was an attempt to restore the proprieties of speech. It doubtless had some effect. Conservatively, indeed, it may have a good deal of effect; for no one knows what would have become of our language if it had been left a few generations longer in the hands of the rude masses who formed it, without the corrective and conservative influence of literature. Champneys mentions the correction of the pronunciation of such words as "boil" and "join," which a century ago had quite commonly come to be pronounced "bile" and "jine," as an instance of the effect of historic spelling; and Earle attributes the correction of the pronunciation "Lunnon" to "London" to the same cause. But this influence entered the field too late to be greatly effective as a restorative force; and the tendencies to corruption had acquired such momentum, and the illiterate masses were still so vastly in the majority, that finally literature and learning were induced to make the fatal concession of consenting to a change in the names of the characters representing the vowel-sounds. There is no record or trace of any protest, and the corrupt habit gradually assumed the force of a law. But this concession, even if involuntary or unconscious, as it probably was, was a mistake from any point of view. It leaves the leading vowel-sound of the language and of all languages without representation in our alphabetic nomenclature; and the language, as *now pronounced*, is less phonetic with the change than without it.

It will be needless for me to add anything to what has so often and ably and forcibly been said by Whitney and Marsh and other eminent philologists concerning the advantages of phonetic spelling, and the absurdity of attempting to make of our written speech, at the sacrifice of every intelligent interest, a monument, intelligible only to the few, of its own past history. Historic spelling never was conceived or invented for any such purpose. It was rather an attempt to bring back and retain the true and proper pronunciation of the language. So far as it can be made to contribute to its original purpose, it is defensible and commendable; and, with respect to some of the vowels at least, it may yet have its uses. It may be as much to our purpose to further and assist this proper use of what is called historic spelling as to attempt to relieve our language of the monstrous burden of absurdity with which it has loaded our written speech.

Let us just here consider for a moment the obligation which we are all under—the philanthropist as well as the scholar, the patriot as well as the man of science, the Social Science Association as well as the Philological Association—to attempt to reform our English orthography. We must remember that learning to read and write, or more simply, learning to spell, lies at the very foundation of the educational process. No one can escape the task who would be intelligent at all. The man who cannot read is, and must be, essentially ignorant. It is of the highest importance then that this first step in all educational progress should be of such a character that the child may find encouragement in it rather than discouragement, and that his interest may be quickened rather than quenched. If he finds difficulty, confusion, and discouragement at the very first step; if his task is bewildering and tedious; if he does not find the reward of intelligent interest, the satisfaction of knowledge, the increased confidence and the mental stimulus which a clear understanding begets,—we need not be surprised if the perplexing task becomes a tedious drudgery, nor that the result should be disgust for study, distrust of the mental faculties, and a contented resignation on the part of the child to a belief in his own stupidity. Now all the elements of puzzle, bewilderment, and contradiction are found in our English orthography; and to place such a web of confusion, such a labyrinthine jumble of blunder instead of a well-ordered science, at the very outset of the educational effort to perplex and discourage every child to whom the English tongue is an inheritance, and thus to diminish his chances of respectable educational attainment, we should not hesitate to denounce as a crime against humanity and civilization if there were anybody to charge with the offence. But to the victims or subjects of the system, or lack of system, it makes little difference whether the cause of the trouble is a crime or misfortune; and if anything can be done to throw off the oppressive burden, to break down the formidable barrier, and open a clear pathway to the pleasant and profitable fields of education and science, our duty is as plain in the one case as in the other.

When we consider that three-fourths of the tedious and discouraging effort made by every child that learns to read English is in reality wasted; that the result is not even mental discipline, but rather demoralization and distrust of his mental faculties; that, after all the time expended, not one in four of the enlightened

population of our glorious country can spell what we call correctly,—from the absolute impossibility of reducing our present spelling to anything like a science, so that the average American citizen can ever hope to learn it,—we may perhaps, in some measure, estimate our obligation, as well as the benefit we might confer upon our country and mankind and upon generations yet unborn, if we could once place our orthographic system in a way to become a fair and proper representation of our speech.

The practical question, then, is, Can anything be done to relieve our noble English tongue of the burden of discouraging difficulty and disgrace under which it labors in its absurd and illiterate written forms; to make our spelling sensible and practical instead of contradictory and confusing; to make it a true science, and the basis of a true scientific educational development, rather than a means of mental demoralization and discouragement; to bring our language back into its natural friendly relations with widely diffused kindred tongues, and thus prepare the way for its universal acceptance by the enlightened nations of the earth?

It is my opinion, notwithstanding the seemingly slight success which has attended the efforts which have hitherto been made in this direction, that something can be done and ought to be done. Possibly, heretofore, we have not been bold enough. Perhaps the changes hitherto proposed are so slight and promise so little practical advantage that many who would be inclined to assist in the movement think the gain is not proportioned to the effort; that the game, as at present put up, is not worth the candle. A little heroic surgery is unquestionably required for an evil so radical and deep-seated. An axe laid at the root of the tree of confusion will save much lopping of branches.

I think we should begin by insisting that the characters now called *ay*, *ee*, and *eye* should be called by their true names,—the names which they have virtually borne in all languages, which they bore in English until a foolish and unnecessary concession was made to illiterate stupidity. *Ay*, *ee*, and *eye* are not the true names of these letters even in English, and do not represent their force probably so much as one-fourth of the times they occur on any page of our written speech. Let us call these letters, *ah*, *ay*, and *ee*, like other people, and according to their predominant force in English. We may explain that these sounds are generally shortened in use, as *bat*, *bet*, *bit*. We may explain also how the sounds of these letters are changed by combination with other

vowels, and by appending the final silent *e*, as *mate*, *mete*, *mite*. This is as scientific as any explanation can be as applied to the present force of these vowels in English, and relieves us of the necessity of representing falsely that *mate* and *mat*, *meet* and *met*, *pine* and *pin*, show respectively the long and the short of the same sounds.

Can the Social Science Association, through its educational department, with other advocates of the spelling-reform, prepare and publish a spelling-book in which the true names of these letters shall be given with the explanations above suggested, and secure its adoption by some of the intelligent teachers and school boards of the country? I certainly believe that this much can be done, since it does not in any way propose to disturb the language as it is now written and spoken, but would simply offer a better and more scientific explanation of the force of the vowels than that at present prevailing; while at the same time it would prepare the way for a reform in both spelling and pronunciation. For we must remember that the distress and disgrace of our present English orthography began with a rude, illiterate, inaccurate, and variable pronunciation; and, in my opinion, any reform worth considering must take into account these errors of pronunciation, and correct some of them, as an indispensable adjunct to the reformation of the spelling. Restoring the true names of the vowels is, in itself, the beginning of reform in both spelling and pronunciation. If each of these vowels has a fixed and assured sound corresponding to its name, we should not always be willing to be at the trouble of seeking roundabout, fantastic, and uncertain methods of representing the same sound, as we are obliged to do while the letters bear false names, and are variable in their sounds. If *r-a-n* spells *rain*, and we know it does, we should not always be at the trouble to write *r-a-i-n*, *r-e-i-n*, *r-e-i-g-n*, neither of which combinations really spells *rain*, and these awkward and unphonetic methods would sooner or later begin to fall into disuse.

It is important to insist that all spelling is properly, and was intended to be, phonetic. Phonetic representation is the very purpose for which the alphabet was invented. If spelling is not phonetic, it is not spelling at all. It is not true that *t-h-o-u-g-h-t* spells *thought*. Only one of the seven letters, if their force is indicated by their names, can have any proper place or business in the written representation of the word. All we can say is that this particular combination of letters, by making six of them relinquish

their own proper sound, has been agreed upon as a conventional representation of the word *thought*. To say that they spell it, is either to stultify ourselves or to deny that there is properly any such thing as spelling.

But having restored the proper names of the vowels, we should, as far as possible, adopt a pronunciation which would make the sounds correspond to these names. We may say "pat-riot," "parent," and "an-gel." Why may we not say "nashon" and "nat-ure" as well as "nashonal" and "natural?" We may also say "obey" and "obaydient," "immaydiate," "convaynient," and "daycent," as these same words have been pronounced in all languages but English for more than two thousand years, even if we have to concede to our Hibernian friends that, in the matter of distinguishing and imitating sounds, their ancestors were a little less stupid than ours. We may also say "obleege" and "obleek" and "meecroscope" and "broncheetis" and "quineen." We have the best of reasons for pronouncing "find," "bind," "wild," and "mild" like "wind" and "gild." When the French say "plas" and the Germans and Scandinavians say "plats," why should we say "place?" In view of its candidacy for the honors of universal speech, is it any advantage to throw our language out of the line of historic and classic and etymological continuity, and out of its natural and proper connection with kindred tongues, expecting other intelligent peoples to adopt what they must regard as our illiterate and barbarous mispronunciation? It is worth while to note that the etymological argument for which the advocates of historic spelling profess such reverence is, in the matter of pronunciation, all on our side. To any one who has learned the true pronunciation of Latin or Greek, or is familiar with any modern language, the restoration of the true force of the vowels in English will be easy and natural, while the change itself would greatly facilitate the acquiring of any modern language.

There is another advantage in commencing the reform with pronunciation which should not be overlooked. In the attempt to reform spelling alone, we are dependent upon publishers, who never see anything but the money interest in any proposed literary venture. In the matter of spelling reform alone, therefore, we are comparatively helpless. We may talk for years, and still be no nearer the desired result, because we can do nothing for ourselves, and because publishers are too cautious and conservative to do anything for us. But in the matter of pronunciation we are inde-

pendent of publishers, even the publishers of dictionaries, and can act for ourselves. The matter is, in fact, all in our own hands ; and we can begin as soon as we please, being sure only that we can defend the changes we introduce on etymological and philological grounds and by reference to authorities which are higher and more respectable than the illiterate English peasantry of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Let the philological associations therefore, which have hitherto made so little progress in the attempt to reform our spelling, try the experiment of some reform in pronunciation as a preliminary step, by insisting on the true names of the vowels, and by publishing a list of words in which the true and proper force of the vowels, where perverted, may be profitably restored. And without waiting for such a list, let educated men, in whom a new pronunciation will not be ascribed to illiteracy, at once begin the reform. The seeming confusion which would thus be produced would be, in reality, the first step toward a true and permanent order in our own language, and would also bring the promise of ending the confusion of Babel for the nations of the earth.

2. THE HIGHER EDUCATION IN GREECE.

BY PROF. DANIEL QUINN OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D.C.

[Read September 4.]

From the end of the fifteenth century down to the beginning of the present the highest education imparted in Greece was to be gotten at such institutions as the Grand National School in Constantinopol, at the Athonian Academy on the Holy Mountain, at Patmos, and in the Evangelical School at Smyrna.

At most of these places the teachers were priests or monks; and the matter taught was ancient Greek, Aristotelean Philosophy, and the Theology of the Greek Church. Though the greater number of these teachers were themselves barely able to write their own language correctly, yet there were to be found among them eminent scholars,—men who had studied in Europe, chiefly in Italy or in France, and who, filled with an inexpressible zeal for learning, created other scholars more eminent than themselves. When, however, after a despairful struggle of seven years, these resolute sons of old Achaia liberated themselves from Turkish slavery; when the Muses again began to descend from Helikon and Parnassos and Olympos, and take up their abode in the new-forming towns,—then, under the guidance of their first king, Otho the Bavarian, himself a devout lover of these same Greek Goddesses, was established a university,* as a fit sign of regenerated Hellas.

To one who looks only at the material condition of Greece, it will seem strange that they should so soon have established a university. But, when one understands the Greek spirit, then the mystery vanishes. The Greek always prefers the ideal to the material. Churches and schools have at all times been the very life of the Greeks as a people. Whenever great calamities fell upon them, they seemed to attempt to console themselves by turn-

* For facts concerning the University of Athens the writer made use of *Tà katà tήν έορτήν τής Πεντηκονταετηρίδος τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου έκδιδόμενα έπιμελεία Γεωργίου Καραμήτσα*: 'Αθήνησι, 1888, and *Έθνικόν Πανεπιστήμιον*: *Tà katà tήν Πρωτανείαν Γεωργίου Μιστριώτοῦ κατα τὸ 'Ακαδαμαϊκὸν έτος 1890-91*: 'Αθήνησι, 1892.

ing their thoughts to religion and learning. In prosperity they again turned to religion and learning. Well has it been said that the Greek's prayer might be : Δός μοι τὴν τῶν σῶν θρόνων πάρεδρον σοφίαν, καὶ μὴ με ἀποδοκιμάσῃς ἐκ λαοῦ σου,— "Give me, Lord, what is enthroned at thy right hand, wisdom ; and cast me not out from amongst thy children." Accordingly, soon after the fall of Constantinopol the Patriarch gathered together a body of scholars and founded the Grand National School (Τὴν μεγάλην τοῦ Γένους Σχολήν). At that time, or somewhat later, there were established also various schools in other parts of the empire ; and even beyond Greek lands, in Venice, in Bucharest, wherever Greek communities could support a school, they established one. So that no misfortune, no humiliation, no clime, ever turned the heart of the Greek away from literature and science.

Otho, the Musagete, found in Greece sufficient native scholars to form a university faculty, which, however, was leavened by the presence of a few well-known Germans, Hertzog, Treiber, Ross, Landerer, whom the Greeks remember with feelings of gratefulness. This University was dedicated on the 15th of May, 1837. In honor of King Otho, the Greeks called it the *Othoneion* ; and so it continued to be called until after Otho's departure from Greece, in 1862, when the name was changed to Ἐθνικὸν Πανεπιστήμιον, "National University." The Othoneion began its career with twenty-eight professors and fifty-two students. So prosperous has been the University that in the autumn of 1890 the number of students was three thousand two hundred and eighty ; of professors, in the Theological School four ordinary and six *professeurs agrégés* ; in the Law School, ten ordinary, one extraordinary, and thirteen *agregés* ; in the School of Medicine, sixteen ordinary, one extraordinary, and twenty-eight *agregés* ; in the Philosophical School, twenty-one ordinary, one extraordinary, and sixteen *agregés*. So that in all there are in the University fifty-one ordinary professors, three extraordinary, and sixty-three *agregés*, making a teaching faculty of one hundred and seventeen men.

To properly understand the position that the University holds in the educational system of Greece, it is necessary to give a brief account of the course of studies a pupil must have completed before being allowed to matriculate at the University, confining what is said to schools for boys and young men, because till but lately the doors of the University were not open to ladies.

When promotions follow regularly, eleven years of study elapse

from the time at which the child begins the alphabet to the time when he may enter the University : of these, four are spent in the *Demosion* (People's School), where the child learns reading and writing, geography, ancient and modern Greek history (from textbooks where different epoch-making facts are narrated in story-like manner). Greek children are very intelligent and plastic, and it is interesting to see how soon they discover that their ordinary conversational language is in need of a remaking. They are of course to be pitied, seeing that their first few years of study must be devoted not so much to positive progress as to unlearning what they already know amiss. After finishing in the *Demosion*, they go for three years to the *Hellenikon*, a school so called because there the study of the ancient common dialect, the *Helleniké par excellence*, begins. In the reading and language classes, usual textbooks are the fables of Aisopos, the *Anabasis* of Xenophon, the dialogues of the dead of Lukianos, and during the last of the three years the orations of Lysias and of Isokrates. The grammar is reviewed and more thoroughly mastered, and syntax is begun. They translate from ancient into pure modern Greek, and from modern into ancient Greek. Ancient and modern history of Greece is continued ; and general history is added, as well as Bible history, geometry, elements of physics, and zoölogy. The two additional languages of Latin and French are taken up, and both are compulsory.

From the *Demosion* the young boy passes to the *Gymnasion*, where he studies for four years. Here he is supposed to finish his humanities,—*i.e.*, the general studies that every educated man is supposed to know ; and on completing this course he is prepared to begin some special line of study, such as Theology, Law, or Medicine. The authors read are : other orations of Lysias and Isokrates, then Demosthenes, Thukidides (the historical parts during the second year, and in the third year the orations), *Odysseia*, *Iliad*, Plato, and the shorter dialogues of the dramatic writers, especially Euripides and Sophokles. In Latin they read such as Nepos, Cæsar, Cicero, Ovid, and Vergil. French continues compulsory. Algebra, geometry, physics, and history are studied.

In the examinations for promotion from one class to another leniency may be shown in almost every branch except that of their native language. Nearly all who successfully complete their course thus far go on to the University, since most of those that had no

intention of studying a specialty left off when they finished the Hellenikon.

We are now again at the University. Under the influence of Otho the Bavarian, and the German professors that he placed in the newly founded University, the German school system was taken as a model. Accordingly, the school just below the University has even its German name "Gymnasion," and the branches taught therein are according to the German model. In the University itself the German system is carefully carried out. It may be well to state that by calling all these things German there is no intention of meaning that they in all cases originated with the Germans, but merely that it was from the Germans, and not from the French or the Italians, that the Greeks adopted these things. As in Germany, so in Athens, all studies are divided into four classes; and there are accordingly four principal schools,—of Theology, of Jurisprudence, of Medicine, and of Philosophy. The Philosophical School includes every study that does not belong to any one of the other three schools.

University professors and University students, as well as all other *littérateurs* of Greece, are divided into two classes, as regards the language question. One class, that of the Purists, maintains that the only norm of excellence in diction is the usage of the Attic writers of the best period, say from Sophokles to Demosthenes. The other school, although puristic in its tendencies, is not so extreme, but accepts post-classical usage. There is also a third class of men, not represented at the University, however, who hold that all puristic tendencies are baneful to the language, and that the commonest *patois* of the rudest peasant would be a better model than that of the super-antiquated classic writers. The writers of this third class seem to be writers chiefly of popular poetry, remakers of folk-lore stories, etc.; and, since they find that a shepherd's dialect suits *their* purpose better than the high-sounding school-language, they conclude that this same shepherd's dialect, with its short, asthmatic, asyndetic sentences, is more suitable for *every* purpose. Their logic is the same as would be that of a person who because of knowing that some certain dialect of German is better than Hoch-Deutsch for certain songs and stories would then conclude that it is better than the high German, even for the use of a Goethe or a Mommsen. Rather, then, than think that the professors at the University are, on the language question, divided into schools of opposite tendencies, it is more exact to

know that both schools have the same object in view, that of purifying the spoken dialects by restoring them to a common form, and enriching them by drawing upon all that has been stored up in the language during the last twenty-five hundred years, only that one class of these men is more extreme, more puristical, than the other.

This consciousness of a need of reformation, so to speak, of their language, affected and even yet affects not only the philologists, but even the professors in the other sciences. Each professor feels that his language is an essential part of his nationality; that it would be most ungrateful neglect for him to fail to be interested in its future fate. Accordingly, he contributes what he can to the healing of whatever wounds have in the course of time been inflicted on that language. These different scholars have enriched the language, *e.g.*, with thousands of scientific terms,— terms which of course did not exist in the vulgar dialects, and which also did not exist in the classical language. Many of these purifiers and enrichers have done this work with admirable success on account of being not only well-trained specialists in some science, but also well-trained philologists. Such a one was Adamantios Korais, who, being an eminent physician and equally eminent in his knowledge of his language, knew how to discover what new terms were needed, and how to create the needed new terms. Thus, then, Greek physicians, jurists, scientists, all have contributed their utmost to make their pliant and plastic language one of the richest and most exact known. The Philosophers, the Philologists, and Theologians have not stood in need of so many new words as other scholars, on account of the already existing peculiar richness of the old Greek in these respects.

The love which the Greeks bear towards the higher education is shown by the fact that the University funds have been made up by contributions from all classes of citizens. Such men as Platygènes, Benardakis, Vatopedinos, Papadakis, contributed their tens of thousands, while Demetrios Oka bequeathed five dollars to the University, and the Hydriote servant Kiara Gotou gives forty dollars, and the noble-souled old Kretan klepht Barnabas journeyed in the year 1848 in a sailing vessel from his Kretan hills to Athens in order to express his joy that sons of Greeks need not any longer exile themselves into foreign schools to obtain university advantages, but could receive them in their own proud capital city, in their own mother language, and under the shadow of the domes of

their own Church. The old klepht had nothing else to give save what a klepht never gives, nor even allows a stranger to touch, his pistols and scimeter. These he unbuckled and surrendered to the astonished Soutsos, the then rector of the University, and strode out to return to his mountain holds to rearm himself by slaying another Turk.

This universal love for learning has also caused that the students come from almost every walk of life. The son of the Bæotian shepherd may jostle for a front seat with the son of the princely Byzantine Phanariote. Although this be good, and may it ever remain so, yet it probably has the effect of lowering the general standard of excellence. The shepherd boy is, on account of circumstances, in intellectual acquirements several years the inferior of the carefully trained Phanariote; but at the University the Phanariote, conscious of his vantage-ground, often feels no further need of vigorous effort, while the ex-shepherd, who might therefore overtake and outstrip his rival, instead of doing so, follows that rival's example, and becomes like him an only half-earnest student. The writer feels, however, that he has exaggerated this evil, and hopes that it be so considered.

The young men select such school and courses as will be necessary or best of use to them in their future life. But, if a student is entirely undetermined as to his future career, then he almost surely enrolls himself as a student of Philology. In that school he continues such studies as he already became acquainted with in the Gymnasion, especially his ancestral language and history. 'Tis amusing to the barbarian as well as delightful and contagious to see in this school crowded audiences breathless with excitement when their oratorical professors (and every Greek professor is oratorical) rehearse to them in burning language the great deeds of their forefathers. At first one smiles when hearing them state how "we" twelve hundred years ago under Herakleios brought back from Persia to Calvary the cross of Christ; how "we" in 325 B.C. under Alexander brought civilization with our conquests into the whole Eastern world, how "we" in 490 and 480 B.C. drove back from Europe to the Euphrates the invading Asiatic, how 1000 B.C. "we" under Agamemnon, after ten years' siege, burned Ilion;—at first we smile, but afterwards carried off by their enthusiasm we join with them and seek some of that glory for ourselves; for while *they* glory in those old Greeks because they are their natural offspring, we like the Jew that Aristotle met in Asia,

who, though Jew, was "Ἕλληνα οὐ μόνον τῇ φωνῇ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ, glory in these grand old heroes, because we are, if not their natural offspring, surely by half their intellectual and spiritual progeny.

During the fifty years of the existence of the University, professors and scholars (notwithstanding what has been said unfavorable to them above) have labored diligently and successfully. The professors have most of them had the advantage of a double university education, at Athens, and in Germany or France. They have written books and treatises in their several fields of inquiry that, despite their being written in a language more or less unfamiliar to scholars elsewhere, yet have won for their authors respect, and in some cases an envious fame, in other quarters of the world. And if I were to speak especially of the school about which from personal experience I could best judge, the Philosophical School, without taking anything from the worth of the other professors of the same specialty, and asking that for a moment the making of a comparison be overlooked, I would say that amongst all the eminent professors in Europe or America that devote themselves to a study of the Greek language under point of view of comparative philology none would surpass Dr. Hatzidakis, who fills that chair at the University of Athens. Still these professors have felt that European scholars are far in advance of them, and accordingly reverentially look to their colleagues in the west and especially to Germany for light and guidance. This has led them often, instead of making individual research for themselves, to become rather, mere interpreters and translators of the works of western writers, and the more so, because they easily master other languages.

Among the foremost workers, whose fame in Europe might be mentioned, are: Damalas in Dogmatic Theology; Kontos, Pantazides, Semitelos, Hatzidakis, Phintikles, Bases, Mistriotes, and Lambros, in Philology; and Rangabe, who died three years ago, in Archæology and Philology. Mention is made only of those in theology and philology. In the other schools are men also of well-deserved and international fame, but I refrain from citing them by name.

The University is and is called not the University of Greece, but the "National University of the Greeks." The students come from not only Greece, but from all lands where Greeks dwell,—from Egypt, Palestine, Asia Minor, Turkey in Europe, and Russia. The students are nearly all Greeks by blood, with an odd Roumanian, Bulgarian, or Italian.

Within the past few years the University has also admitted young ladies to certain classes. Two attended lectures in Philology last year. As young ladies always are, they were models of behavior and intellectuality to the other young Hellenes. Their influence, which, however, was exerted only by their presence, was as might be expected, good. Greek ladies are well known for their literary tastes; and now that the highest school is open to them, we may expect to see excellent results. There is reason to believe that one circumstance which influenced the authorities of the University to open its advantages to ladies was the example of industry and intelligence given in Athens by young ladies, English and American, especially the latter, who went to Athens as members of the American School of Classical Studies.

So down from the mountain tops have come the classic Muses into violet-garlanded Athens, into the cool and spacious halls whither congregate as their devotees choicest youth, speaking the same sacred language that Kalliope gave three thousand years aforetime into the mouth of Demodokos in the halls of Odysseus, or that when haunting the groves of the Akademeia some five hundred years later they might have heard bubbling from the lips of the divine Plato. At this new Kastalian fountain the youths of Greece drink their inspirations, and then disperse throughout all Greek lands, diffusing everywhere knowledge, morality, love of freedom, and manliness.

3. THE PLACE OF SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY.

BY PROF. GEORGE G. WILSON, OF BROWN UNIVERSITY.

There have been, in recent years, marked changes in the method of study in both the philosophical and scientific fields. The results of scientific research have enlarged the bounds of human understanding, and made philosophy something quite different from the ancient and mediæval conceptions. In the study of philosophy the natural, concrete, and human have, in a measure, taken the place once occupied by the supernatural, abstract, and superhuman. The study of social phenomena has received much attention. Social Ethics, Social Economics, and Sociology, have already a somewhat well-defined territory. Political and Economic Philosophy are fairly established. It has been claimed that there is a Social Logic and Social Metaphysics. Books upon Social Philosophy have from time to time appeared. The place of Social Philosophy in a scheme of education is more and more recognized.

There is a wide belief in a science of society, even though there may be difference of opinion as to its completeness. In his "Philosophy of History" Professor Flint has said, "No special science is excluded from having the closest connection with and interest in philosophy, so that such special subject may be naturally said to have its philosophy; the philosophy of a subject, as distinguished from its science, being the view or theory of the relations of the subject to other subjects, and to the known world in general, as distinguished from the view or theory of it as isolated or in itself."* If this view of the relation of the science and the philosophy of society be taken, then, as the science attempts to deal with social facts by reference to causes, the philosophy, dealing with the same material, would be, broadly speaking, "the view or theory of the relations of the subject to other subjects, and to the known world in general."

It is fortunate that much work has been done so well for Social Philosophy by such studies as Ethics, Economic Philosophy, Political Philosophy, Philosophy of Education, Philosophy of

* "France," p. 20, edition 1894.

History, and other studies. It was necessary that some of this work should be done before Social Philosophy could be possible. Thus far it has usually been necessary to introduce, in the presentation of Sociology, some subjects properly belonging to Social Philosophy. Sociology furnishes Social Philosophy generous data; for Social Philosophy can no more deal with pure abstractions than other philosophy can. Here, as elsewhere, "the science must be philosophic, and the philosophy scientific," that the best results may be forthcoming. The pure science view of society may be narrowing and dangerous, and may lead to conceptions wholly misleading. France has borne witness of this last. A single point of departure, a *cogito, ergo sum*, is not sufficient for Social Philosophy. It must view the whole social organization of relationships. The point of view changes often, as in a moving equilibrium, with continual readjustment of parts. Consideration must be given to the ever-changing achievements in other fields of knowledge. It is not to be hoped that Social Philosophy will become fixed, even so far as other philosophies. No ultimate Social Philosophy can be presumed. The old must lose its life for the new, as heretofore. Nor does Social Philosophy propose to be a philosophy of philosophies, as sometimes thought. It draws, nevertheless, from all possible sources, to gain new insight as to the significance of social phenomena, and to apprehend these in their relationships with view to an end or ideal. A philosophy of society would not be possible until society, in some measure, became conscious of itself, and set before itself an aim.

Social Philosophy is in accord with the modern tendency to discover relationships. Coherence is the watchword of many theories. For Social Philosophy this coherence must be in all the past, all the present, and the future. The various cosmologies and elaborate systems of synthesis of recent days are natural out-comes of the modern spirit. Social Philosophy will follow in part a common way with some of these systems, yet will not lose its identity.

Fundamental philosophical questions are often propounded by the special social sciences. The conclusions in these sciences will be strongly influenced by the philosophical attitude of the investigator. A failure to apprehend sociological data in their broad relationships may greatly impair the value of the conclusions. The social problem is to bring the social units into proper relations to one another, and to society as a whole. How to do this must be

left, in a measure, to the social sciences. The laws in accord with which it may be done Sociology enunciates. What this proper relationship is Social Philosophy must help to show. If, as Professor Eucken has said, the general good is higher than the individual good; if the individual will is conditioned by the general will; if the social end must be attained through enlightened and intelligent actors, — then there is need of a Social Philosophy to determine the general good, the general will, the social end, in order that action may be enlightened and intelligent.* The over emphasis of one form of social activity, which at times makes it impossible for society to advance as it should, might often be avoided if a proper understanding of social relations were had. The understanding of these relationships would have shown the unsoundness of certain economic doctrines which have only been set aside after a century of trial. Economists, as Cossa says, have been long learning that "in the progress of civilization wealth is simply a means to the attainment of the higher end of moral improvement." The many theories of social reorganization, sometimes dangerous, sometimes absurd, even though utterly disregarded by science, cannot be so treated by Social Philosophy; for these theories often show the spirit of the times, and now, as in all times, the limitation of man's thinking is, to some extent, in the age itself. Social Philosophy should often serve as a balance wheel amid conflicting social theories.

The concrete questions of crime, punishment, charity, race-influence, marriage and divorce, and many others, may receive much light from Social Philosophy. The mighty influence of material science and reverence for the material have led to a neglect of the philosophical way of viewing what are named minor phenomena. There is in progress a study of society which, if not coupled with Social Philosophy, may later need the recasting Economics is now receiving. The aim, the end, the ideal, the reason for the existence of society itself, the idea that welfare or somewhat else is the goal of social effort, are fitting subjects for consideration; and the conclusions upon these subjects will be of great significance. All these inquiries may be in part independent of the same inquiries in regard to the individual as such, the political organization, or any other organization or unity which may exist within the social structure. Some say that it is not determined beyond a doubt that

* See also Professor Peabody, "Philosophy of Social Questions," *Andover Review*, vol. viii, p. 563.

a political organization is necessary. Such questions Social Philosophy may help to decide by considering the larger unity in its relations. The social sciences will afford much assistance in such considerations. Indeed, so far-reaching are the inquiries of Social Philosophy that, while fundamental, they must come after a fairly developed scheme of education. To most clearly understand the whole, the parts must be somewhat fully understood; and the significance of the parts must be seen through a knowledge of the aim of the whole.

Fragmentary social phenomena can be apprehended when brought into relation to the larger social unit which Social Philosophy cognizes.

With all its limitations, both from the character of the data and from the nature of the study, Social Philosophy is still of great service. Especially is it of great importance to Sociology in furnishing a scheme of a system in viewing society as a whole, and considering the ideal and end of social action. Frequently the conclusions of Sociology may be rendered more intelligible through reference to this philosophy; for the scientific explanation of social phenomena depends upon the method of man's thinking, and this in part depends upon his understanding of the principles and ideals of society which his Social Philosophy furnishes. There can be no hostility between Sociology and Social Philosophy, but the most vital harmony and widest mutual helpfulness.

Social Philosophy may come into close relationship to many departments of knowledge. Its relationship to the Philosophy of History, of whatever school, is close. These often go hand in hand along the same way, but Social Philosophy must sometimes see what the Philosophy of History passes without notice. The Philosophy of History asks: (1) how comes the historical development to take place; (2) what results and what significance has this historical development.* Thus the Philosophy of History, while purporting to handle only the data which history supplies, is of great assistance to Social Philosophy. Certainly, the Philosophy of History furnishes a most excellent preliminary training for the study of Social Philosophy, which must consider the past, present, and the future of society in their interrelations. If a forward look is to be taken, a masterly grasp of the past is necessary, and for a comprehensive understanding of the present a wide knowledge of the relations and significance of old civilizations

* Bernheim, *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode*, p. 485.

must be had; and this the Philosophy of History greatly facilitates. The Philosophy of History has shown that the "Golden Age" is not "shrouded in the clouds of the past"; has given a clearer insight into the past, oft-times doing work that Social Philosophy must otherwise do, though doing much which Social Philosophy need not do, and leaving undone much that Social Philosophy must do.

Social Philosophy in the scheme of education is occupied with another view of the same subjects which may engage the attention of other departments; also with certain material which other departments leave uninvestigated. It would view these subjects as related to associated man, past, present, and future. The social ideal of the present will be of vast importance to the future, as is the individual ideal of the past to the present. The present has been characterized as showing "much knowledge, yet little productivity, many interests, yet little force, much elasticity, yet little continuous following of independent lines of thought,—in short, much talent, yet little character." If the present shows such conditions, Social Philosophy may best interpret their significance.

Social Philosophy would try to explain the significance of the conclusions of Sociology with reference to an ideal, and to relate these conclusions to those of other sciences. Through Social Philosophy man may be brought to an apprehension of the wider meaning of collective relationships and possibilities. This will not be wholly without practical value; for, as that able scholar, the late Dr. Jowett, has said, "There is no absurdity in expecting that the mass of mankind, having the power in their own hands, and becoming enlightened about the higher possibilities of human life, when they come to see how much more is attainable for all than is at present the possession of a favored few, may pursue the common interest with an intelligence and persistency which the world has not yet seen." Though Social Philosophy does not aim to solve social problems,—for to bring the social units into proper relations to each other and to society is doubtless a hopeless task, and, were it done to-day, must be done again to-morrow,—yet this does not make its task a needless one, nor the labor of considering the wide relations, and thinking the significance of social phenomena, empty; for only thus can social life be understood, and only by right understanding can right use be made.

4. THE RELATION OF SOCIOLOGY TO OTHER SCIENTIFIC STUDIES.

BY PROFESSOR FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS, OF COLUMBIA COLLEGE,
NEW YORK.

In making up its program for this morning, the Department of Education has shown itself awake to the importance of a new departure in the teaching of social science, which is attracting general attention, and which promises interesting developments in scientific theory and in educational practice.

For many years "social science" has appeared in the list of subjects taught by lecture, or now and then by instruction in systematic observation, in a few American universities. The courses offered under this title have resembled each other in nothing but name. Some of them have been statistical studies of population; others have dealt with the so-called labor question; others, with defectives and delinquents, charity, punishment, and reformation; and others still, with public health and sanitation. Indeed, they have collectively well-represented the broad inclusiveness of the term "social science" as it is used in the title of this Association. All that could be said with certainty of such university courses was that they were concerned with groups of social facts not otherwise covered by the courses in history, political economy, politics, and ethics.

Meanwhile, in European universities have appeared courses on "sociology." These have differed from the American courses as much in fact as in name. Essentially, they have been as much alike in subject-matter as the American courses in "social science" have been unlike. They have adhered strictly to the original and only defensible meaning of the word "sociology." Recently, with the growing popular interest in social questions of every sort, the words "sociology" and "sociological" have been used in American newspapers and on the platform for every conceivable idea of social conditions, and even to designate the conditions themselves. To Comte, who coined "sociology," the

name meant always a philosophical explanation of society as a whole. To Spencer, who made it pass as coin current, it has always meant an explanation of society in terms of evolutionary theory. To the European sociologists, such men as Schäffle of Stuttgart, De Greffe of Brussels, Gumpłowicz of Grätz, Westermarck of Helsingfors, Letourneau of Paris, and Simmel of Berlin, all of whom have written sociological treatises, as well as given sociological courses in their universities, the word stands invariably for the original conceptions of Comte and Spencer,—conceptions, namely, of society as a concrete whole, and of its scientific explanation in terms of natural causes. "Sociology," then, in the view of all these scholars, is the descriptive, historical, and explanatory science of society. It is not a study of some one special group of social facts: it examines the relations of all groups to each other and to the whole. It is not philanthropy: it is the scientific groundwork on which a true philanthropy must build.

For some time past it has been apparent to the discerning that this unified, coherent, philosophical "sociology" was destined to displace or to incorporate and co-ordinate the fragments of "social science" taught in American universities. The change has already begun. In fact, it is far advanced. The first true course in sociology in an American university was given by Professor Sumner at Yale, who introduced Spencer's "Study of Sociology" as a text-book in his classes, soon after its publication in 1873. For many years he stood alone. But since 1890, when President Small began a course of lectures on sociology to seniors at Colby University, and the present writer one to graduate students at Bryn Mawr, the word "sociology" has quietly taken its place with "biology" and "psychology" in college and university catalogues in every section of our country. This present year Columbia has created the first American university professorship of sociology to be officially designated by that name; and at Hartford, Conn., a School of Sociology in connection with the Theological Seminary is to be established this autumn, with an able corps of lecturers.

Such recognition of sociology as a true and coherent science, backed up by liberal provision for its teaching, must powerfully stimulate the scientific study of society; and we have a right to expect from it large results, of theoretical and practical value. But it brings with it new difficulties to be overcome. One of these, which I think is the initial difficulty, and upon the right or wrong

apprehension of which serious consequences will turn, is the subject of my paper this morning.

The classification of the sciences, which seemed to Comte to be of theoretical importance, and upon which Mr. Spencer, for theoretical reasons chiefly, has written at length, has all at once become a matter of immediate practical concern. The university cannot afford duplication of work. If a subject is already taught under one name, nothing is to be gained by creating a new department for no other purpose than to teach the same subject under a different name. Political Economy, various branches of law, and the theory of the State have long been subjects of university instruction. If sociology is the general science or explanation of society, does it not cover under one name the ground that more special social sciences collectively cover under various names? For practical purposes is not sociology too comprehensive? No one would propose to turn over to the chair of sociology the work of an entire faculty of political science. But, if we are to go on teaching political economy, law, and other branches as distinct subjects, what field remains for sociology?

These questions, as I have said, present a real difficulty. But it is a difficulty for which the sociologist has reason to be thankful. For in meeting it, and in framing answers to the questions just now raised, we are arriving at more perfect notions of our science. What was nebulous and vague is becoming clear and precise.

Reflection will show us that only two answers can be given to the question about the field, or the province, of sociology. For educational purposes, sociology is either a co-ordinating science, as Professor Small has been teaching his students at Chicago, or it is a fundamental science, as I have been teaching my students at Columbia. In other words, sociology either concerns itself with the study of the relations that various groups of social phenomena hold to each other and to society as a whole, leaving to particular social sciences the study of each group in minute detail, or it is a study of those elements and first principles of social life and organization out of which the great special groups of phenomena, such as the economic, the legal, and the political, are developed.

These two notions of sociology are different in form; and one's methods in teaching will be affected somewhat, doubtless, by the choice one makes between them. But, in substance, they do not differ materially. Co-ordinating principles are fundamental or first principles, always. The most general facts examined by any

science are elementary facts. If we want to know what relations economic, legal, and political phenomena bear to each other and to the social whole, we must ask what fundamental conditions of life in society they grow out of.

If, now, guided by this thought, we inquire what very fundamental phenomena of human society are under our observation, we shall see many things in a new light. We shall expect, perhaps, that a sociology which restricts itself to elements and first principles will prove to be highly abstruse, and much too general to afford helpful guidance in practical affairs. This expectation will be curiously disappointed. As a matter of fact, it so happens that the elementary phenomena of society are precisely those that give rise to the pressing questions of practical policy and philanthropy. Nearly all the practical problems that confront society grow out of the alternate aggregation and dispersion of population; the migration and intermingling of races and nationalities; the unequal development of economic and of social instincts in different individuals; the consequent appearance in the community of different standards of living; the consequent segregation also of the population into the enterprising, the industrious, the criminal, the pauper, the unfortunate, and the degenerate; and, finally, out of that ceaseless interchange of thought and feeling whereby the members of a community come to feel the same desires and antagonisms, to cherish the same ideas, and to act in concert for common ends. That these things are the fruitful causes of unrest, of agitation, of interest in social questions, of philanthropy itself, has long been understood. What we have not perceived is that these things are in truth the very elements of social phenomena of every description. We have not realized that it is because of these things that there are in society different notions and estimations of utility, differing costs and varying supplies of commodity, fluctuating market values, and a division of labor; that there are also varying degrees of toleration and various regulations of individual liberties and forbearances; and that there are, finally, political combinations possessing the attribute of sovereignty. We have therefore felt no surprise that colleges and universities have not prepared their students for studies in political economy, law, and politics by systematic studies of the facts of population, including migration, assimilation, industriousness, pauperism, and criminality, and by careful analysis of the social mind, one phase of which is public opinion. We have not thought it peculiar that these

studies, when admitted into the curriculum at all, have been assigned to a minor rank, as if they were of quite secondary importance.

Here, then, is the opportunity for sociology. It must enter upon that thorough-going, systematic study of these phenomena which will demonstrate to everybody that they are the fundamental, the elementary things,—that they are, in fact, the germ-plasm of society,—and that the study of them, so far from being a mere supplement to older sciences, and without logical relation to other inquiries, is the true co-ordination of all social sciences, because it is the groundwork on which all must build.

Sociology so conceived will be descriptive, historical, and explanatory. As descriptive, it will analyze and classify the facts of population, of the characteristics and activities of the social mind, of the social composition, and of the social constitution. The social composition is the organization of the population into such groups as the family, the clan, the tribe, the town, the commonwealth, and the nation. The social constitution is the organization according to social function and a division of labor. It consists of the partnerships, associations, and corporations that men form for innumerable special purposes. The social composition and the social constitution are creations of the social mind.

As historical, sociology will examine the stages through which society has passed in its evolution. There have been four great stages, corresponding roughly to the four descriptive aspects named above. Society begins among animals, and most of the phenomena characteristic of population were engendered in a zoögenic stage of association. The evolution of the social mind marked the transition from animal to man: it was the anthropogenic stage. The social mind created the family (as something more and higher than a mere animal union), the tribe, and the nation,—the *ethnos*, in short; and this was the ethnogenic stage. Finally, through the evolution of the social constitution, with its functional division of labor, population has been enabled to multiply enormously, and the social mind has become democratic. We have arrived at the demogenic stage of social evolution.

As explanatory, sociology will not be satisfied to accept as a sufficient interpretation of the social process an account in terms of physical causation only, or an account in terms of volition only. Physical causation and human volition act and react upon each other. The aggregation of population and its rough differentiation

are accomplished by physical causes. Association multiplies the life chances and increases the happiness of individuals, who endeavor, therefore, to perfect the social organization. They choose courses of conduct, and invent social arrangements. Some choices are wise, and some are unwise. Some arrangements are beneficial, and others are harmful. Natural selection sifts them as it sifts individuals. Some arrangements, some customs, laws, and institutions survive, others disappear. Sociology therefore must try to understand the interaction of physical and of volitional causation in social evolution. It must try to formulate the law of the physical process, the law of the volitional process, and the law of social survival.

This conception of sociology as the fundamental social science has been criticised, notably by Professor Patten, who argues that all subjective sociological explanations must be made in terms of the abstract theories of utility and of social forces, and that these, properly developed, constitute sciences logically antecedent to sociology. In meeting this criticism, I can best indicate my view of the relation of sociology to various sciences, not hitherto named, and so round out my discussion of the relation of sociology to other scientific studies.

The criticism arises, I think, out of the mistaken attempt to arrange all the sciences in a serial order. I think that we should accept the notion of Dilthey,—that the sciences fall into two distinct orders, the general, abstract, or hypothetical, and the historical, or concrete. Instead, then, of putting all the abstract sciences at the beginning of a series and all the concrete sciences at the end, after the manner of Comte and Spencer, we should better indicate their true relations by arranging the abstract sciences in order along a horizontal line and the concrete sciences in order along a vertical line. The lines of subdivision of the abstract sciences projected will then cross the projected lines subdividing the concrete sciences. Putting the critique of knowledge, logic, and mathematics in the angle, we should then arrange the abstract sciences along the horizontal line thus: (1) physic (the pure theory of physical forces), (2) abstract economics (the pure theory of utility), (3) abstract ethics (the pure theory of social forces). The concrete sciences would stand in order down the vertical line thus: chemistry, astronomy, geology, biology, psychology, sociology. Where the lines of the abstract cross the lines of the concrete, the concrete pass from mere description into ex-

planation. Chemistry, astronomy, and geology become explanatory only as crossed by the abstract theories of physics. Biology, psychology, and sociology become explanatory as well as descriptive and historical, when crossed by the abstract theories of physics, abstract economics, and abstract ethics.

5. PRACTICAL INSTRUCTION IN CIVICS.

BY PROFESSOR JESSE MACY, OF IOWA COLLEGE.

The instruction of the citizen in civics is attained chiefly through the practice of civic duties. It is not well to try to separate too far scientific from practical knowledge. We have known something about electricity for several generations. We have practised electricity only a part of one generation. Yet much of the progress of the science belongs to this brief period, and an eminent electrician has predicted that there will be new revelations of the power of that marvellous force when time has intervened for boys to become men who have thought and handled electricity from childhood. The attempt to separate the science of economics from applied economics is a hindrance both to accurate knowledge and to rational industrial conduct. That instruction in politics will in the end be seen to be most scientific which is most practical.

It would seem that men have been engaged in the business of governing long enough for both the science and the practice of government to have attained perfection. But, for the most part, the people have felt themselves to be the victims of government. The conscious and free exercise of governmental functions is yet an unattained dream. Both Robespierre and those whom he guillotined were victims. Both the despot and his people are subject to forces which neither can control. The Constitution of the United States was wrung from the despair of the most courageous of men. We pity our colored brethren of the South because, in the eyes of the law, they enjoy equal rights with their white neighbors, while their right to vote is made a mockery. The occasional black man of the South who does vote, and who does exert a conscious political influence, may look with pity upon the wealthy and educated classes in our Northern cities, who are apparently hopeless victims in the hands of an alien race. Neither in municipal, State, or national affairs do the people consciously rule. A member of the Irish race informs me that the reason the Irish govern our cities as they now do is because they are a humorous people.

They see a vast, intelligent, and money-making class offering themselves as victims; and they go in, and occupy the field from a feeling of irrepressible humor. The white man of the South represses the negro vote because he feels that he must. Both the ruler and the ruled are victims.

In the industrial world, also, men are victims of circumstances. The business corporation or the joint-stock company is, in law, an organization whereby all the stockholders may have an equal or a proportionate share in the management of an industrial enterprise. Yet, in practice, the business corporation follows the analogy of the municipal corporation. The conduct of the business drifts into the hands of the few. The ordinary stockholder has practically no voice in the business. Neither industrially nor politically are the people free.

It is not reasonable to expect that a government in which the few do the governing will succeed in creating business corporations in which the many shall enjoy their just rights. The newly awakened interest in civic education is closely connected with new industrial necessities. The modern city is a product of modern industries. Civic and industrial freedom are not likely to be separately attained.

It is of the highest consequence to right civic education that all activities which are in themselves parts of the civic, or governmental, life of the people should be so named and so regarded. An industrial monopoly is, in its very nature, a part of the government. Any man, or any company of men, who succeed in monopolizing a necessity or a convenience of the people, by that fact attains the power of exacting tribute from the people. This principle has always been recognized by the most enlightened statesmen; yet governments have failed to act consistently with this principle. A company organized to supply a city with water is an industrial monopoly. Such a company is just as really a part of the city government as is the corporation which furnishes the police. If the so-called city government takes no account of the city water company, and allows the people and the company to deal with each other as they please, then the people become at the same time subject to two independent, corporate governments. Such a water company may deal with the people in a just and fatherly way. There have been in history many despots who thus dealt with their people. But a water company which gets control of the only supply of pure water for a city, and is then

permitted to make such contracts as it pleases with the people, is not a democratic government. It is a despotic government. It may be just; it may be a good government. It cannot be a free or a democratic government. The only way such a government can be made democratic in its character is for all the people who compose the one municipal corporation to furnish themselves with water through their own chosen officers. What is true of the water supply is likewise true of the light supply and the street-car service. To subject the people to an independent government for each of these services tends to confusion in civic education. This confusion has apparently reached its climax in the minds of certain writers, who apply the term "paternalism" to that form of city government in which the people take direct charge of all their city monopolies, and administer them in a thoroughly democratic way. The term "paternalism" applied to any act of a real democratic government is the sheerest nonsense. A despotism assumes that the people are not capable of governing themselves. A truly generous and just water company is a real paternal government. It assumes that the people are not able to manage their own affairs, and it proceeds to manage for them. The only way that a people can rid themselves of such a paternal government is by supplying themselves with water by means of their own officers.

The city of Chicago learned lessons in civics with wonderful avidity last year when the city government began to distribute typhoid fever to the people through the water supply. If Chicago had been supplied through a company, there would have been confusion in the educational effect. The company would have employed "experts," to throw doubt upon the origin of the disease. The people would not have thought of the company as a part of their government. There would at least have been a divided responsibility, and the people would have been more than ever impressed with a sense of helplessness. The same people of Chicago have had forty years of experience with a gas company, and they have been robbed of as many millions of dollars; while, so far as appears, not one needful lesson in civics has been learned. Civic education will proceed simply and naturally when everything which is of the nature of government is formally made a part of the government. If the water is poison, the people ought to know that it is their own officers who are poisoning them. If the lighting is bad, they should know that the fault is that of the city.

If the street-cars are dangerous, they should seek to reform their city government. To say that the people are not capable of managing such matters themselves is to plead that the people are not capable of attending to their simplest civic duties.

What is said of the city monopolies in their relation to the municipal corporation is equally true of telegraphs and railways in their relation to the general government. These are in their nature business monopolies. They are a part of the government to which the people, without any choice of their own, are obliged to submit. A railway company may deal fairly and justly with the people, just as an oligarchy may rule with justice and moderation; but such a government is not democratic. It has all the limitations of any other oligarchy or despotism. If it is no part of the business of a government to own and operate railroads, pray, what is a government for? We have heard that a government is to administer justice. Some men talk about administering justice, as though that was the one simple and easy thing that people can do in their corporate capacity as a government. It may possibly be true that, if the people could succeed in setting up governments which were capable of administering exact and adequate justice, little else would be required. Such a thing has never been done. The administration of justice is the most difficult thing that man has ever undertaken. It is generally conceded that in the management of corporate property, especially in the management of railway property, there has been a lamentable failure in the administration of justice. The courts of law have been conspicuous agents in the defrauding of stockholders and bondholders. Having, then, failed in what is claimed to be the primary function of government, it is certainly a fair question to consider whether it would not be best to undertake the simpler and easier business of owning and operating railways. Certainly, no one would have the temerity to predict that our failure in this business would be as signal as has been our failure in the administration of justice in the management of corporate property.

The claim is made that it is best to let railway companies manage the railway business, and expend the power of the government in the control of the companies. This is a great waste of the means of civic education. If the government could thoroughly control the companies, then the business would be in fact government business, while it would appear to be the business of a private company. The people would be dealing with their govern-

ment unawares. The full advantage of civic education can be obtained only when the people are fully aware that they are doing the business through their own chosen agents. It is no answer to this argument to say that companies can do the business more efficiently and more cheaply than can the government. A despotism often appears to be more effective and more economical than a democracy. But, if democracy is to survive, nothing will in the end be economical which tends to confuse the mind of the citizen. If the people do not attain the conscious power to manage that part of the government which is called railway business, they are likely in the end to lose all hope of ever mastering the more difficult business of the administration of justice. It is said that, if the people own city monopolies and operate telegraphs and railways, then they must engage in other business enterprises, and the complete socialistic state will ultimately be established. The only claim I have set forward is that the people should learn to administer through their own governmental agents the entire government to which they are in fact subject. The success of democracy demands this, and any other method is a hindrance to effective civic education. No one has any right to say that this policy has any tendency to produce the socialistic state. It may be the most effective way to forestall dangerous experiments in socialism. When an industry is monopolized, it becomes a part of the government, whether we will or not. I do not favor extending the government to industries which are not already a part of the government. I do not object to the use of the powers of government to restrain the growth of monopoly. My single claim is that, in the interest of practical civic education, every part of the government to which people are in fact subject should be made a direct and formal part of that which the people are accustomed to recognize as the government. My claim is that the people should cease to be humbugged.

This simplifying of the government could not fail to have a favorable effect upon the education of the citizen. It would greatly multiply the points of conscious contact with the government. There would be a perpetual sense of achievement or of failure, which could not fail to be educating, in the best sense. As the work of the citizen would be simplified, so the work of the schools would likewise be simplified. The first teacher of the child is usually a civil officer. The school is recognized as a part of the government. The child thus begins to learn of the

government as he learns of the family,—by contact and by observation. It is now customary for teachers to begin very early to call to the conscious attention of the child the grouping of neighbors into school districts, and the various doings of the school districts, road districts, townships, towns and cities, counties, States, and the United States. The child is early led to take a deep interest in the activities of these various governmental agencies. That which especially interests the child is the activities which he is able to observe for himself. If the city monopolies and the railways and telegraphs were a formal part of the government, they would furnish a rich field for the instruction of youth. The field of conscious civic life would be greatly enlarged. There would be an ampler accumulation of facts and observations to be used in the theoretic studies of the higher schools. But if these monopolies are not a formal part of the government, if they are in the hands of so-called private companies, it were folly to try to make any use of them in the formal civic education of youth. The child learns, in course of time, that his kindred are subject to the gas company; but he accepts this as a part of an unexplained, mysterious providence. It does not edify him to tell him that there is some occult relation between the gas company and the city government.

The uniting of all business which is governmental in its nature is here urged, not as a means of effecting specific reforms, but as a means of promoting practical instruction in civics. Right civic education is vitally related to all permanent reforms. But it is wide of the mark to contend that, unless a proposed policy cheapens a service, it ought not to be adopted. Thus far no cheap market for liberty has been found. The very term "civic education" assumes a democratic government. If the citizen is to live under a despotism, the only education which is useful and practical is that of obedience to rulers. Civic education, as we know the term, is education in the art of government. It is the gaining of that knowledge and experience whereby a people may rule themselves.

Some forty years ago a few young men in Birmingham, England, were wont to meet together to bemoan the desperate condition of their municipal government. They were subject to a corrupt water company and two gas companies. Their taxes were high, life was insecure, and it was a disgrace to be a member of the town council. These young men were seated in a small, dark room, when one of their number had a revelation. He leaped into

the air, and exclaimed, "The way to reform this town is to give it something worthy to do!" Acting upon this word, there was instituted a policy which has resulted in the municipalization of the water supply and the light supply, the purchase of a drainage farm, the purchase of the slums of the city and the transforming of them into New Street, the establishing of a system of city schools, and a library system which furnishes abundant free reading matter to the people. Gas and water became cheap and pure. Taxes were reduced, the police was rendered efficient, and the most honorable citizen accounts it an honor to be chosen to a place in the city government. In this particular instance a great reform coincided with a marked growth in civic education. But he who holds a rational belief in democracy must advocate the doing of these things on the part of the government, even though the business be not at first so well done. A generous and paternal monarchy is the most effective enemy to the growth of free government. People have usually learned lessons in freedom by the practice of costly experiments. It is sadly true that the transition from despotism to freedom has not usually appeared to be cheap and easy. The American ought not to insist that gas and water shall be furnished cheaply before he gives his approval to a policy of municipalization. All that is necessary is that he shall believe that in the long run a democracy is better than an oligarchy or a despotism. A rational believer in free government is willing to undertake its responsibilities, even when he is convinced that it will cost something to educate the people to do the work well. So long as the people confess their inability to manage their railroads and their city monopolies, they not only confess their inability to govern themselves, but they confess their inability and that of their children to *learn* to govern themselves. I know of no proposition more misleading than the statement that no sort of business should be undertaken by the government which can be done more economically and more effectively by private enterprise.

Whenever the comparison is made between private and public business, we are apt to fix, as a sort of standard, the best that individuals are accustomed to do, and compare this with what an inexperienced or a corrupt government would be likely to do. This is not fair to the claims of the government; and, if the so-called principle were carried to its logical conclusion, it would destroy all attempts at the experiment of free government.

The police business of New York has for generations been

chiefly a matter of private enterprise. According to competent authorities, it has, in the main, been cheap and effective. If the people of the city should take this business in hand, it would probably be a long time before the work could be done as effectively and as cheaply. Tammany Hall is a fairly good paternal government. Yet all believers in democracy must contend that it is better for the people of the city, at whatever cost, to seek to transfer this business from private to public hands. They must do this even if they could be assured in advance that it would take them a thousand years to learn to do the business as cheaply and efficiently as it is now done by Tammany Hall.

The jury system was never adopted, and is not now retained, because it is believed to be cheap and efficient. It was adopted because it seemed less barbarous than was trial by battle and by hot irons. It is retained, not so much because we believe in its efficiency as because we fear that greater evils attend a proposed substitute. It is universally conceded that judicial business ought not to be left to private enterprise : it ought to be in the hands of governmental agents. Yet we are afraid to have judges chosen by direct vote of the people. We are also afraid to place the selection of judges in the hands of the executive or in the hands of the legislature. No policy can be proposed which does not seem fraught with danger. The common citizen is advised to avoid the courts. It is better to endure a good deal of palpable injustice than to risk the chances of a suit at law. Everything about the business tends to impress the mind of the ordinary citizen with the conviction that he is a victim of government. So far as this business is concerned, its influence is against the attainment of practical civic education. Those who make law a profession often become more hopeless victims than the common citizen. They are taught to give the name of justice to that which is not just, but which is simply a crude and imperfect attempt at justice. Many are the lawyers who, in course of time, become victims of the notion that these crude attempts are in fact what they are called. There is often a doubt as to what is just. Such a business, at its best, cannot give to a people a lively sense of either achievement or failure.

Civic education has advanced because the people, in their capacity as a government, have done other things. They have owned land and other natural agents, and have attempted to distribute the uses of these. They have erected buildings, and taken care of

them. They have equipped armies and navies. They have gone forth as colonists to subdue the wilderness. Europeans farther advanced in civic education have practised governing the hordes of Asia. During the Middle Ages European towns practised all sorts of handicraft, and regulated the minutest details of trade and commerce. In more modern times civic education has been promoted by the postal system, government telegraphs, and, in some countries, by the government railways.

But progress in civic education in recent years is chiefly due to the fact that governments have assumed the task of educating all the people. Without any reference to what is taught in the schools, the mere fact that the masses of the people during the impressible years of childhood and youth are under the tutelage of officers of the government is a transcendent lesson in practical civics. It is not an accident that the creation of the public school, the unexampled growth of the spirit of democracy, and the widespread striving after conscious social achievement should occur at about the same time. These are related to each other as cause and effect. Learning is democratic in its tendency, because the son of the humble man is often seen to surpass the son of the great man. The spirit of democracy will not continue to subsist in an age of science and learning without desperate efforts to realize the fact of democracy. No sort of political or civic education is at all useful or practical in this age which does not tend to give to the people the consciousness of their power to do things through the one organization which includes them all; that is, through their government. Modern industry has determined that associated action shall displace isolated and individual action. If other organizations of men can do things too difficult for the people to learn to do through their government, then those other organizations are likely to become the government; and the spirit of democracy will be suppressed. A greater or more difficult organization than the government cannot continue to exist. It will itself become the government, controlling the action of legislatures and administrative and judicial officers.

6. POSSIBILITIES OF SOCIAL AMELIORATION.

BY PROFESSOR JNO. J. MCCOOK, HARTFORD, CONN.

[Read September 4.]

I shall not attempt to cover the whole ground, but shall speak of a few things which have come most under my own observation.

The first thing logically, and the most important practically, is to get at the facts, and to interest the public in them. Many of the facts can be secured from official records. Such are those relating to public alms, to crime and the like. But even these will not be found in a digested state. To give the total amount spent in pauperism for the current year, or the total number of arrests, is enough to satisfy the average citizen. But almost nothing can be concluded from such meagre statistics. And it should be made the duty of every Board of Overseers of the Poor and of every Chief of Police to give in tabular shape every fact that bears upon the work of the department. The town of Hartford has sixty-five thousand inhabitants; but it now publishes the names of every beneficiary who has drawn over eight dollars,—an exemplary particularity. It also has another regulation which is highly to be commended. A general table is published every year, giving all the principal items for the ten preceding years, such as hospital, almshouse, and insane-retreat population, outdoor paupers, night lodgers, with the cost of the different items and with percentage of increase or decrease, so that, by casting the eye along the columns, it can at once be seen whether there is progress or the reverse.

The same ought to be required in the police department. And one item, almost universally neglected, ought to be insisted upon here,—the number of separate individuals arrested, and the number of arrests for each individual. For two arrests and over it might also be advisable to print the name of the individual. This would save much time for those who are studying the relations between the various types of pauperism and crime, and would be enlightening to the general public.

Other facts may require private inquiry, with little or no help from officials or public documents. Such are the facts relating to venality, to prostitution, vagabondage, and the like. Something has been accomplished lately as to the first and the last of these, but the second needs careful work. I venture to suggest that, in all the branches of fact-collecting, unvarying attention be given to lineage, to education, and to condition in life. By lineage I mean not merely ancestry, but family relationship. It is, I think, quite as instructive to know whether any of the brothers and sisters of a drunkard or criminal or pauper belong to the criminal or dependent class as to know whether his ancestry is foreign or mixed.

And I use education, too, in its broadest sense. While we are beginning to feel that our public school education has possibly been suffering from the omission of religion as a topic, some light might be obtained by inquiring into the religious character of the education of our dependent and criminal population. Great care and judgment would be needed in this; for it might well happen that whole sections of our people, more in the way of having religious instruction in their schools, have also, by the necessity of their birth and surroundings, been more exposed to temptations to vice and crime. Whether this disturbing factor could successfully be eliminated may be doubtful. But I have myself, in my more recent investigations of vagabondage, included this among my inquiries, and shall, as I have opportunity, push it into jail and prison statistics.

I also venture to suggest that neither patent, commission, nor degree is required for fact-collecting. The only qualities necessary for success are average common sense and tact, a dogged determination to get at the bottom of things, with honesty and industry in recording and consolidating results. Such qualities are surely not so rare as to prevent our hoping that the number of collectors will be rapidly augmented until sociology is placed in respect to this upon an equality with meteorology and entomology and botany. It is certainly of a great deal more consequence than any of them; and it possesses what they lack,—the perennial fascination which comes of alliance with human interests and human destiny.

I have mentioned together the gathering of facts, and interesting the public in them. The justification of this grouping is obvious. Sociology is intensely practical, from the nature of the case. Mere knowledge is just as interesting here as anywhere else. But

here, as nowhere else, knowledge clamors to be turned into action. We cannot know of evils definitely affecting our fellow-men now, and likely to affect their offspring for indefinite periods hereafter, without experiencing an unrest which cannot be stilled until, by improved laws and customs, people are set upon new ways of living. But in a country like ours these new institutions can be established only by the people themselves; and in no country can they be effectively operated against the will of the people. Now, wherever there is a town meeting, or popular assembly, or an opening for political influence, or a local newspaper, there is a chance for interesting our fellow-citizens in any fact we may have secured, just to the extent to which we are sure of our facts, and to the degree of our ability to convince them that our facts touch them individually. It may seem paltry, but I think it will be found true that conviction will be easiest through the appeal to dollars and cents.

Fortunately, from this standpoint, pauperism, which is demoralizing, is also an extravagance, and vice, which is degrading, is also expensive, and crime, which is morally reprehensible, is also economically a burden. You may, chiefest of all, wish to save the self-respect of A. B., or the will power of C. D., or the morals of E. F. But you will most easily get X., Y., and Z. to vote for improved methods in alms-distribution, or for segregation of drunkards, or reformatory measures for criminals, by arithmetical demonstration of the fact that improved alms-methods means perhaps 50 per cent. reduction in alms-bills and a half mill reduction in taxes; and that the drunkard is costing at present four dollars per week in police charges, besides the care of the family, while in a reformatory he might be made to earn half as much, besides the cost of his maintenance, with a chance of coming out self-sustaining; and that a well-managed disciplinary prison like Elmira, for instance, need not be any more expensive than a mismanaged jail, while it offers heavy odds in favor of permanent reformation, in the other all but hopeless.

Facts in social improvement are much like symptoms in medicine. But much of our practice seems to me to be not unlike the rude manner of unskilled physicians. We address ourselves to the symptoms, and concern ourselves but little about the causes of the symptoms. Here are so many poor people. How can they be most expeditiously and cheaply clothed, fed, housed, physicked? How can we most successfully saddle them upon other towns and

States? Here are so many criminals and misdemeanants. How can we circumvent them by our police, or retaliate upon them by our penalties, or make them over again by disciplinary system? Here are so many vagabonds. How are we to care for them just enough to keep our consciences quiet, and not enough to put theirs to sleep? How are we to make their lives so uncomfortable through baths and night-gowns and plank beds and hard fare, and saws and stone-hammers, that they will at least give us a wide berth on their next tour? So, for every decade or two of growth, a new hospital, or prison, or reformatory, or Wayfarer's Rest! And vagabonds multiplying under it, and improving in skill in train-jumping and foraging; and paupers and criminals multiplying, and gaining in fixity of characteristics and power of transmission of trait to their offspring! And taxes growing heavier! And the end as far distant as ever!

For cure ought to be the end here as much as in medicine. And, if our sociological devices fail of that, they fail, I will not say totally, for the mitigation of symptoms is something; but at least they fail radically.

Now, there can be no sure cure without clear knowledge of the cause. But is there any cause for such universal facts as pauperism and crime and vagabondage, except the invincible infirmity of human nature and the unavoidable accidents of mortal life? Let us see. Take pauperism. While making a somewhat careful study of this subject in one of our New England cities, I was struck by the remark of the first selectman, who had held the office of Overseer of the Poor for ten years, that over 90 per cent. of the paupers were drunkards; and with this view coincided the judgment of the clerk of the board, in office for twenty years. Following this hint, I made inquiry in the police records and of police officers, and was obliged to come to the conclusion that the statement of the clerk and his chief was substantially correct, so far as it related to the almshouse poor. The venerable master of the almshouse, indeed, in response to a request for a list of the drunkards among his charge, brought me on a small bit of paper, as being the simplest way, a list of those that were not drunkards.

But how would it be with the outdoor poor,—with the inmates of insane retreats and hospitals supported by the community? And how would the facts in other towns compare with those in this? Blanks were prepared and sent to the selectmen of the 168 towns in Connecticut, covering the total number of paupers and

their cost, and the number and cost of those whose pauperism was attributed by the selectmen to intemperance. Answers came from 88 towns,—more than half; and 76 of these have been tabulated, representing over 35 per cent. of the population of the State. The total of paupers in these towns is 6,379; and, of these, 4,532, or 71 per cent., are charged to drunkenness. The total expenses of 70 of these towns amounted to \$1,874,392.87, of which \$217,700.70 were on pauper account; and, of the latter, \$142,637.38, or 65 per cent., went for the drunken contingent, the cost of which consequently was 7 6-10 per cent. of the total expenditures for all purposes in these towns. The range is from zero to 95 per cent. Two towns had no paupers.

This blank was followed by another in which to record the number of cases due to other causes, such as accident, shiftlessness, improvidence, insanity or weak-mindedness, licentiousness, loss of employment, old age, sickness, vagrancy; and an alternate blank was enclosed, providing for a list of names, with nationality and cause of pauperism opposite each. Not far from a hundred of these blanks have received attention; and the total of actual names given, including those from Hartford prepared by myself, amounts to several thousand. I regret to say that ill-health and pressure of other work have interrupted the tabulation of this last batch of replies. But, from their particularity, I hope for additional light upon this interesting question of causation. I ought to add that the agent of the Overseers of the Poor in one of our New England towns outside of Connecticut fixes the proportion of adult paupers who are intemperate there at from 85 to 90 per cent., though he is in doubt as to which is the cause and which the effect; and an expert observer in Chicago estimates the proportion of pauperism due to drink there at 80 per cent.

Through the courtesy of Mr. James R. Motion of the parochial board of Glasgow I have answers from three cities in Scotland. In the Barony parish, Glasgow, the percentage is fixed at 10.5 per cent., and is exceeded only by sickness, which is 15 per cent. The inspector in the Govan combination parish of the same city has no hesitation in attributing 40 per cent. of cases of pauperism and nearly 50 per cent. of the cost to drink. He has been twenty-seven and a half years inspector,—twenty-two in Govan parish. St. Cuthbert's Combination, Edinburgh, fixes it at 5 per cent., both of cases and cost. Old Machar, Aberdeen, fixes it at 10 per cent. in cases and cost. The range is thus seen to be from 5 to 40 per cent. in the Scotch parishes.

With leisure to complete my tabulations, I hope for more accurate figures in Connecticut; but the above, even though contemplated as mere approximations, or as being, as I think may prove to be the case, too high, are suggestive of serious reflection. For the average Connecticut selectman knows his poor, is not given to theorizing or sentimentalizing, and is not apt to be a fanatic on the subject of temperance.

In view of this might it not be more scientific to approach the treatment of pauperism through the regulation of the drink traffic? Or would that only be substituting a greater for a lesser difficulty?

At all events, this question which occurred to myself and a town committee on alms administration, of which I was chairman, was the beginning of my own practical interest in this momentous subject, the drink question; and the substitution of communal for private control soon occurred to me as a possible or partial solution of the problem. You are familiar, as I have since become, with the experiments made in the Scandinavian peninsula on these lines. Perhaps you have not noticed, as, in view of my own previous experiences, I have with curious interest remarked, that the Gothenburg plan grew out of the observations and experiences of a committee on poor-law administration in that place.

There is nothing more natural. One cannot become interested in the annals of poverty or the struggles of the laboring poor without coming to look upon this as the question of questions for them and for us. And not only in this country. The *Arbeiter Kolonie*, printed in the interests of proper treatment of vagabondage in Germany, is full of it. And *Volkswohl*, printed in the interests of the laboring classes in the same country, and edited by such men as Böhmert and Bode, even publishes a monthly supplement exclusively devoted to it.

As for the question raised by my Massachusetts correspondent, whether poverty might not be the cause and intemperance the effect, I hardly think it worthy of very serious consideration. Doubtless there are authentic cases of the kind. Four out of seventy-six of my Connecticut selectmen reported such,—two cases in one town, one in another, and 10 per cent. of the total in each of two other towns. One of my Scotch correspondents reports “several instances”; another, “very few.” “It is mostly all the opposite way,” he adds. The third and fourth “cannot recall any.”

Of considerable more moment than any such curious question as this is the value of licentiousness as a factor in pauperism. A

missionary,* fifteen years resident in Japan, highly educated and a close observer of social phenomena there, surprised me by writing as follows: "I should be inclined to consider licentiousness more powerful than intemperance as a cause for reducing people from plenty to poverty." And he indicates the way in which it acts by adding, "Directly large sums are expended in the brothels, while venereal diseases sap the vigor of multitudes, and cause their offspring to come into the world with weak bodies." This testimony has since been confirmed by one of our *jeunesse dorée*, who professed to speak from personal experience. He was, by the way, a perfect sample of what I should call a professional tramp. He avowed to me that he "had no need to work," and that he "never meant to work." Moreover, he had been a great traveller!

Things are not nearly so bad here. But twelve out of seventy-three Connecticut towns report a total of fifteen cases of pauperism referable to it. A thirteenth has a considerable number to my personal knowledge, though its tabulation is not yet complete; while the selectman of a fourteenth town reports "nearly all" their pauperism due to this cause. He is a medical man; and men of that profession are more apt to be familiar with this class of facts, and to appreciate more keenly their full importance. Besides my statistical inquiries, the results of which have been made public,† I have made personal inquiries of more than a score of tramps concerning this matter, and find that a majority of them admit without hesitation expenditures and disease on this account; while unchastity may be taken for granted. In fact, what has come to my knowledge as to their habits has been not only deeply painful and revolting, but also very disquieting.

I have suggested this as a useful subject of inquiry. The family is the recruiting ground of the State, the bond which the adult male gives society for his good behavior; the nursery of those virtues which, merely from the standpoint of pure, civic utility, the commonwealth requires for its safety and prosperity. And I think it will be found that, where licentiousness is connived at, still more where it is legalized, marriage falls off, the birth-rate dwindles, divorce or separation increases; and, with diminished reverence for the most fundamental of all institutions, lack of reverence for institutions of every kind sets in.

I have spoken of licentiousness as a cause of pauperism in Japan and in this country. In the Barony, Glasgow, 204 cases are

* Rev. Mr. Carey, of Tokio.

† *Forum*, December, 1893.

reported, about one-fifth the number attributed to intemperance. In Govan Combination, Glasgow, no separate estimate is given. But licentiousness, idleness, and improvidence are together credited with about 4,000 cases, or 30 per cent. of the total. In St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, it is put above accident, improvidence, loss of employment and drink, and almost equals insanity. In Old Machar, Aberdeen, it is estimated at one-tenth the number of intemperates, or 1 per cent. of the whole.

For apparent magnitude and dramatic seriousness of results the place to look for licentiousness is, of course, under the head of crime.

As an element in the question of intemperance, as a factor in pauperism, disease, poverty, and crime, the quality of the drink sold at cheap shops is often mentioned. Will you permit me to give very briefly some results, as yet unpublished, of my own inquiries and experiments on this curious and somewhat important subject?

I had heard much of the powers of "lightning" whiskey, "tanglefoot," and "kill me quick," and of the benignity of "private stock," and other club brands of mellifluous name and high price. Of the whiskey sold in one part of the town, I had heard it asserted, half in earnest, that you could "engrave on glass with it." No wonder, therefore, that the poor fellows cheated into buying it were made crazy and criminals. The pure whiskey sold in the other part of the town could, on the contrary, be consumed without other results than a gentle booze, followed, possibly, by a mild headache.

Was all this true? I quite believed it for my own part, and will here admit that in my secret heart I hoped to be able to prove it.

Further, chemical inspection by a public officer was urged as a guarantee of purity. I so regarded it myself. But to avoid "spotting," and other reprehensible features of the spy system, the laws required that samples for analysis be obtained by an officer in uniform, explicitly announcing the purpose of his errand. Could our average dealer be trusted to deliver to the officer genuine samples of that which he sold to his cheaper customers?

To answer these questions, I secured from a fashionable drug-store and one in "the ward," from one fashionable retailer and three in the ward, from each simultaneously, one sample of his best wares purchased by a well-dressed agent, and one of his cheapest purchased by a man in vile raiment; and from each, as

nearly as possible at the same time, one sample of his best and one of his cheapest, explicitly for analysis.

To these were added specimens of "pure spirits" from reputable wholesalers and several samples of whiskey taken from the persons of police station prisoners. These samples were all subjected to chemical analysis in the Trinity college laboratory and to the test of taste by two professional dealers and by two gentlemen drinkers. And along with them were inspected similarly samples of whiskey fresh from the still, and various compounds of alcohol, burnt sugar, water, fusel oil, oak decoction, "whiskey oil," and of whiskeys with a genuine pedigree, old and new, such as I divined, or by degrees ascertained, to be employed in blending, or fabricating, the whiskey of commerce.

My conclusions are as follows :—

Outside of "Moonshine" territory, absolutely "pure" whiskey is substantially unknown. One of my professional tasters and both of the amateurs failed to recognize a sample of it, misled by the absence of all color and of the customary taste.

Neither color nor taste changes with time, but only, at best, by contact with the charred oak of the barrel. This is, apparently, that "ripening" process of which we read even in pharmacopœias. It is completed effectively in a few hours : the change in color is hardly perceptible after a few weeks. I have secured color and taste, to my senses undistinguishable, from charred chestnut. Other woods give colors varying from the slight gray tinge of uncharred ash and hickory, through the deep yellow of uncharred oak and chestnut to the deep red of mahogany, and communicate odor and flavor more or less characteristic. The general tendency of uncharred woods is towards yellow, of charred towards red or brown.*

The whiskey of commerce may then be roughly termed tincture of burnt oak. And, since chestnut costs less and is more easily worked up, I do not see why it should not be substituted for oak in barrel-making. The title would then have to be changed to tincture of burnt chestnut. If an idea is patentable, I should wish this public statement to be taken as a valid notice of "patent applied for"!

A vast amount of the whiskey of commerce is literally tincture of oak. For it is nothing but weakened alcohol colored and

* These conclusions are the result of a large number of experiments in which pieces of various kinds of wood of uniform size, charred and uncharred, were immersed in four-ounce bottles of spirits of various kinds, and the changes carefully noted at frequent intervals.

sweetened by burnt sugar (caramel), and flavored with a small proportion of "high proof" whiskey — *i.e.*, whiskey strongly steeped in oak — or else by direct contact with the barrel. The former method of flavoring is quicker and cheaper, and is thought to produce a result more agreeable to the educated palate. It is therefore the method commonly pursued in making the "Private Stocks" which are such favorites among our "better classes." The very cheapest dealers, with a large "burn" constituency, simply refuse, to use the language of one of the best known among them in my own town, "to fuss over the thing." They therefore provide themselves with a barrel of "white whiskey," which is nothing but weak alcohol, and peddle it out in its native paleness, which rarely has time to become tinged with the blush of contact with the wood. They do not always forget to empty the water-pail into it; and it is my impression that they often discriminate by giving this weaker solution to customers "who have already had enough." In more than one instance, when friendly relations have been established between us, my publican friends have remarked with every symptom of virtuous pride, "You know water don't hurt nobody."

The lowest proof samples — *i.e.*, those having most water — were obtained from the most fashionable and the most disreputable of the shops. Those showing most evidence of having been "fixed up" were from the former.

As for fusel oil, of which so much is heard, traces of it were found in all the samples, of whatever history, price, or age, but in all so minute that it is plainly not chargeable either with the effects of whiskey in general, or with differences of effects commonly attributed to whiskey of different ages, or to the output of different stills or shops. A sample of "whiskey oil," a preparation for turning instantly half-proof alcohol into any desired brand of whiskey, was found to contain about 60 per cent. of fusel oil.* But it is used in a highly diluted state, an ounce to ten gallons; and in this degree of attenuation the poison of fusel oil would need to be far more violent than any one imagines it to be, in order to make its presence specially dangerous in the drink thus manufactured. Besides, it is probably not much used. The products made out of it by myself, following the maker's direc-

*Fusel oil has a penetrating, slightly aromatic odor and a biting taste suggestive of the essential oils. It is said to be fifteen times more intoxicating than alcohol. The druggist put a poison label on one of my purchases of it, but not on a subsequent one.

tions, were such a palpable fraud that they deceived no one, and could have been imposed upon no one not already far gone in intoxication, or else alcohol-thirsty to the point of desperation.

The "bead-oil," sometimes used to disguise the presence of excess of water by making the bubbles less transitory when the sample is shaken,—a common test among experts,—is harmless.

There was one of my police-prisoner samples which had an unusually disagreeable odor and taste that attracted attention from all four of my auxiliaries. The odor, indeed, was so suggestive that I wondered whether the jars of some anatomical collection might not have been rifled of their antiseptic contents, in order to secure the fascinating fluid. But its analysis showed nothing especially striking, and I doubt if it contained anything noxious.*

My conclusion, on the whole, is that it is not the adulteration of whiskey which does the business, but the amount of alcohol taken, and the rapidity with which it is taken. The club man is apt to find more water and sugar in his whiskey when he buys it, and to add more when he takes it; to consume it in smaller doses and more slowly; finally, to have more food in his stomach when he swallows it.

The amount contained by his poorer brother, on the other hand, and the manner of its consumption, have been a revelation and an astonishment to me. I have carefully inquired among my tramp acquaintances, and have also followed them for hours, from the desk where they had just drawn their pay for their latest job, or from the hall door or the street corner where a coin had been wittingly bestowed in alms, to see what use would be made of it, in and out along the round of their favorite resorts, and can testify to their amazing industry and capacity when it is matter of consumption of liquids.

I am satisfied that from fifteen to twenty-five drinks, say from

* The chemical analyses, obligingly conducted by my colleague, Professor Riggs, were addressed to the determination of the following points: apparent percentage of alcohol; percentage of alcohol distillate; percentage of residue; percentage of ash; nature of residuum, whether sweet or bitter, fluid, solid, gummy, etc.; solubility of residue in water; effect of diluting with one-fifth of water, ether in solution; fusel oil; color. No tests were made for poison, such as arsenic or strychnine, since, in the absence of probable motive to use such drugs in adulteration, their presence was not suspected. The non-expert reader may need to be informed that there is no way whereby the contents of a liquid may all be revealed at a stroke. Things must be looked for separately; and, if not sought for by their appropriate tests, they cannot be counted upon to show themselves. The analysis made for the city of Worcester, Mass., by a State chemist, covers only specific gravity and apparent amount of alcohol. In the more suspicious cases, specific gravity of distillate alcohol by weight, solids, and ash are added.

forty to seventy ounces of whiskey, or two pints and a half to four and three-eighths,* and from twenty to forty glasses of beer, say from ten to twenty pints,† between noon and midnight, is no uncommon allowance for them and their like. And one man, now for two years broken of the habit, and a man of complete respectability, estimated his potations in the old days, between those hours, when the fit was on him, at from fifteen to twenty-five glasses of whiskey; and he commonly took a half-pint to bed with him, which he consumed in three doses on waking in the morning, to steady him sufficiently for a new beginning the next day! The limit of the spree in his case was marked by a spasmodic revolt of the muscles of the œsophagus, which made further drinking impossible.

Nor is the aggregate amount taken in a day the only important element in the comparison. In spite of the deceit of "Paddy" and "half-gentleman" glasses,‡ the average vulgar drinker takes a much larger dose than his better nurtured brother, rarely dilutes it with a "chaser" or otherwise, and follows it up, when he is in funds, at considerably shorter intervals with similar doses.

As for food, it is the last thing seriously thought of. The one real necessity is drink, and the one absorbing care is to obtain it in satisfying quantities. At a pinch, food of some kind can always be got. Albeit, when the drinking fit is on, the eating instinct among drinkers of all classes seems to be thrown temporarily out of gear; while in acute and chronic cases the edge of appetite wears quite away.

The amount spent in these bouts can be estimated: five cents for beer, ten for whiskey, fifteen for cider brandy,—for the tramp, even, has his favorite tipple; and I am always interested in inquiring what it is. A fellow who begged of me in the streets of Hartford, on acquaintance, told me that he had spent every cent that he had, amounting to seventy or eighty dollars, in this way a few days before, although then aware that, owing to his discharge, which had just taken place, he might not secure work again for weeks.

* Approximately, seven-eighths of a pint to a pint and a half of pure alcohol. Four glasses presented to me by saloon-keepers hold respectively $2\frac{3}{8}$ oz., $2\frac{3}{4}$, 3, and $3\frac{3}{4}$. The "Paddy" holds 3 oz. They are generally filled to the brim by this class of customers. I have reckoned the glass at $2\frac{3}{4}$ oz. The whiskey is assumed to be 35; *i.e.*, 7 or 8 degrees below proof.

† Approximately, three-eighths to three-fourths of a pint of pure alcohol. 4 per cent. of alcohol is assumed.

‡ Tumblers with false bottoms and thick walls, more or less pronounced respectively.

Another, an old acquaintance, met again on East 42d Street, New York, confided to me that he had once "blown in" \$180 in two or three days. And when to fondness for this phase of fast life is added weakness for the society of frail women or gambling for small stakes or for the theatre,—and the first of these is universal, and the other two not uncommon,—it is plain to see where the week's wages go, and why it is that so many men on good pay are so quickly on the tramp or on the town when the job gives out; and why it is that so many are complaining of the impossibility of "bringing up a family or saving money on pay like ours."*

The expenditure is not limited to personal consumption. The general rule is that the man who has the money treats the crowd until his money is gone. The following will illustrate this—and some other things besides.

One day I watched a pair of "bums"—for so they prefer to call themselves—on a begging ("battering") tour through the town,—finally accosting first one, then the other, and learning that they had been together on their travels; that they had come from two different places that day; that they had not been given anything but food; that they were dead broke; that they wanted work; that they had never been in Hartford before. I directed them to a place just out of town where work was to be had, and they were grateful. Half an hour later they were seen making, straight as a bird to its nest, exactly the opposite way from the work, towards one of the most popular of our saloon-clusters. There they appeared and disappeared, at fairly regular intervals of eight minutes; and inside an hour and a half they were beckoning to the whole company of impecunious and thirsty mortals that fringed the sidewalk to come in and join the festivities, with an air of noble generosity in face and bearing quite beautiful to behold.

I will add that I presently succeeded in getting them to recognize me; and on my remarking, "It must be hard to be down

*The Seventh Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor gives very curious statistics as to the family income and expenditure of persons engaged in various industries in the United States. Of 3,043 families of laborers in cotton and woollen, with an average income from all sources of \$650.36, the average expenditure for intoxicating liquors was \$16.79, for tobacco \$10.16 (p. 1760, Table XXX., E. & F.). Averages, however, are of but slight use here. The value of the tables is in their particularity. Thus family No. 414 had a total income of \$612 (p. 1175), spent \$91.10 on drink and \$15 on tobacco (p. 1105), and had a deficit at the close of the year of \$108. There were three in the family, and they did not own their house. No. 412, with \$950 income, spent nothing on drink, \$22 on tobacco, and, with a family of six, had a surplus of \$131.80 at the close of the year. I have not studied the tables sufficiently to know whether these cases are fairly representative.

here in the midst of all these saloons, and not be able to get a drink!" "Yes," answered one of them; "but what's a poor fellow to do?" And then he asked me for ten cents for a night's lodging! Another bum, an old acquaintance, told me he had seen them around for two or three days.

To revert to my experiments, I found, in a sufficient number of cases, a difference between the samples obtained expressly for analysis and those secured in the ordinary course of business, to convince me that inspection as now ordered is liable to be a farce.

This is as suitable a place as any for the remark that the ordinary consumer of whiskey is no judge of its merits. Two of my friends, both of them in their estimation and that of their friends no mean adepts in the science, kindly tested all my numerous samples; and I have a careful record of all their verdicts. As already stated, they both failed to identify whiskey fresh from the still, pronouncing it gin. A still more unpardonable fault, they both passed by without recognition an excellent quality of Scotch whiskey, on being informed of which one of them, who "was sure he knew Scotch whiskey, anyhow," tried again and again with the same result. With great pains specimens of whiskey had been obtained concerning which proof as absolute as possible had been secured of a pedigree unbroken and above suspicion of five and twelve years respectively. In both cases and by both examiners there was instantaneous and summary rejection, with every sign of contempt and disgust. "That's perfectly vile!" "That's simply damnable!" "Yes, you might possibly find stuff like that in a low dive, but not in any decent place!" And with great haste and diligence the mouth was purified from the evil reminiscence.

Considerable difficulty was experienced in securing "expert" help. One man, who had been bar-tender or proprietor in a fashionable place for twenty years, made two appointments, but never reported. A second, in the liquor business from his boyhood, found one excuse and another for failure to meet an engagement, and finally admitted that he didn't consider his judgment worth much. A third, in the employ of a swell club as artistic mixer of curious drinks, and for over a score of years in positions of similar responsibility and opportunity, stated with absolute frankness that he should expect to be fooled himself; that he had experimented hundreds of times, and found that he could always fool gentlemen drinkers; and that he was convinced

that nobody could judge reliably by taste and smell. Good fortune brought me finally in contact with a fourth and fifth, both wholesalers, who very courteously undertook to do their best. Both gave me the impression of considerable expertness, though one of them failed to recognize whiskey fresh from the still, and both were far from infallible. Both relied largely upon odor, and one of them seems to have olfactories of very remarkable delicacy. He says, and his friends believe it, that he is able to track a fox by scent. Both gave me the impression also of thorough honesty and fairness; and both agree with me, I am sure, in the conviction I have reached,—that there is no end of superstition and foolish humbug in the reverence commonly paid to the verdict of professed judges.

The sum total of my conclusions is that the real objective point in legal regulations is limiting the amount sold to the individual in accordance with his known habits or his condition on applying. And, while I know of no system that can accomplish this absolutely, I am sure the present fails absolutely, and that approximate success can only be obtained when the bar-tender is deprived of all personal interest in the kind and amount of his sales, as in the Norwegian and Swedish plan.

This is assuming, of course, that our present liberty is to be continued. For my own part, I have been, and still am, a warm advocate of that liberty. But I confess it is beginning to dawn upon me that I would really have more liberty in the aggregate if the freedom of my fellow-man to get drunk might be cut off at the roots. I should be bartering my present privilege of getting a bottle of wine or beer without annoyance, on the extremely rare occasions when I now require one, for exemption from the complicated and everlasting deviltry of jail and prison and poorhouse, and from shrieking women and crying children and inexorable tax-bills, and from the head-splitting botheration of four-fifths of our social problems.

And yet, as I say this, I cannot help wondering whether this or any other measure addressed to men's outside would really change them. Man is more than body or even mind. And social remedies, to be effectual, must address themselves ultimately to that mysterious thing which sits brooding back of speech and motion and appetite and thought,—the thing which we call the soul. While it is unmoved, how may we hope for real betterment,—for anything but the substitution of one degradation for another?

I spoke a moment ago of the family. I close with the individual man. He is the ultimate fact in all our social science. Why, then, will so many of our friends persist in leaving out of sight in their plans the implacable fact of his radical imperfection?

Even in his Utopian dreams, old Sir Thomas was too wise to do this. And how can I better end than with his quaint verdict,* "For it is not possible for all thinges to be well, onles all men were good. Whych I thinke will not be yet thes good many yeares."

* Utopia, lib. 1, p. 59, Edition Lumby.

CONSTITUTION,
LIST OF OFFICERS, MEMBERS, ETC.,
OF THE
American Social Science Association
NOVEMBER 1, 1894.



CONSTITUTION.

I. This Society shall be called the AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION.

II. Its object shall be classified in five departments: the first, of Education; the second, of Health; the third, of Trade and Finance; the fourth, of Social Economy; the fifth, of Jurisprudence.

III. It shall be administered by a President, as many honorary Vice-Presidents as may be chosen, a Treasurer, a Secretary, and a Council, charged with general supervision; five Department Committees, established by the Council, charged with the supervision of their respective departments; and such Local Committees as may be established by the Council at different points, to serve as branch associations. The Council shall consist of the President, Treasurer, and Secretary, the Chairman and Secretary of each Department, and ten Directors, with power to fill vacancies and to make their own By-Laws. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Chairman, and Secretaries of Departments, and Directors shall be chosen annually by members of the Association, and shall hold office till their successors are chosen. The President, or in his absence a Director, shall be Chairman of the Council. The Chairman of the Local Committees shall be chosen at the pleasure of their respective committees. Whenever a Branch Association shall be organized and recognized as such by the Council, its President shall be *ex officio* one of the Vice-Presidents of the American Association, and, together with the Secretary and Treasurer, shall be entitled to all the privileges of membership in that Association. And, whenever a Local Department shall be organized and recognized as such by the Council, its Chairman shall become *ex officio* a member of the parent Association. The Chairman and Secretary of each Department, with the consent of the President of the Association, may appoint such special Department Committees as they may think best. The General Secretary shall be elected for three years, unless he resigns, or is removed by a two-thirds vote of the members present and voting in a regular meeting of the Council; and out of his compensation he may pay the salary of an Assistant Secretary, who may also be Secretary of one Department.

IV. Any person may become a member by paying five dollars, and may continue a member by paying annually such further sum as may be fixed at the Annual Meeting, not exceeding ten dollars. On payment of one hundred dollars, any person may become a life-member exempt from assessments. Honorary and corresponding members may be elected, and exempted from the payment of assessments.

V. The Council shall have sole power to call and conduct General Meetings, and to publish the Transactions and other documents of the Association. The Department Committee shall have power to call and conduct Department Meetings.

VI. No amendment to this Constitution shall be made, except at an annual meeting, with public notice of the proposed amendment.

American Social Science Association.

(Founded in 1865.)

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1894-95.

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MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

[All officers are *ex officio* members of the Association; but persons serving on the Department Committees may or may not be members of the Association. In this present list the annual members are given alphabetically, without reference to States; then the life members follow, classified by States; and, finally, the honorary and corresponding members. The only distinction between honorary and corresponding members is that the former reside in the United States, the latter in foreign countries. It is a rule of the Association to drop from the list of annual members those who have not paid their assessment for two years. If former members do not find their names on the list as it now stands, it will generally be for the reason just mentioned.]

No List of Members of the Association, as printed, can ever be quite complete, so many changes occur by death and withdrawal, the accession of new members, etc. The following list is as complete as the Secretary could make it up to Nov. 1, 1894; but, no doubt, the addresses of several members are wrong, and there are instances of names misprinted, etc., of which the Secretary will thank any person to notify him when the fact is observed.]

ANNUAL MEMBERS.

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CONTENTS OF NUMBER FIFTEEN.—I. Papers on Infant Development—Professor Harris, Mr. Darwin, Mr. Alcott, Dr. Preyer, M. Taine, etc. II. Report of Mrs. Talbot. III. Religious and Moral Education of Children—Professor G. S. Hall. IV. Treatment of Incipient Insanity—Mary Putnam Jacobi, M.D. V. Debate on Insanity—Professor W. T. Harris, Dr. Channing, F. B. Sanborn, etc. VI. Papers on Building Associations—R. T. Paine, Jr., and Addison B. Burk. VII. Homes for the People in Washington—John Hitz. VIII. Art in its Relation to the People—Martin Brimmer.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER SIXTEEN.—Papers of the Health Department: I. Address of the Chairman—Walter Channing, M.D. II. The Michigan Plan for Boards of Health—Dr. Henry B. Baker. III. The Health Care of Households with Special Reference to House Drain-

age—Ezra M. Hunt, M.D. IV. The Health of Boys' Boarding-schools—D. F. Lincoln, M.D. V. The Health of Criminal Women—Eliza M. Mosher, M.D. VI. The Management of Chronic Inebriates and Insane Drunkards—Albert N. Blodgett, M.D. VII. Remarks of Mr. Parker on Boards of Health. VIII. International and National Relief in War—Miss Clara Barton. Papers of the Social Economy Department: I. Address of the Chairman—F. B. Sanborn. II. The Factory System as an Element in Civilization—Carroll D. Wright. III. Early Factory Life in New England—Mrs. H. H. Robinson. IV. American Factory Life—Miss Lucy Larcom. V. Ten Hours—Rev. Jesse H. Jones.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER SEVENTEEN.—I. Introduction. II. Address—Rev. A. D. Mayo, on National Aid to Education. III. Address—President Angell, on Diplomatic Relations between China and the United States. IV. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department, namely: 1. Professional Ethics—Theodore Bacon. 2. Local Self-government—Edward W. Bemis. 3. Disfranchisement for Crime—James F. Colby. 4. A Plan for Extinguishing Crime—Edwin Hill. 5. Punishment for Certain Crimes—H. A. Hill. V. Address—Professor W. T. Harris. VI. The Darwin Commemoration. VII. A Paper on the Progressive Spelling—Rev. H. L. Wayland. VIII. Miscellaneous Matters.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER EIGHTEEN.—I. Introductory. II. Opening Address—Professor Wayland. III. Report of the General Secretary—F. B. Sanborn. IV. Papers on Health and Education: 1. Health and Social Science—Dr. E. M. Hunt. 2. Physical Training in Homes and Training-schools—Professor D. A. Sargent. 3. True Higher Education—W. C. Thomas. 4. Causes of Insanity—Dr. W. Channing. 5. Inebriety in Women—Dr. L. M. Hall. 6. The Disease of Inebriety—Dr. T. D. Crothers. 7. House-building and Drainage—G. E. Waring, Jr. 8. Moral Education in Schools—Professor W. T. Harris. V. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department: 1. Assertion of Rights—J. T. Platt. 2. International Ethics—E. M. Gallaudet, LL.D. 3. Legal History of the Telephone—M. F. Tyler. VI. Addresses and Special Papers: 1. American Civil Service System—J. M. Gregory, LL.D. 2. Public Libraries—J. M. Larned. 3. Religion of India—Mr. Mozoomdar. 4. New Methods of Study in History—H. B. Adams. VII. Papers of the Social Economy Department, namely: 1. Race Problems in the United States—Professor C. A. Gardner. 2. Relations between Employers and Employed—Mrs. S. K. Bolton. 3. Child-helping in New York—C. L. Brace. 4. Prison Labor.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER NINETEEN.—I. Introductory. II. Report of the Secretary—F. B. Sanborn. III. Papers of the Finance Department: 1. Scientific Basis of Tariff Legislation—C. D. Wright. 2. Financial Standing of States—Henry C. Adams. 3. The Rate of Wages—Edward Atkinson. 4. Industrial Education—F. A. Walker. IV. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department. 1. Conflict of State Laws—Eugene Smith. 2. The Pardoning Power—F. Wayland. 3. Threefold Basis of the Criminal Law—F. H. Wines. V. Hebrew Charities—Mary M. Cohen. VI. Constitution and Members of the Association.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY.—I. Papers of the Education Department: 1. The Function of Latin and Greek in Education—Dr. W. T. Harris. 2. Problems in Education—Mrs. Emily Talbot. 3. Athletic Education—Dr. Edward Hitchcock. 4. Physical Education in Women's Colleges—Mrs. R. S. Bryan. 5. The Higher Education of Women in Great Britain and Ireland—Miss Lumsden. II. Additional Papers of the Jurisprudence Department: 1. The Law for the Commitment of Lunatics—Mr. F. H. Wines. 2. Lunacy Legislation in the North-west—Professor A. O. Wright. III. Papers of the Health Department: 1. Dr. Sargent's Summary. 2. Tenement Houses—Dr. Lucy M. Hall. IV. The Civil Service in States and Cities—Edward M. Shepard.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-ONE.—1. President Eaton's Address, 1885. 2. Business and Debates of 1885. 3. Synopsis of Social Science Instruction in Colleges. 4. Methodical Education in Social Science—F. B. Sanborn. 5. Social Science and Social Conditions—W. T. Harris. 6. The Unnamed Third Party—H. L. Wayland. 7. Socialism and State Action—Edward W. Bemis. 8. Labor Unions under Democratic Government—D. M. Means. 9. Influence of City Life on Health and Development—Dr. G. Peckham. 10. The Health of American Cities—C. F. Wineate. 11. The Physical Training of Women—Dr. L. M. Hall. 12. The Constitution and National Development—E. V. Reynolds. 13. Land and Law as Agents in Educating Indians—President Gates. 14. Arbitration of Labor Disputes—Rev. W. Gladden. 15. The Place of Art in Education—Thomas Davidson. 16. The Relation of the Drama to Education—W. O. Partridge. 17. Child-life in City and Country—C. D. Kellogg. 18. City and Country Schools—W. M. Beckner.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-TWO.—Conference of Alienists. Business and Debates of 1886. Notice of Deceased Members. I. Papers of the Department of Education: 1. The Definition of Social Science and its Classification—W. T. Harris. 2. Social Science Instruction in Colleges—Mrs. Emily Talbot and W. T. Harris. 3. Popular Instruction in Social Science—Carroll D. Wright. II. Papers of the Department of Health. 1. The Nervousness of Americans—Grace Peckham, M.D. 2. Mineral Waters of America and Europe—T. M. Coan, M.D. 3. Rabies and How to Prevent it—Valentine Mott, M.D. 4. Noses—H. Holbrook Curtis, M.D. 5. The Science of Dietetics—Wallace Wood, M.D. III. Papers of the Social Economy Department: 1. Address of the Chairman: Labor and Capital—F. B. Sanborn. 2. Property—Thomas Davidson. 3. Letters of Dr. Abbott and Dr. Wayland. 4. The Right of Property in Land—W. T. Harris, LL.D. IV. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department. 1. Postal Savings Banks—Dr. H. L. Wayland. 2. How to deal with Habitual Criminals—Professor S. E. Baldwin.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-THREE.—Business and Debates of 1887. Address of the President: Problems of the Census—Carroll D. Wright. I. Papers of the Social Economy Department: 1. Address of the Chairman—F. B. Sanborn. 2. Profit Sharing as a Method of Remunerating Labor—F. J. Kingsbury. 3. Alfred Dolge and his Experiments—A. Dolge and Ernest Richard. 4. Profit Sharing Historically and Theoretically Considered—G. M. Powell. 5. Labor Organizations—J. G. Brooks. 6. Woman and the Temperance Question—Frances E. Willard. II. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department: 1. The American System of Trial by Jury—D. H. Chamberlain. 2. The Law's Uncertainty—Thomas Thatcher. 3. The Incurable—Francis Wayland. 4. Private Corporations and the State—H. A. James. 5. Social Science in the Law of Moses—H. L. Wayland.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-FOUR.—Introductory. Committee on Provident Institutions. Constitution, List of Members, etc. I. Papers of the Health Department: 1. Relation of the Physician to the Community, and of the Community to the Physician—Grace Peckham, M.D. 2. The Function of the Lungs—D. Emery Holman, M.D. 3. Certain Injurious Influences of City Life and their Removal—Walter B. Platt, M.D. 4. The Criminal Type—William Noyes, M.D. 5. Immigration and Nervous Diseases—C. L. Dana, M.D., with Discussion. II. Papers of the Education Department: 1. The Opportunities of America—F. B. Sanborn. 2. Address—T. W. Higginson. 3. Pedagogy in American Colleges—Professor E. J. James. 4. The Education of Women—Arthur Gilman.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-FIVE.—General Meeting of 1888. President Adams on Higher Education. I. The Growth and Purposes of Bureaus of Statistics of Labor—Address of the President, Carroll D. Wright. II. Papers and Debates of the Department of Health: 1. Address on Requirements for a Medical Degree—Dr. H. H. Curtis. 2. How Far can Legislation aid in Maintaining a Proper Standard of Medical Education?—W. A. Purring-ton. 3. The Value of a Liberal Education Antecedent to the Study of Medicine—Sylvester F. Scovel. Remarks of Dr. Grace Peckham. 4. Unsanitary Conditions in Country Homes—Dr. Lucy M. Hall. 5. The Working-women of New York: Their Health and Occupations—Elizabeth Stow Brown, M.D. 6. The Struggle for Subsistence: How can it be most Efficiently Aided?—Henry Dwight Chapin, M.D. III. Papers of the Finance and Social Economy Departments: 1. Address of the Chairman—F. B. Sanborn. 2. Savings Banks in the United States—John P. Townsend. 3. Co-operative Building Associations. Report of the Special Committee. 4. Report on Savings Banks and Building Associations of Illinois—Professor J. W. Jenks. 5. Co-operative Building and Loan Associations in the State of New York—Seymour Dexter, Esq. 6. The Dangerous Side of Building Associations—Mr. C. F. Southard. 7. Notes on Provident Institutions in Arkansas, Tennessee, and Texas—Professor Robert T. Hill. 8. Life Insurance—Report of the Committee. Hebrew Provident Institutions. 9. The Early History of School Savings Banks in the United States—J. H. Thiry.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-SIX.—General Meeting of 1889. Report of J. P. Townsend, Secretary. Constitution, List of Members and Publications, etc. I. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department: 1. The Economic Law of Monopoly—President E. B. Andrews. 2. Constitutional Guarantees of the Right of Property—George Hoadly. 3. Education as a Cure for Crime—S. T. Dutton. 4. Immigration and Crime—W. M. F. Round. 5. The Dead Hand—Dr. H. L. Wayland. II. Papers of the Education Department: 1. Industrial Training of the Defective Classes. Discussion by President Gallaudet, General Brinkerhoff, Dr. Bryce, F. B. Sanborn, Miss Alice Cooke, etc. 2. Popular Fallacies concerning the Insane—Dr. Pliny Earle. III. Papers of the Social Economy Department: 1. Report on Co-operative Building and Loan Associations. 2. Socialism in England—Percival Chubb.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-SEVEN.—General Meeting of 1890. Constitution, List of Members, etc. The Third Estate of the South—Rev. A. D. Mayo. The Single Tax Debate—Remarks by Samuel B. Clarke, Professor Thomas Davidson, W. L. Garrison, Professor John B. Clark, President E. B. Andrews, Professor E. R. A. Seligman, Louis F. Post, Edward Atkinson, Henry George, Professor W. T. Harris, and James R. Carret.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-EIGHT.—General Meeting of 1891. M. Levasseur on Malthus. The Late Rufus King. President White's Addresses. I. Papers of the Social Economy Department: 1. Labor Organizations—S. M. Hotchkiss. 2. Trades-unions—S. Gompers. 3. Trades-unions and Wages—Prof. J. W. Jenks. 4. Shoemaking in Connecticut—F. J. Kingsbury. 5. Arbitration, Voluntary and Compulsory—Mrs. C. R. Lowell. 6. Compulsory Arbitration—Seymour Dexter. 7. Social Side of Unions—George Gunton. 8. Trades-unions and Apprentices—E. W. Bemis. II. Miscellaneous Papers: 1. Treatment of Hydrophobia—Dr. Paul Gubler. 2. The Silver Question—J. D. Warner. 3. Reform of the Civil Service—W. D. Foulke.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-NINE.—Introduction. The General Meeting of 1892. The Late Dr. Pliny Earle. I. Summer Camps for Boys—Dr. W. T. Talbot. II. The New York City Health Department—Dr. Cyrus Edson. III. The Tenement House: Its Influence upon the Child—Dr. Mary E. Herrick. IV. The Progress of the Financial Credit of the Government of the United States—Joseph T. Brown. V. Aids in the Study of Social Science—F. B. Sanborn. VI. The Care of Epileptics—Dr. Frederick Peterson.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER THIRTY.—President Wayland's Address. General Meeting of 1892. Obituary Notices: Sir Daniel Wilson—Mrs. C. H. Dall. George William Curtis—F. B. Sanborn. I. Miscellaneous Papers: Social Science in the Nineteenth Century—F. B. Sanborn. Art Education in American Life—Miss M. B. Martin. Commitment of the Insane

in New York City—Dr. M. D. Field. County Jails as Reformatory Institutions—E. B. Merrill. American Childhood from a Medical Standpoint—Dr. H. L. Taylor. II. Papers of the Social Economy Department: 1. Sweating in Germany—Rev. J. G. Brooks. 2. The Sweating System in the United Kingdom—D. F. Schloss. 3. Conditions of the Labor of Women and Children in New York—Dr. Anna S. Daniel. 4. The Sweating System in Massachusetts—H. G. Wadlin. 5. Tenement-house Workers in Boston—W. F. Hicks. 6. The Sweating System in General—Joseph Lee. 7. Legislation.—Appendix—Joseph Lee. The Great Coal Combination and the Reading Leases—C. L. Munson. Publications of the American Social Science Association.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER THIRTY-ONE.—Order of Business, Saratoga Meeting of 1893. George William Curtis: A Tribute—Edward B. Merrill. Socialism and Social Science: A Report—F. B. Sanborn. Recent Progress in Medicine and Surgery—Frederick Peterson, M.D. Debate on Myxoidema. Compulsory Arbitration—H. L. Wayland, D.D. I. Papers of the Finance Department: 1. Three Factors of Wealth—F. J. Kingsbury. 2. Bimetallism or the Double Standard—J. L. Greene. 3. Present Status of Silver—Dr. C. B. Spahr. Speech of Secretary Carlisle. II. Papers of the Social Economy Department: 1. Phases of Social Economy—F. B. Sanborn. 2. Mutual Benefit Societies in Connecticut—S. M. Hotchkiss. 3. The Sweating System in 1893. III. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department: 1. Reformation or Retribution?—Eugene Smith. 2. A Reply to Mr. Smith James McKeen. 3. Modern Methods with Criminals—C. A. Collin. IV. The Education of Epileptics—Dr. L. F. Bryson. Note on the Sweating System. Constitution, List of Officers, Members, and Publications.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER THIRTY-TWO.—Order of Business, Saratoga Meeting of 1894. The Reign of Law—President Kingsbury. Present Aspect of the Silver Problem—Prof. Jenks. I. Papers of the Social Economy Department: Relief of the Unemployed: Reports. II. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department: 1. The Elmira System—C. D. Warner. 2. Mobs and Lynching—G. C. Holt. 3. State Surgery—Rev. Dr. Wayland. III. Papers of the Health Department: 1. International Sanitary Conferences—Dr. S. Smith. 2. Newspaper Work for Women—Mrs. Welch. IV. Papers of the Education Department: 1. English as a Universal Language—D. G. Porter. 2. Higher Education in Greece—Prof. D. Quinn. 3. The Place of Social Philosophy—Prof. G. G. Wilson. 4. Relation of Sociology to Scientific Studies—Prof. F. H. Giddings. 5. Practical Instruction in Civics—Prof. J. Macy. 6. Possibilities of Social Amelioration—Prof. J. J. McCook. Constitution, List of Officers, Members, and Publications.

In separate pamphlets: The Single Tax Debate, 1890; Discussion of Labor Organizations, 1891; and the Sweating System, 1892; also, Relief of the Unemployed, 1894, and Pauperism and Whiskey, 1894.

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NUMBER XXXIII.

NOVEMBER, 1895.

SARATOGA PAPERS OF 1895.

PAPERS ON LIFE IN CITIES, THE SILVER QUESTION,
NAVAL EDUCATION, AND EDUCATION AT THE
SOUTH, MEXICAN AFFAIRS, ETC.

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F. B. SANBORN
GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE ASSOCIATION
CONCORD, MASS.

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INTRODUCTION.

The papers included in this number of the *Journal of Social Science* are nearly all the Saratoga Papers of 1895. As some misapprehension may exist in regard to the publication of papers by the Association, it may here be said that all papers engaged for the General Meeting of the American Social Science Association are so engaged, with the understanding that they may be printed in the *Journal of Social Science* if the Council so decide. If, therefore, the writers choose to publish their papers elsewhere (to which the Council offers no objection), it must be with the stipulation that these papers may also be published in the *Journal*, at the option of the Council as to the time of publication.

A list of all the Addresses and Papers for the meeting of 1895 is printed on pages v-vii.

CONCORD, MASS., NOV. 11, 1895.

GENERAL MEETING OF 1895.

The General Meeting of 1895 was held in the Town Hall in Saratoga, beginning Monday, September 2, and closing Friday, September 6.

The opening Address, on "*Life in Cities*," was given by the President, F. J. KINGSBURY, LL.D., of Waterbury, Ct., Monday evening, September 3, at 8.00 P.M. On the same evening at 9.00 P.M. the *Annual Report* of the General Secretary was read, its title being "*Society and Socialism*."

The Departments held sessions as follows : —

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 3.

Department of Education.

9.30 A.M. Remarks by the Chairman, President G. W. SMITH, of Trinity College, Hartford.

10.00 A.M. A paper by CHESTER H. HARTRANFT, D.D., of Hartford, on "*The Hartford School of Sociology*."

11.00 A.M. A Paper by Commander CASPAR F. GOODRICH, U.S.N., on "*Naval Education*."

12.00 M. A Paper by Prof. HENRY FERGUSON, of Trinity College, on "*Oxford University*."

8.00 P.M. An Address by President JULIUS D. DREHER, of Roanoke College, Virginia, on "*Education in the South, its Difficulties and Encouragements*."

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 4.

Department of Health.

9.30 A.M. An Address by Dr. FREDERICK PETERSON, of New York, Chairman of the Department, on "*The Craig Colony for Epileptics.*"

10.30 A.M. A Paper by Dr. L. DUNCAN BULKLEY, of New York, "*A Plea for the Legal Control of Syphilis.*"

12.00 M. A Paper by GRACE PECKHAM MURRAY, M.D., of New York, on "*The Relation of Education to the Cerebral Development of the Child.*"

1.00 P.M. A Paper by JOHN WINTERS BRANNAN, M.D., of New York City, on "*The Use of Antitoxine in the Prevention and Treatment of Diphtheria.*"

8.00 P.M. Election of officers.

8.30 P.M. An Address by TIMOTHY MATLOCK CHEESMAN, M.D., of Columbia College, New York, on "*The Bacteria: What They Are, What They Do, How We Study Them*"; illustrated by twenty-seven lantern slides.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 5.

Department of Jurisprudence.

9.30 A.M. Remarks by the Chairman of the Department, Prof. WAYLAND.

10.00 A.M. A Paper by EDWARD V. RAYNOLDS, Esq., of New Haven, Conn., on "*The Swiss Referendum.*"

11.30 A.M. A Conference on "*Provisions of the Amended Constitution of New York concerning Prison Labor,*" opened by EUGENE SMITH, Esq., and continued by W. P. PRENTICE, of New York, and others.

8.00 P.M. A Paper by WALTER S. LOGAN, Esq., of New York, on "*A Mexican Lawsuit.*"

9.15 P.M. An Address by SENOR ROMERO, of Mexico, on "*Mexican Affairs.*"

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 6.

Departments of Finance and Social Economy.

9.00 A.M. A Paper by Edward T. Potter, of Newport, on "*Tenement Houses.*"

9.30 A.M. Remarks on "*The Silver Problems of the World,*" by the Secretary of the Finance Department, Prof. J. W. JENKS, of Cornell University.

10.00 A.M. A Conference on "*The Silver Question,*" opened by Hon. A. J. WARNER, of Marietta, Ohio, followed by Remarks and Letters from Messrs. PATTERSON, of Tennessee, SHELDON, of Connecticut, HERR, of New Jersey, HARTER, of Ohio, HIGGINS, of Delaware, and WOODFORD and STOKES, of New York.

4.30 P.M. A Report on "*Trade Schools in the United States,*" by the Secretary of the Department, JOSEPH LEE, Esq., of Brookline.

A Second Paper by Mr. POTTER, of Newport, was read, on "*Open Air Teaching.*"

THE SILVER DEBATE.

The great interest manifested in the questions of bimetallism and the free coinage of silver, independent of international agreement, both among the members of our Association and the American people at large, as indicated by the papers read at the Saratoga meeting of 1893, and in Professor Jenks's able report of 1894, led the chairman of the Finance Department, the late John W. Carter, our lamented associate, to make arrangements for a joint debate on those topics this year. The example for such debates had been set in former years by the very successful sessions on the Single Tax in 1890, the Trades-unions in 1892, the Sweating System in 1893, and the Relief of the Unemployed in 1894. Mr. Carter was well fitted to arrange such a debate, from his long acquaintance with monetary affairs in various parts of the world which he had visited or to which his business and social relations extended; and the Association depended with confidence on his selection of speakers and essayists to represent the various aspects of this complicated international question. But, in the midst of his extensive correspondence on this subject, Mr. Carter was stopped by his sudden accidental death; and it was left for others to complete the arrangement imperfectly.

Nevertheless, in the ability of the distinguished debaters and the fulness with which the arguments are presented, so far as the United States alone are concerned, on the single topic of Free Coinage (which was that selected by Mr. Carter in the winter and spring of 1895 as most suitable for discussion), the debate, as here reported, leaves little to be desired. We had hoped, however, to obtain essays from able financiers or statesmen in foreign countries, of which the death of Mr. Carter or the changed aspect of international relations now deprives us. The course of political discussion in our own country, also, since the President and the Secretary of the Treasury last spring undertook to convince the communities at the South, which had specially favored free silver coinage, that the interests of the nation would not allow it, has been so different from the tone of 1894, that interest in the restricted subject of bimetallism without international agreement

has already considerably abated. The increasing prosperity of the country, discounting some of the arguments drawn from the alleged calamity of low prices,—the more remote probability of the establishment of any international basis of coinage, and the anomalous relation found to exist this year between the low price of silver and the higher prices of cotton, iron, and some other large American products,—have all operated to turn public attention to other aspects of our national currency than those which immediately concern silver.

By the accidental absence of our stenographic reporter at Hon. A. J. Warner's opening remarks, they do not appear in the annexed Report, which is to be regretted. Nor has Mr. Warner, through illness, been able to revise his speeches in time for the issue of our *Journal*. But so fully did his associate, Mr. Sheldon, present the fundamental argument on that side of the case that no substantial injustice seems to have been done; the space taken by the advocates of free silver coinage being considerably greater than that taken by Messrs. Patterson, Harter, and Horr in opposition. The speeches of Senator Higgins and Messrs. Stokes and Woodford may be considered as intermediate between the two sides, favoring international bimetallism or some joint metallic solution of the problem.

Certain errata in the report of Mr. Warner's remarks have been supplied by him, but too late to appear in the pages which they correct. Some of these seem to be more careful statements than those actually made and replied to by the debaters on the other side. Others are in correction of errors made by our stenographic reporter. As the report was in the hands of Mr. Warner for several weeks, and the printing was delayed to await his revision which did not come, it would seem that the fault was not with the reporter or the editor, both of whom would have been glad to see in print exactly what the able and courteous gentleman from Ohio either said, or meant to say, in support of his theory of money and coinage. The chief corrections of Mr. Warner in matters of fact are these:—

On page 52 of the *Journal*: "Our debt to-day is more than \$5,000,000" instead of \$8,000,000. In the citation from the *Forum* add \$100,000,000 in the carrying trade to the \$100,000,000 expended by American travellers to make up Mr. Heidelbach's \$350,000,000.

On the same page read: "This increase of debts has arisen en-

tirely from the failure to pay our obligations annually. We have given no notes in the way of railroad securities for what we owed," etc.

Bottom of page 52. "Now, with \$75,000,000,000 of world debts, more than the entire wealth of the United States, 4 per cent. increase in twenty-five years will have doubled this debt, as a burden on the people. So the power of automatic acquisition of wealth has been vastly greater because of this debt than it would have been by the appreciation of money alone. Those two things cannot go on permanently." (This brings us to the sentence on page 53, beginning, "Interest is paid," etc. In that sentence for "possible" read "past" accumulations of wealth.

Page 53. Strike out the question, "Submit your money to regulation," etc. Then read, "No debtor country can make protection effective." Below this read, "If we should attempt it" (maintaining a higher level of prices) "our creditors would cease," etc. Further down read, "A permanent rise in prices is impossible."

Page 92. Read, "Whatever cause affects the demand for money, supply being the same, changes prices." At the bottom of page read, "If the value of money, instead of depending upon the quantity," etc., "depends upon some inherent quality, then value can never change," etc.

Page 93, at top. Read, "value independent of monetary use." On the same page the maximum limit of the cost of an ounce of gold should be \$50, not \$500. The final sentences at the bottom, after Mr. Woodford's remark, should stand: "I grant that, in many things, value follows very closely on cost of production; but the law, as I have stated it, is the law of money as well as of commodities, and I am dealing with economic principles. A thing must have value to measure value, is the proposition advanced here. Must a thing have value, independently from that derived from its use as money, in order to be money?"

Page 94 (top). "Not necessarily. Inconvertible paper may be money, and, if sufficiently limited, may have the same value as the coin it displaces. All economists agree to that. Is it necessary that wheat have any other use than for bread, in order to give it value for flour? So it is with money: it need have no other use, in order to have value as money." (The above instead of the first five lines.)

Page 94. Second paragraph begins: "My friends here want good money. So do we; and good money is that which varies

least in its relations to commodities. Money of the highest order would be that so regulated as to preserve the greatest possible stability between commodities generally and money," etc. (Takes the place of seven lines.)

Bottom of page 94. "My friend Mr. Horr wants to make money good by making it scarce. Wages cannot be raised by appreciating money. He says, if free coinage is restored, the wages of labor will be halved. That is not true. Labor will get more, for production will be increased; and, in the end, wages are but labor's share of what is produced. Economists do not agree that a rise of prices precedes a rise in the wages of labor in all cases."

Page 95, line 3. "But a rise of prices that is the result of the depreciation of money cannot precede the increase of wages, because such rise can only come from a larger expenditure of money for commodities; and laborers are the largest buyers; and they cannot buy more unless they earn more. Read Professor Cairnes," etc.

Page 95, last speech of Mr. Warner. "I put in a further limitation, which is the limitation given by Ricardo, Albert Gallatin, and others: it must be limited to the amount of metallic money," etc.

The other corrections of Mr. Warner are matters of style, not affecting the argument. In a letter of November 3 he says, however:—

I regret exceedingly the trouble I am causing you, but under no consideration can I consent to let my part in the discussion go out in the form in which it now appears in the printed pages. The report is so imperfect, so mixed up, and so full of errors that it cannot be corrected by notes or errata: it can only be corrected in the text itself. I am made to say things that I certainly did not say, and things important are but partially reported or not at all. If I had received from the reporter a full report of my remarks, I might have corrected the type-written sheets earlier; but it was not so sent to me. The part of my second address which now appears on page 92, and most of that on page 93, was not sent me at all; and the first part of my first address and my closing remarks do not appear. But I do not want to complain, for I am so much to blame myself. I was away, however, when the reporter's notes first came, and, when I returned, was too ill to revise and complete them. I had got the idea also in some way that the first of November would be in time.

It is not believed that the errors above corrected will have any other effect than to induce a more careful reading of Mr. Warner's remarks, which he must surely desire, as the editor does.

In Mr. Sheldon's remarks a few errata are to be found. On page 72, third line, for "quantity" read "quality"; and on page 104, Mr. Sheldon said, "it would not double the 'amount' of property," not the "value."

Besides the report of this debate in the *Journal of Social Science*, No. XXXIII., we print a small special edition for separate circulation, copies of which, at 30 cents each, or \$25 a hundred, may be ordered of the Association publishers, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, or our agents, Damrell & Upham and the Boston Book Company, Boston, or of the General Secretary, F. B. Sanborn, Concord, Mass.

F. B. S.

CONCORD, Nov. 11, 1895.

CONSTITUTION,
LIST OF OFFICERS, MEMBERS, ETC.,
OF THE
American Social Science Association
NOVEMBER 1, 1895.

American Social Science Association.

(Founded in 1865.)

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II. Its object shall be classified in five departments: the first, of Education; the second, of Health; the third, of Trade and Finance; the fourth, of Social Economy; the fifth, of Jurisprudence.

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No List of Members of the Association, as printed, can ever be quite complete, so many changes occur by death and withdrawal, the accession of new members, etc. The following list is as complete as the Secretary could make it up to Nov. 1, 1895; but, no doubt, the addresses of several members are wrong, and there are instances of names misprinted, etc., of which the Secretary will thank any person to notify him when the fact is observed.]

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THE TENDENCY OF MEN TO LIVE IN CITIES.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT KINGSBURY.

[Read Sept. 2, 1895.]

Two or three years since I wrote this title as a memorandum for a paper which I wished to prepare when I should find time sufficient to make some necessary investigations, statistical and otherwise. I knew of nothing, or almost nothing, written on the subject, except by way of occasional allusion. I made many inquiries in various directions, personally and by letter, of those who would, I thought, be likely to give me information; I examined libraries and catalogues,—and all this with very trifling results. To-day, when I again take up the theme, so much has been written on the subject that the question has almost passed from the stage of generalization to that of specialization and detail.

In the April number of the *Atlantic Magazine* of the present year an article commenting on Dr. Albert Shaw's recent work, entitled "Municipal Government in Great Britain," says,—

The great fact in the social development of the white race at the close of the nineteenth century is the tendency all over the world to concentrate in great cities.

Doubtless this is true; but it is not a new, nor even a modern, tendency, although, as we shall see, there is much in modern civilization which tends to increase and accentuate it. Still, when the earliest dawn of authentic history sheds its pale light on the impenetrable darkness which lies beyond, it shows us cities as large, as magnificent, as luxurious, as wicked, and apparently as old as any that the world has since known. The books speak of Babylon as the largest city the world has ever seen; but it was by no means the first, and may not have been the greatest even then. Nineveh, its great rival, Memphis, Thebes, Damascus, claiming to be oldest of them all, Rome, in a later time, with its two or three million of inhabitants, are but representatives of other cities by the thousands, perhaps larger

and older than the largest and oldest here named, and are certainly sufficient to show that a tendency in men to live congregated together in large numbers is as old as anything that we know about the human race.

In our earliest literature, too, we find, apparently well fixed, some of the same prejudices against the city as a place for men to dwell in that now exist. These prejudices must have been already existing for a long time, and their influence must have been the subject of observation before even the possibly somewhat prejudiced people who did not live in cities should have arrived at such firmly settled conclusions in regard to their deleterious influence. Curiously enough, this prejudice appears in one of our earliest writings. There is no doubt that the writer of the Book of Genesis had what might be called an unfriendly feeling toward Cain. He gives him a bad character in every respect. He holds him up to the universal contempt of mankind, and visits him with the severest judgments of God. And, after he has said about him nearly every bad thing that he can think of, he adds as a climax to his enormities, "*And Cain builded a city.*" Now, whether he meant to be understood that cities, having been first built by such an infamous scoundrel, had turned out to be very much what you might expect, or whether, the general character of cities having been already settled in his mind, it was adding one more black mark to Cain to mention this fact, is by no means clear; but this much is certain, that the writer was no admirer of cities, and that neither Cain nor cities were intended to derive any credit from his statement. From that day to this they have had their severe critics. They have been regarded as the breeding-places of vice and the refuge of crime. Our own Jefferson—that is, Thomas, not Joseph—is said to have called them "ulcers on the body politic." Dr. Andrew D. White, in his address as President of this Association delivered in 1891, says, "Our cities are the rotten spots in our body politic, from which, if we are not careful, decay is to spread throughout our whole country; for cities make and spread opinions, fashions, ideals." The poet Cowley says,—

"God the first garden made, and the first city Cain."

And other writers with the same feelings have used language of a similar import, dictated by the warmth of their temperament, the range of their vocabulary, and the power of their rhetoric.

Professor Max Nordau, who has lately shown us in a large octavo of six hundred and fifty pages how we are all hastening on to certain destruction,—a conclusion which I am not disposed to combat,—or perhaps I might more modestly say, as the late President Woolsey is reported to have said to Daniel A. Pratt, the great American traveller, when he laid before him some rather startling propositions, that I would rather give him a dollar than to attempt to point out the fallacy in his argument,—Mr. Nordau, after quoting high authority to show how the human race is poisoning itself with alcohol, tobacco, opium, hasheesh, arsenic, and tainted food, says : —

To these noxious influences, however, one more may be added, which Morel [the authority he has just quoted] has not known or has not taken into consideration ; namely, residence in large towns. The inhabitant of a large town, even the richest, who is surrounded by the greatest luxury, is continually exposed to unfavorable influences which diminish his vital powers far more than what is inevitable. He breathes an atmosphere charged with organic detritus ; he eats stale, contaminated, adulterated food ; he feels himself in a state of constant nervous excitement, and one can compare him without exaggeration to the inhabitant of a marshy district. The effect of a large town on the human organism offers the closest analogy to that of the Maremma, and its population falls victim to the same fatality of degeneracy and destruction as the victims of malaria. The death-rate in a large town is more than a quarter greater than the average for the entire population. It is double that of the open country, though in reality it ought to be less, since in a large town the most vigorous ages predominate, during which the mortality is lower than in infancy and old age. And the children of large towns who are not carried off at an early age suffer from the peculiar arrested development which Morel has ascertained in the population of fever districts. They develop more or less normally until they are fourteen or fifteen years of age, are up to that time alert, sometimes brilliantly endowed, and give the highest promise. Then suddenly there is a standstill. The mind loses its facility of comprehension ; and the boy, who only yesterday was a model scholar, becomes an obtuse, clumsy dunce, who can only be steered with the greatest difficulty through his examinations. With these mental changes bodily modifications go hand in hand. The growth of the long bones is extremely slow or ceases entirely, the legs remain short, the pelvis retains a feminine form, certain other organs cease to develop, and the entire being presents a strange and repulsive mixture of uncompleteness and decay. Now, we know how in the last generation the number of inhabitants of great towns increased to an extraordinary degree. At the present time an incomparably

larger portion of the whole population is subjected to the destructive influences of large towns than was the case fifty years ago. Hence the number of victims is proportionately more striking, and continually becomes more remarkable. Parallel with growth of large towns is the increase in the number of the degenerate of all kinds, criminals, lunatics, and the higher degenerates of Magnan; and it is natural that these last should play an ever more prominent part in endeavoring to introduce an ever greater element of insanity into art and literature.

Many people think Nordau like the patient in the asylum. He thinks everybody crazy except himself. But Dr. Walter B. Platt, in a paper read before this Association in 1887, points out certain dangers to the constitution to which every dweller in cities is of necessity exposed from physical causes, specially mentioning disuse of the upper extremities, the exposure to incessant noise and its cumulative effect on the whole nervous system, the jarring of the brain and spinal cord by a continual treading upon unyielding pavements. And he adds that good authorities assert that there are very few families now living in London who with their predecessors have resided there continuously for three generations; but he excepts from the operations of these deleterious influences those whose circumstances are such as to enable them to spend a considerable portion of each year in the country.

Dr. Grace Peckham, in a paper read before this Association in 1885, says, "However it was arrived at, the census of 1880 shows that the infant mortality of cities in this country is twice as great as that of the rural districts."

Every one who has taken an interest in Mr. Charles Loring Brace's great work in the city of New York knows that his firm belief was that the salvation of the city poor depended on getting the surplus into country homes; and few men have been more competent to judge or more ready to look at all sides of a case than he. The literature of the slums is full of every human horror; and it would seem as if any change must be for the better.

Dr. Josiah Strong, in that vigorous presentation of the dangers of our American civilization entitled "Our Country," says: "The city has become a serious menace to our civilization, because in it each of our dangers is enhanced and all are localized. It has a peculiar attraction for the immigrant. In 1880 our fifty principal cities contained 39.3 per cent. of our German population and 45.8 per cent. of our Irish. Not only does the proportion of the poor increase with the growth of the city, but their condition becomes

more wretched. Dives and Lazarus are brought face to face." Speaking of Dives and Lazarus, has Dives had what you may call quite fair play? Even Judas has had his apologists, but I do not remember ever to have seen any speculation as to what would have become of Lazarus if he had not been fed from Dives' table. Doubtless he preferred that to the poorhouse or even to tramping; and, from all accounts, he was not exactly the sort of person you would choose for a parlor boarder. This, however, is a mere passing comment, and, I trust, will not involve me in any theological discussion; but I do like to see even the devil have his due.

The feature of cities which is perhaps at present attracting more attention than any other is their misgovernment. Dr. Strong begins a paragraph thus: "The government of the city is by a 'boss' who is skilled in the manipulation of the 'machine,' and who holds no political principles 'except for revenue only.'" If a foreigner were to read that sentence, he would infer that "boss" was the English for the chief magistrate of a city; but we know so well just what it means that it scarcely attracts our attention. At least three times within forty years the municipal government of New York has been so bad that it was felt that every interest in the city, except perhaps the liquor interest, was seriously threatened; and relief has only come through the interference of the State legislature, which is a kind of interference that, however necessary and useful it may occasionally be, does not belong logically to our system of government. Perhaps here the real question is whether a republican form of government, or self-government, was ever intended for those who are clearly not fit to govern themselves or anybody else. It is right to add, as a matter of fairness to New York, that Philadelphia and Chicago are just as bad, and that every little municipality through our whole land has to struggle with some "boss" who has learned his trade or taken his cue from successful rascals in our larger towns. "A public office is an opportunity for public plunder" is the way their motto reads, if they hang it right side out.

One would think after reading all this about the evils of cities from the time of Cain to the last New York election,—or, rather, let us say, to the last but one,—and especially when we must admit that we know everything that is said to be true, and that even then not the half nor the tenth part has been told, and we are almost driven to the conclusion that nothing short of the treatment applied to Sodom and Gomorrah will meet the necessities

of the case, that every sane man and woman should flee without stopping for the open country; and the women especially should be careful how they look behind them, and be sure to remember Lot's wife, and nothing should induce them to turn their faces cityward again.

Now, in spite of all this, precisely the reverse is true; and, while there has always been a strong tendency in humanity cityward, this nineteenth century sees it intensified beyond all former experience. Statistics do not make interesting public reading; but from Dr. Strong's valuable work — where there are many — we take a few in support of our position: —

The population of this country as divided between city and country was in 1790, omitting fractions: country, 97 per cent.; city, 3 per cent.: in 1840, country, 91 per cent.; city, 9 per cent.: in 1890, country, 71 per cent.; city, 29 per cent.; and the rate of increase is itself all the while increasing.

In 1856 Chicago had a population of 90,000. In 1895 it is supposed to have 1,500,000, with several outlying districts not yet heard from. In this classification — which is taken from the United States census — towns of 8,000 and over rank as cities, while the rest is country. Of course, a line must be drawn somewhere for the purpose of statistics; but many think it might more properly have been drawn at 5,000, which would largely increase the city percentage. Dr. Strong also quotes this statement, — that in the rural districts of Wayne County, New York, there are 400 unoccupied houses, and much other valuable statistical information of a similar character. Professor Nordau also has many statistics of various European countries, all to the same purport. But the general fact of the enormous increase of the city at the expense of the country is so notorious that it needs no proof. Let us consider some of its causes.

It is well to notice, and perhaps here as well as anywhere, that, while in all countries the influence of the city has been great, it has not been equally great in all. Rome was the Roman Empire. Carthage was Phœnicia. Paris to-day is France; but London, big as it is, is not England, Madrid is not Spain, and certainly Berlin is not Germany. In all these cases there is a power and a public opinion, a consensus of thought, a moral, political, and social influence in the country as a whole, which does not look to nor depend upon the city as its maker, leader, and guide. It is easier to

see and feel this fact than to analyze and explain it. Probably the same reasons or kinds of reasons do not apply in every case; but each has its own, some of which are easy to find and others too deep and elusive to be discovered. Accidents of early history, geographical relations, the temper and idiosyncrasies of a people and other influences, some broader and some more subtle, all combine to fix the relative position and importance of the great city and the country or the lesser town. Speaking of Constantinople, Mr. Frederic Harrison says:—

There is but one city of the world of which it can be said that for fifteen centuries and a half it has been the continuous seat of empire under all the changes of race, institutions, customs, and religions. And this may be ultimately traced to its incomparable physical and geographical capabilities.

In England more than in any other country, as it seems to me, country life is regarded as the normal condition of a fully developed man; and even then it is only those who keep themselves polished by frequent attrition with city life that accomplish much for themselves or their fellow-men. But probably the lesson to be drawn is that a life where both the city and country have a part develops the highest form of manhood and is the end to be striven for.

Ancient cities owed their existence to a variety of causes. Probably safety and convenience were, at the bottom, the reasons for aggregating the population; but any special city frequently owed its existence, so far as appears, to the mere caprice of a ruler as a passing fancy,—though he may have had his reasons,—sometimes, doubtless, to military considerations, and sometimes perhaps to accident, or to migration, or the results of natural causes, geographical or commercial. It was not until the Middle Ages that the industrial town was evolved. But the modern town seems wholly industrial in its *raison d'être*: it is therefore governed by the laws which govern industrial progress.

Buckle says: "Formerly the richest countries were those in which nature was most bountiful. Now the richest countries are those in which man is most active." (He also adds, although perhaps it has no special significance in this connection, that "it is evident that, the more men congregate in great cities, the more they will become accustomed to draw their material of thought from the business of human life, and the less attention they will

pay to those proclivities of nature which are a fatal source of superstition.")

Aside from all questions of mutual defence and protection and mutual helpfulness in various ways, and industrial convenience, doubtless one of the very strongest of forces in the building of the city is the human instinct of gregariousness. This underlies ancient as well as modern, military as well as industrially founded, aggregations, and the hamlet or the village as well as the city. But there is always a craving to get where there are more people. The countryman, boy or girl, longs for the village, the villager for the larger town, and the dweller in the larger town for the great city; and, having once gone, they are seldom satisfied to return to a place of less size. In short, whatever man may have been or may be in his prognathous or troglodyte condition, ever since we have known much about him he has been highly gregarious, even under unfavorable conditions.

As long ago as 1870 Mr. Frederick Law Olmsted, in a paper read before this Association, said, "There can be no doubt that in all our modern civilization, as in that of the ancients, there is a strong drift townward"; and he quotes the language of an intelligent woman, whose early life had been spent in one of the most agreeable and convenient farming countries in the United States: "If I were offered a deed of the best farm I ever saw, on condition of going back to the country to live, I would not take it. I would rather face starvation in town."

The life of the great city would seem to bear hardest of all on the very poor, and the country, or at least suburban, life to present the strongest attraction, by contrast, to this class. Pure air, plenty of water, room for children to play, milk on which to feed them, room to sleep, wholesome food for adults,—these things, almost impossible to the poor in the city, are nearly all of easy attainments in the country; yet the overmastering desire for a city life seems to be stronger with this class than with any other. Perhaps you are familiar with the story of the kind lady who found a widow with a great family of children living in the depths of poverty and dirt in the city, and moved them all to a comfortable country home, where, with a moderate amount of exertion, they were sure of a living. At the end of six weeks her country agent reported that the family had suddenly disappeared, no one knew where. Going back to the neighborhood of their old haunts, she found them all re-established there in the same circumstances of

dirt and destitution as of old. "Why *did* you leave that comfortable home, and come back here?" was her astonished inquiry. "Folks is more company nor sthoomps, anyhow," was the answer. Poor food, and little of it, dirt and discomfort, heat and cold,—all count as nothing in competition with this passion of gregariousness and desire for human society, even where that means more or less of a constant fight as the popular form of social intercourse.

Doubtless one of the most potent factors in the modern growth of cities has been the immense improvement in the facilities for travel, which has been such a marked characteristic of the last half-century. But, after all, what is this but saying that it has been made easier for people to go where they wished to be? Facilities for travel make it as easy to get from city to country as from country to city; but the tide, except for temporary purposes, all sets one way. Nevertheless, there is no question that this ease of locomotion has been availed of to a surprising extent in transporting each year in the summer season a very large portion, not of the rich alone, but of nearly every class, not only from our great cities, but from our moderately large towns, to the woods and lakes and seashore for a time. The class of people who, fifty years since, lived in the same house the year round, without thought of change, now deem a six or twelve weeks' residence in the country a vital necessity; and this fact is a great alleviation and antidote to some of the unfavorable influences of city life.

All modern industrial life tends to concentration as a matter of economy. It has long been remarked that the best place to establish or carry on any kind of business is where that business is already being done. For that reason we see different kinds of manufactures grouping themselves together,—textiles in one place, metals in another; and, of the textiles, cottons in one place, woollens in another; and of the metals, iron in one place, copper in another, and so on. The reason of this is obvious. In a community where a certain kind of business is carried on the whole population unconsciously become, to a certain extent, experts. They know a vast deal more of it than people who have had no such experience. Every man, woman, and child in a fishing village is much superior in his or her knowledge of fish, bait, boats, wind, and weather to the inhabitants of inland towns. This is true of all the arts, so that, besides the trained hands which may be drawn upon when needed, there is a whole population of half-trained ones ready to be drawn upon to fill their places. Then

every kind of business is partly dependent on several other kinds. There must be machine-makers, blacksmiths, millwrights, and dealers in supplies of all sorts. Where there is a large business of any kind, these subsidiary trades that are supported by it naturally flock around it; whereas in an isolated situation the central establishment must support all these trades itself or go a considerable distance when it needs their assistance. Fifty or sixty years ago small manufacturing establishments in isolated situations and on small streams were scattered all through the Eastern States. The condition of trade at that time rendered this possible. Now they have almost wholly disappeared, driven out by economic necessity; and their successors are in the cities and large towns.

If you will examine any city newspaper of fifty or sixty years ago, you will find frequent advertisements for boys as clerks in stores; and almost always they read "one from the country preferred." Now you never see this. Why is it? I think mainly because the class of boys which these advertisements were expected to attract from the country are no longer there. This was really a call for the well-educated boys of the well-to-do farmers of native stock, who thought they could better themselves by going to a city. They went, and did better themselves; and those who stayed behind fell behind. The country people deteriorated, and the country boy was no longer for business purposes the equal of the boy who had been trained in city ways. Country boys still go to the city; but they are not advertised for, and have to find their own way.

Our great Civil War compelled us to find out some way in which to replace the productive power of a million men sent into the field and suddenly changed from producers into consumers. Their places had to be filled in the lines of agriculture and of all the mechanic arts, in the counting-room, in the pulpit, at the bar, and everywhere else where a soldier was to be found. A hundred thousand of these places, more or less, in shops, in mechanic industries, in counting-rooms, in the medical profession, even at the pulpit and the bar, were filled with women; and the deficit left by the remainder of the million was supplied by newly invented machinery to do their work. The result was that, when the war was over, a million of men, or as many as came back, found their places filled. They were no longer needed. In all rural occupations this was especially the case; and, being driven out of the country by want of work, they flocked to the city as the

most likely place to find it. The disturbing influence in financial, economic, and industrial matters of this sudden change of a million men from producers to consumers and back again to producers, followed as it was soon after by the disturbing influences of the Franco-Prussian War, have never been given their due weight by students of sociology.

We must remember, too, that cities as places of human habitation have vastly improved within half a century. About fifty years ago neither New York nor Boston had public water, and very few of our cities had either water or gas, and horse railroads had not been thought of. When we stop to think what this really means in sanitary matters, it seems to me that the increase of cities is no longer a matter of surprise.

A few years since the great improvement of the lift or elevator added probably 10 per cent. actually, and much more than that theoretically, to the possibilities of population on a given amount of ground; and now within a very recent period three new factors have been suddenly developed which promise to exert a powerful influence on the problems of city and country life. These are the trolley, the bicycle, and the telephone. It is impossible at present to foresee just what their influence is to be on the question of the distribution of population; but this much is certain, that it adds from five to fifteen miles to the radius of every large town, bringing all this additional area into new relations to business centres. Places five or ten miles apart and all the intervening distances are rendered accessible and communicable for all the purposes of life as if they were in the next street. Already the bicycle has done more toward directing attention and effort to the improvement of ordinary highways than all that has been done before since the days of Indian paths. It is affecting the legislation of the country on the subject of roads. When we think of what this minimizing of distance means, we cannot help seeing that its influence must be immense, but just what no man can foretell. It is by such apparently unimportant, trifling, and inconspicuous forces that civilization is swayed and moulded in its evolutions and no man can foresee them or say whither they lead.

Cities, as desirable places of human habitation, seem to have touched low-water mark — as did almost everything else — in that miserable period of comparative cessation in human progress known to us in European history as the "Dark" or "Middle Ages." Babylon had its gardens and its perennial streams of pure water

running through its streets ; Damascus, its wonderful groves and gardens. Old Rome had its mighty aqueducts traversing the country like lines of pillared temples, and bringing the full flow of the mountain streams into the heart of the city, where it irrigated the great gardens and pleasure grounds of the wealthy nobles, and sported in fountains for everybody, and furnished baths for the benefit of the mass of the people. And many other large cities on both shores of the Mediterranean were but a duplicate of Rome. But, when the people had in some way lost their grip,—either through luxury or gluttony or the idleness which came of having no great wars on hand, or whatever it may have been,—their water-works fell out of repair, their baths went to ruin, the Goths came and finished up the job, and the last state of that people was worse, very much worse, than the first. London, which had its rise and great growth in these days of ignorance and darkness, was a great straggling village, without a vestige of sanitary appliances, without decent roads, infested by robbers, and altogether such a place as pestilence delights in and only fire can purify. Mr. Frederic Harrison is so impressed with this that he seems to think the Christianity of those days largely responsible for the increase of dirt that was contemporaneous with its early growth, and that, in its stern repression of luxurious living and care for the body, it affords a very unfavorable contrast to the cleaner and more sanitary ways of the earlier time. Probably this is not without much truth ; but there were other forces at work affecting alike both saints and sinners. Yet in these mediæval cities, miserable places as many of them often were for human dwellings, there were certain forces at work which have done as much for humanity, and for modern civilization as any that can be named. Cities have always been nurseries of freemen.

The Rev. Dr. James W. Cooper, in a recent address, says :—

It is a significant fact that in the development of society productive industry and political liberty have always gone together. There has been no manufacturing or trading people known to history, from the ancient Tyrians to the mediæval Florentines and the modern English, which has not also been a free people. Business enterprise demands freedom, and develops it. Men must have liberty if they are to combine in business ventures, and through such combinations they learn also to unite their interests in other than mere business ways for the common weal. There is a close connection between the private fortune of each and the property of all, if it can only be discerned ; and practical, pushing men are ordinarily the first to discern it.

If you go back to the fourteenth or fifteenth century, you will find the seeds of modern civilization in the little towns and free cities which were just then beginning to develop an independent life all over England and on the Continent. . . . With the introduction of manufactures came the town, and with the town there came insistence on personal rights, a self-respecting, self-governing, compact community was developed, the castle was defied, the old feudal system of the Middle Ages gave way before the new civilization, and the modern era was ushered in. This was accomplished by the towns. It is the habit just now to praise the country and decry the town. We quote Cowper, and say, "God made the country, man made the town." I suppose this is true. But God also made man who made the town, . . . and, while the beginning of things was a garden in the paradise of Eden, the end of things, as prophesied in the Book of Revelation, is a city, magnificent and populous, the new Jerusalem.

In a paper read before this Association in 1885 on city and country schools, Mr. W. M. Beckner says: "Cities have played a noble part in the struggle for light and progress. In Europe they were the first to rebel against the feudal system. In England, London always led the fight against tyranny." Indeed there is plenty of historical proof of this fact. "The ordering of secular matters appertaineth not to the pope," said the burghers of London in the year 1215, a time when the pope himself and a great many other people thought that the ordering of everything that was worth ordering appertained to him. I find also the following in a book of parliamentary usages: "At the first meeting of a new parliament the members for the city of London, in court dress or uniform, take seats on the Treasury bench, which are afterwards vacated for the ministers of the day. This privilege is accorded to them in commemoration of the part taken by the city in 1642 in defence of the privilege of Parliament and the protection given to the five members who took refuge in the city when their arrest had been attempted by King Charles. This usage was observed," it says, "at the meeting of Parliament in April, 1880." London and Bristol were the sympathizers and stanch friends of America in our own Revolution.

It is remarked, too, I think, by Mr. J. R. Green, that the important part in all public matters played by the trade guilds, which were only found in cities, and their influence as a whole toward freedom, although at times despotic within themselves, is too well known to need any lengthy reference.

Professor George Burton Adams, in his "History of Mediæval

Civilization," says: "It is in Italy, however, that the most revolutionary changes which mark the new age are to be seen. There Frederick found himself opposed by an entirely new and most determined energy,—the cities."

And in the history of freedom the very names of Utrecht, Dort, Haarlem, Leyden, Magdeburg, Hamburg, Bruges, Wittenberg, Eisenach, and Worms, of Padua, Bologna, and Florence, of Warsaw, Prague, and Buda-Pesth, to which may be added London, Bristol, and Boston, ring with the story of popular rights and human liberty.

Frederic Harrison says: "The life that men live in the city gives the type and measure of their civilization. The word 'civilization' means the manner of life of the civilized part of the community; that is, of the city men, not of the countrymen, who are called rustics, and were once called pagans (*pagani*), or the heathen of the villages." And another says, "A great and beautiful city surely draws to her the observant and thoughtful souls from every district, and, if she does not keep them, sends them home refined and transmuted."

Some modern woman is quoted as saying that, if one has to run the gauntlet of two or three hundred pair of sharply scrutinizing eyes, the consciousness of a Paris dress is worth any amount of moral principle. And Sappho, who sang six or seven hundred years before the Christian era, says,—

"What country maiden charms thee,
However fair her face,
Who knows not how to gather
Her dress with artless grace?"

If they "didn't know everything down in Judee," it is clear that in Lesbos they knew two or three.

In contrast with the statements of Nordau and of others in regard to the unfavorable sanitary conditions of city life, it must be noticed that it is always in cities that those who can afford it get the best food; and, if you are living in the country, you are largely dependent on the city for your supply. The summer seashore visitor usually finds, if he takes the trouble to investigate, that his fresh fish comes from the nearest great city, also his meat, and quite likely his butter and eggs, and nearly everything except perhaps his milk. To be sure, they came from the country first in many cases; but they seek the best market, and are to be best found at it.

It is also only in great cities, as a rule, that the best medical skill can be obtained. There we all go or send to have our most serious diseases treated and our most critical surgical operations performed. It is almost wholly owing to the unsanitary condition among the children of the very poor that the city death-rate is so high.

Mr. C. F. Wingate, in a paper read here in 1885, quotes Dr. Sargent as saying that "life in towns is, on the whole, more healthful than in the country"; also Sir Charles Dilke, in speaking of recent sanitary improvements in England, as saying that "the exceptions are mostly found in the rural districts." This apparent discrepancy between these statements and some of the others is doubtless to be accounted for by the fact that the former had in mind the very poor, while the latter doubtless referred to the better conditioned.

I have been fairly familiar with the streets of New York and Boston for the last fifty years, and there is no fact in that connection with which I have been more impressed than the physical improvement which has taken place in both men and women during that period. The men are more robust and more erect, the women have greatly improved both in feature and carriage; and in the care and condition of the teeth in both sexes a surprising change has taken place. In Boston streets and street-cars it seems to me that you see a hundred good-looking women where you formerly saw one. Whether this would hold good in the slums and low parts of the town may be doubted, but there of course one looks for the refuse and cast-off material of society.

A few years since I stood by the grave of a prominent man in one of our rural towns. By my side stood a man who had achieved a reputation both in literature and law. He said to me, "Who is that man opposite?" calling my attention to a tall, fine-looking man. "That," I replied, "is General H." "Ah!" said my friend with accents of enthusiasm: "one needs to come into the rural districts to see the finest specimens of manhood." I said, "Look about, and see if you find any more." He did not find them. Then I said, "You have picked out the one man here who is in no sense a rural product. It is true this is his home, but his life is metropolitan or cosmopolitan; and those prematurely old, bowed, rheumatic, decrepit, and uninteresting people who make up most of the gathering are the true representatives of our rural population." I think I shattered an ideal, but the logic of facts was too strong to be resisted.

Perhaps this is as good a place as any to remark that, when any occupation or calling in life or in a community becomes relatively less remunerative than the average, there begins at once by natural selection a process of personal deterioration of those engaged in it. In other words, success is the stepping-stone to improvement. And in the rural districts of the Eastern States this deterioration has been going on now for fifty years.

Rev. Dr. Greer has recently said, speaking of clerical work in city and country : —

I think I should say that the difficulties in the country are greater than those in the city. There is more, I think, in common village life to lower and degrade and demoralize than in the city. Take the matter of amusements in the city. There are good ones, and we can make a choice. In the country one cannot make a choice. If a theatrical company comes to a village, it is a poor company. If a concert is given, it is a poor concert. The entertainment is of a poor character. Then, again, there is a loneliness, an isolation, in the country life; and this tends to lower and depreciate that life. I believe statistics show that a large contingent of the insane in our asylums come from the farms. That hard drudgery of struggle with the clod and the soil from early morning to evening twilight is a lonely and bitter struggle. There is a want of idealism.

I think it is Dr. Strong who says: "When population decreases and roads deteriorate, there is an increasing isolation, with which comes a tendency toward demoralization and degeneration. The mountain whites of the South afford an illustration of the results of such a tendency operating through several generations. Their heathenish degradation is not due to their antecedents, but primarily to their isolation." He also mentions communities in New England where like causes have produced a similar result. I think isolated rural life, where people seldom come in contact with dwellers in large towns, always tends to barbarism. I believe that poorer people in our cities, if planted in isolated situations in the country, would deteriorate and grow barbaric in habit and thought, even though they might be physically in better condition. What very unattractive people most of our rural population are!

It is to be noted that the attrition and constant opportunity for comparison which city life makes possible, and even compulsory, tend to make all the people who are subjected to its influence alike. They do and see and hear and smell and eat the same

things. They wear similar clothes, they read the same books, and their minds are occupied with the same objects of thought. In the end they even come to look alike, as married people are sometimes said to do, so that they are at once recognized when they are seen in some other place ; while people who live isolated lives think their own thoughts, pursue different objects, and are compelled to depend upon their own judgments and wills for the conduct of their daily lives. The consequence is that they develop and increase peculiarities of character and conduct to the verge of eccentricity, if not beyond it, and present all that variety and freshness of type, which we call originality, or individuality. They are much more dramatic, picturesque, and interesting in literature, perhaps not always in real life. I mention this in passing, without any attempt to estimate fully the value of either development. Doubtless something is lost and something gained in either case, and probably much could be said in favor of each. Many persons have a great desire to get, as they say, "back to nature"; while others prefer mankind in the improved state, even with some sameness.

The ideal life, time out of mind, for all who could afford it, has been the city for action, the country for repose, tranquillity, recuperation, rest. When Joab, the mighty captain of Judea, quarrelled with King David, he retired to his country seat, in what was called the "Wilderness." When Cicero tired of the excitement of Rome, he found rest and quiet in Tusculum. When things went badly with Cardinal Wolsey, he sought refuge and repose in the Abbey of Leicester. Prince Bismarck retires from the frown of young Kaiser Wilhelm to Friedrichsruhe ; and, when President Cleveland cannot stand his Cabinet any longer, he goes fishing in Buzzard's Bay. The country is a good place to rest in, especially if one can control his surroundings. The quiet, the calm, the peace, the pleasant color, the idyllic sights and sounds, all tend to allay nervous irritation, to tranquillize the soul, to repress the intellectual, and to invigorate the animal functions in a very remarkable degree. But this is not rustic life : it is only the country life of the city resident. But the tranquil appearance of a country town, the apparent simplicity and serenity of rural life, the sweet idyllic harmony of rural surroundings, are, as every one must know who has much experience, very deceptive. I remember in one of Dickens's stories a man who lives the life of a travelling showman, one Dr. Marigold, says, in substance, that

temper is bad enough anywhere, but temper in a cart is beyond all endurance. The small jealousies and rivalries, the ambitions, bickerings and strifes of a small rural community, are greatly intensified by the circumscribed area in which they find their vent, and compared with the same human frailties in a larger sphere have all the drawbacks of temper in a cart.

Mr. (Lacon) Colton says: "If you would be known, and not know, vegetate in a village. If you would know, and not be known, live in a city." But to this it may be added that those who are known in a city are very much more widely known than they can be in the country. A happy fitness between the size of the person and the size of the place is doubtless productive of the most desirable results.

Mr. Shaw says:—

I am not willing to deduce any pessimistic conclusions from this general tendency, whether exhibited in England, in Germany, or in America. I do not for a moment believe that modern cities are hastening on to bankruptcy, that they are becoming dangerously socialistic in the range of their municipal activities, or that the high and even higher rates of local taxation thus far indicate anything detrimental to the general welfare. It all means simply that the great towns are remaking themselves physically and providing themselves with the appointments of civilization because they have made the great discovery that their new masses of population are to remain permanently. They have in practice rejected the old view that the evils of city life were inevitable, and have begun to remedy them, and to prove that city life can be made not tolerable only for working men and their families, but positively wholesome and desirable.

It would seem, then, (1) that for economic reasons a large part of the work of the world must be done in cities, and the people who do that work must live in cities.

(2) That almost everything that is best in life can be better had in the city than elsewhere, and that, with those who can command the means, physical comforts and favorable sanitary conditions are better obtained there.

(3) That a certain amount of change from city to country is desirable, and is also very universally attainable to those who desire it, and is constantly growing more so.

(4) That the city is growing a better place to live in year by year; that in regard to the degenerate portion of mankind, the very poor, the very wicked, or the very indifferent, it is a question

whether they are better off in the country ; but, whether they are or not, their gregarious instincts will lead them to the city, and they must be dealt with there as part of the problem.

(5) That efforts to relieve the congested conditions of the city poor by deportation of children to the country are good and praiseworthy, but only touch the surface of things, and that city degeneration must mainly be fought on its own ground.

Perhaps, too, the country needs some of our sympathy and care. It appears clear that here is a constant process of deterioration. Deserted farms and schools and churches mark the progress of ignorance and debasement, and threaten to again make the villagers *pagani*, as they were in the days of old. And improvement here is not the hopeless thing it might seem ; but it must be on economic, and not on sentimental, lines.

The problems here discussed have but recently attracted general attention, and doubtless much is yet to be learned ; but the progress already made is by no means small, and all the signs are signs of promise.

SOCIETY AND SOCIALISM.

(Being the Annual Report of the General Secretary.)

BY F. B. SANBORN, OF CONCORD, MASS.

[Read at the General Meeting in Saratoga, Sept. 2, 1895.]

MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION:

Ladies and Gentlemen,—The yearly assembling of our associates and of those who gather to hear our discussions inevitably recalls to the memory of veterans like your secretary two things,—the circumstances attendant on the formation of our society, just thirty years ago, and the presence of those long since departed, who then joined with us, or afterward added themselves to our number in the worthy task of promoting the social sciences in America. Few indeed are the survivors of that first gathering at Boston, in October, 1865, who can now meet with us. Death and infirmity have done their work only too well in this long tract of time. As Tacitus said, speaking only of half so much (fifteen years),—“A few of us, survivors not alone of others, but even of ourselves, are here; so many years have dropped from the register of life,—years that have borne youth along to age, and the aged almost to the appointed limit of mortality.” Fortunate that we have not had to endure also the calamities which the Roman historian laments,—silence imposed by servitude, the banishment of those who professed Social Science (which Tacitus, in his brevity, calls “wisdom,”—*sapientia*), and every noble art driven into exile (*Expulsis sapientiæ professoribus, atque omni bona arte in exilium acta,—ne quid usquam honestum occurreret* *).

In fact, the scope of our aims and studies in 1865, when we embarked, with the confidence of inexperience, on the wide ocean of Social Science, was almost as broad and vague as that which the ancients denominated under the term “wisdom.” We had taken all knowledge to be our province, like Bacon, and only limited its extent by the proviso that it should concern mankind in their social relations. But to which branch of knowledge, which region

* The Agricola of Tacitus, chaps. ii. and iii.

of research, does not that condition apply? Astronomy and the study of the fourth dimension are found to have a direct bearing on human society. We are men, like the old Greek father in Terence, and nothing that concerns men is out of our province. Such, at least, was our early undertaking. In the apt words of our Yankee Chremes, Hosea Biglow,—

“Nothin’, from Adam’s fall to Huldys bonnet,
Thet we warn’t full-cocked with our jedgment on it.”

And, in truth and soberness, wide has been the compass of our great-circle sailing in these thirty years, as the list of our publications will show. I, for one, look back upon it with wonder, like the soldier in Dryden’s parable,—

“One loose, one sally, of a hero’s soul,
Does all the military art control;
While timorous wit goes round or fords the shore,
He shoots the gulf, and is already o’er,
And, when the enthusiastic fit is spent,
Looks back amazed at what he underwent.”

But in this adventurous navigation we had hardy and accomplished comrades, like the companions of Ulysses, in his far briefer Odyssey, or the knights of Arthur, whose brotherhood was so sadly dissolved. Some joined us early, some late. They embarked with us from many a shore; and we have left their graves and monuments behind us as we cruised or drifted along, now here, now there. Every year some have thus left us. To-day we have to lament the too early and sudden loss of our associate, John W. Carter, who had expected to preside at the debate on Free Silver, set down for our last day’s session, and for which he had made ample preparation. He had literally sailed and travelled, so that no continent of the earth was unknown to him; and in all countries he had studied those laws of trade on which all human society must now depend, and those principles of good government which are far from easy to learn accurately, and very much harder to put in practice. Our American Republic, for whose permanence he had ventured his young life, had no more devoted citizen, and few that so well saw the dangers threatening her in time of peace. No good cause lacked his support, actively or silently given; and our Association, of which he had been but a few years an officer, owes him the sincere tribute of gratitude and regret.

An elder soldier in the sacred cause of society, though only of late years our corresponding member,—Professor Charles Secrétan, of the University of Lausanne in Switzerland,—died after a brief illness Jan. 21, 1895, at his villa in that old capital of the Canton of Vaud, surrounded by his family and mourned by hundreds of his pupils in all parts of Western Europe. He belonged to a family well known in his country for its services to science, literature, and philosophy, and had devoted his prolonged and ever busy life to journalism, to professional instruction at Lausanne and Neuchâtel, and to the teaching of a philosophy truly moral, in its application to the social questions, old and new, which our century has brought forward so prominently and aggressively. In two aspects of his thought,—at once profound and practical,—its deep spiritual sources and its religious consecration to the most pressing questions of the future,—he was distinguished among all students of Social Science whose publications have thrown light on the immediate past and the inevitable future of European society. His circle of influence was narrow in comparison with men who address the greater nations, and find instantly millions of hearers and readers; but the wider the radius, the fainter oftentimes are the echoes of thought, or that energetic oratory which transiently passes for the vehicle of thought. And we have fancied that a student and philosopher in the retirement of Switzerland, or of Emerson's Massachusetts village, will find a permanence in his influence that the Tolstoïs and Lassalles, or even the Bismarcks and Gladstones, will hereafter lack. I suppose M. Charles Secrétan is not extensively read in America, beyond the limited number of those who consult the French literature of Ethics and of Social Science; but our Association was proud to add his name five years ago to the short list of our foreign members, and he soon after took part indirectly in the discussion raised by the plausible but superficial publications of Edward Bellamy. To our formal Proceedings he contributed nothing, for reasons which his daughter has mentioned in communicating the intelligence of his death. Mlle. Louise Secrétan wrote me in March last:—

My father was pleased in making your acquaintance some years since, and proud of the honor of an invitation to become a member of your society for the study of the social sciences, and thus to feel himself in communion with American students (*l'élite de l'Amérique*). He did not often write this to you, and it was a regret that he could not. But in these later years his health

declined, his sight was affected ; and, though his high intelligence, in all its clearness, allowed him to compose passages, in several essays, which are among his best, still he shrank from daily tasks, postponed his correspondence, and yet lamented his delay in these matters. Several times he would have written to you, but he put it off in the hope that he might have some memoir to offer you. This winter he had more vigor than for some years, and I think he would have soon fulfilled his wish ; but death came to him suddenly. . . . His life was consecrated to the search for truth, and to unceasing effort for the practice of justice in all affairs. He was the votary of truth and justice,—he adored them,—and it was a noble sight to see this powerful intellect placing moral good and the practice of charity above all the activity of thought.

I can add nothing to this tribute, at once filial and just, to the memory of a wise and good man. My brief intercourse with him and his friends was never to be forgotten ; and we have derived stimulus and instruction from his vivacious, thoughtful writings.

No subject more occupied the mind of Secrétan in the last twenty years of his long life than that of society as affected by Socialism, the topic which has been chosen for the main argument of this report. As Tocqueville, sixty years ago, in his great work on Democracy in America, foresaw and prefigured the importance of popular government in the aristocratic and monarchical nations of Europe, where it is now carrying all before it, so Secrétan foresaw the advancing wave of what, for want of a better name, we call Socialism. Few have divined its nature better, or more clearly pointed out what it can and cannot do. It will be in the twentieth century what Democracy has been in the nineteenth,—a vigorous reaction against conditions, both social and political, which do injustice to human nature. By a simple natural law,—reaction equal to action,—Democracy and Socialism have shown, and will show, themselves most violent where there has been the most hateful inequality and unsocial injustice. They have longest existed (at least as tendencies) in our country. Consequently, we have less to fear from them than have regions like France in the eighteenth century, or Spain, Italy, and Germany in our time,—possibly Russia in the next century,—where oppression in various forms has been most flagrant and unopposed. Distribute the tornado over a day or two, and it is but a gale. Extend its force along the hours of a week, and it becomes the steady prairie breeze or the useful trade-wind. But pen it up too long, and let it loose at once, like Æolus from his grip-sack, you then have the cyclone of destruction.

Among the many definitions that have been given to this dubious vocable, Socialism, I will not now attempt to choose the best, nor to make a general average of all. But that phase of the agitation called socialistic, which takes increasing importance every year and in every country, is what they call "collectivism," or "nationalism,"—the advocacy of communal, or national, ownership of land and other implements of labor. This is opposed to individual ownership, and we find it championed by many persons in all countries where the social question is considered at all. Certain examples of this communal, or national, property—village commons, State railways, the postal and telegraph service, etc.—are cited by the collectivists both as good evidence how the desired system would work and as indications of what we are certainly coming to. And, on the other hand, the friends of individual property are sometimes alarmed at the rapid extension of public interference in matters that were formerly left to be settled by mutual interest or by ancient custom. That oldest of all fallacies, by which we mistake a tendency for an accomplished fact,—a garden bonfire for the general conflagration,—seems to operate here on minds the most diverse in opinion and wish, so that some hope for, others fear, what both unquestionably expect.

I suppose that our Association has from the first been socialistic, in the true sense of that much abused word; that is, we have steadily sought those modifications of the existing order, and that correction of present evils and abuses, which tend most to the good of society as a whole. And we have done this in the settled conviction that human society is, in fact, a whole; not a sentient organism, governed by a single inherent will, uttered in many languages,—a sort of polyglot Leviathan,—but a composite unity, so contrived by its Creator that nothing can long be hurtful to a part which is profitable for the aggregate. Unconscious or feebly conscious in portions of its bulk, this creature of development has yet a history which it can come to know; and, the more it knows of its past, the better will it understand its future. Hence the value of history. Not that the past is fatally sure to repeat itself, since the conditions change by evolution; but that only history or revelation can tell us what those changes have been, and therefore what we may expect in future.

Now, the whole story of mankind, from the very dawn of knowledge or reasonable conjecture concerning our race, is the

story of developing liberty. Not the wild naked freedom of the savage, but the possession by acquisition and heritage of those powers, belongings, and opportunities which befit civilized man. And every step in this slow progress has been in the direction of more society rather than less. It has been a socialistic progress, by ebb and flow, but, on the whole, toward greater liberty and more intimate social relations. Mountains interposed no longer of necessity "make enemies of nations": oceans interposed rather tend to make them friends by the amenities of commerce. Thus we can safely test any proposed measure, like this of turning the State into our universal landlord and employer, by inquiring whether it is truly liberating, and really social,—whether it may not be anti-social and tyrannical instead.

To understand property [says Secrétan, in his "Rights of Humanity"], let us go back to the beginning; that is, to conscience.* In whatever manner formed, or however it first appeared, conscience exists: it speaks with authority in all whom we can call men; and no authority can equal it, since conscience, in the last resort, weighs the titles of every authority. It is not credible that the natural use of the conscience should be to abdicate and efface itself. We are, therefore, naturally without a master outside, since we find an inward master whom we must obey. Man is naturally free, then,—master of himself and his activity. None has a right to command him, none can lawfully dispose of his being. He has a right to live; and, as he must work in order to live, he has the right to what his labor produces. . . . Liberty and property are inseparable terms. It is liberty which makes property conceivable, possible, and reasonable. Conversely, it is property which gives substance to liberty. Freedom is realized in possession, and cannot otherwise become real. For I must work to live; and, without tools, without material, I must work in the service of another, and in such conditions as he chooses. What freedom remains after that is but an empty sound. Now, while the collectivists wish to rescue the laboring class from a control it dislikes, they can think of nothing better than to extend that control over everybody. Socialism, in the interest of equality, prefers to sacrifice the freedom of everybody, without being sure that this universal servitude will be equality in moderate means,—it may be equality in poverty. We cannot accept such a sacrifice. Freedom is indispensable, equality only an accident.

There seems to be no flaw in this reasoning; and all those to whom moral freedom is dear will implicitly or consciously accept it. But, as our author says, "collectivism" (our so-called "national-

* Or, if the reader choose, "consciousness." — F. B. S.

ism") in material production is the true pendant to the paternal State, the infallible Church, and all those systems which establish social order upon some other basis than liberty. However, he does not deny that the public can dispose of one species of property — that in land — by the well-known right of "eminent domain"; and thus it would be possible, and might under some conditions be just, to rearrange the ownership of the soil for the benefit of the poor. Thus the State would be universal landlord (at least temporarily), provided due compensation were made to the displaced tenants.

But this is rather a supposition of contingencies than a practical issue, in spite of all the controversy that has gone on respecting "unearned increment" and the single tax on land values. The last year has brought to us from an important source evidence of a practical character in regard to the tenure of land in France; and I may here cite it. The Le Play societies, of which our associate, Mr. John Graham Brooks, spoke to us so interestingly a few years ago, have latterly taken up the question of peasant properties in France; and several useful facts have been brought out by M. Rameau de St. Père and M. Daniel Zolla. The latter, especially, at a meeting in Paris the 17th of last May, gave some statistics of land-ownership and land values in different parts of France, which are surprising. It seems that in all France there are 44,000,000 hectares (110,000,000 acres) in the hands of individual owners, nearly a third part as much being already public property. 12,000,000 hectares more are unproductive lands, leaving 32,000,000 under private cultivation. Of this amount, more than half (19,000,000) belongs to men who work on their own land; and the number of these men is set at 3,524,000. This even exceeds the number of persons cultivating French soil who are not land-owners, the latter total being only 3,388,162. Of the latter, almost 2,000,000 are domestics.

It seems to be improbable, then, that the French peasants, who have so much to lose, will take kindly to the gospel of the French socialists, and let the government have all their land. And it further appears that the number of small proprietors is steadily increasing in France. The whole number of land-owners there is said by M. Zolla to be from 4,000,000 to 4,500,000, so that the average holding of each person is less than 26 acres, including the waste lands. But there are still many large estates, and the small proprietors are generally desirous of increasing their holdings. In consequence, the socialists, in rural France, have varied their

propaganda, and even appeal to this land-hunger which the French peasant has in common with his Anglo-Saxon brother. Upon the whole, socialistic doctrines are said to be gaining ground among the rural populations of France, which also are diminishing in comparison with the city populations, which everywhere increase, as we all know. But the great spread of Socialism in all parts of Europe, and its much less noticeable growth in America, are both among the crowded inhabitants of cities, where the evils of accumulating private property are most in evidence.

It is in the great cities, however, that the fallacy of intrusting all property to the control of the public as landlord becomes most apparent. The hypothesis of the socialists is that governments will deal more equitably by the citizen than private landlords do. Our experience with the Tammany city government of New York, the State legislatures at Albany and elsewhere, and with many public authorities in other parts of the world, from the days when "everything was venal at Rome" to our own time, does not bear out this idealistic theory. Probably nothing has given so severe a blow to the "nationalist" cause in America as the exposure and displacement of the Tammany officials in New York since we last assembled here. The notion that rents were to be allotted, leases granted, and taxes collected by so vulgar a squad of thieves, sustained by such primary courts of what was humorously termed justice, has proved a stronger argument against the Bellamites, the single-tax agitators, and the socialists in general, than any course of reasoning, inductive or deductive. As Emerson once remarked to me, "Immoral conclusions spare us much trouble in examining the argument"; and here was a gigantic immorality standing in the place of the optimistic inference of our socialistic logicians.

We had a rural sage in Concord whose wisdom was condensed for posterity into one saying,—*"Mankind is a d—d rascal."* Others are content to substitute *"fool"* for *rascal* in the formula. Both are in the wrong. A Concord sage of a more copious wisdom invented this parable:—

"I overheard Jove one day," said Silenus, "talking of destroying the earth: he said it had failed, they were all rogues and vixens, who went from bad to worse as fast as the days succeeded each other. Minerva said she hoped not, they were only ridiculous little creatures, with this odd circumstance,—that they had a blur or indeterminate aspect, seen far or seen near. If you called them bad, they would appear so: if you called them good, they

would appear so : and there was no one person or action among them which would not puzzle her owl, much more all Olympus, to know whether it was fundamentally bad or good."

It is plain that Minerva had the insight of her sex, without the power of consecutive reasoning, or at least she did not then choose to waste so sound a logic on her impracticable father. Jove seems to have been the father of extreme Socialism, also, which would overturn all existing institutions in a moment of petulance, without providing anything sensible to fill the gap. Mankind, this slow, puzzling, and ridiculous race, is wiser than his teachers, for the most part : he refuses, like the old Scotch judge, to blow out the candle before he has got hold of his nightcap. Society cannot be other than socialistic, of course ; but it is very distrustful of revolutions and panaceas. Like Wordsworth's cloud,

"It heareth not the loud winds when they call,"

but, unlike that, never

"Moveth altogether, if it move at all."

It moves by parts and hitches. If you spur it on one side, like the Puritan's nag, it will advance the other flank, too ; but there may be some centuries between the movements. Patience, therefore, and the perseverance of the saints befit Associations like ours. In thirty years we have seen great changes, in some of which we have operated or co-operated ; but the vast work of Social Science still opens before us, and will seem no smaller to our successors than it did to us when we began.

As usual with our five departments, only four of them are to present extended discussions,—those of Education, Health, Jurisprudence, and Finance, in the order named. The fifth wheel this year is my own special Department of Social Economy, which last year had so much to offer on the relief of the unemployed, but which now will only briefly open on Friday next the subject of Trade Schools, to be more fully presented next year. I need only call your attention to the full and attractive announcements for the days now ensuing, and bespeak your interest in what cannot fail to engage the thoughts of all who may listen to our series of carefully prepared papers, and the debates which will follow.

I. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION.

I. NAVAL EDUCATION.

BY COMMANDER CASPAR F. GOODRICH, OF THE UNITED STATES
NAVY.

[Read Tuesday, September 3.]

I. INTRODUCTORY.

For the first time in its history the annual appropriation for the navy of the United States has equalled that for its army. An unusually large proportion of the total sum allotted to the former is, however, for new constructions. Making this deduction, there is left a charge for maintenance proper much less than the similar charge in the army; but the fundamental fact remains, no matter how the figures be juggled, that the country has, at least once, been ready to spend as much money upon its armed force afloat as upon its armed force ashore. What hidden tendencies, if any, underlie this radical change from the practice heretofore in vogue, of giving with a freer hand to the older branch of the military service, it is difficult to say. This much is true: that any departure from established policy will be the result of a general public sentiment operating upon the authorities.

You may, and doubtless will, be surprised to hear that I express the serious opinion of the navy, as a whole, in deprecating war. The service is, I am happy to say, full of energetic officers who would quickly profit by any offered chance to distinguish themselves through valorous acts of seamanship and tactics; but of officers who would welcome war *because* of such opportunities there are extremely few. It is our business and our duty, to our country and our flag, to contrive and to study, that we may be ready when the call sounds, and for this reason we are naturally associated in the public mind with schemes of battle and with the tremendous engines of modern naval warfare; but, believe me, we are not blood-thirsty Jingoese, and we gloat over scenes and thoughts of carnage no more than do you, professors of the humanities. It is

you — not we — who sway the public feeling : it is you — not we — who will be responsible for the outbreak of hostilities. When *you* have decided upon trial by battle, to *us* will fall the task of defending *your* cause. *We* are but the instruments by which *you* work.

There has never been a more noteworthy instance of mental evolution than the one this people has just experienced in passing from — I had almost said — positive dislike, through disdain, indifference, lukewarm curiosity, and keen interest toward the navy, culminating in a determination that the ships which represent America's latent powers of offence and defence should be second to none in the world, class for class.

What the people willed has been accomplished. Our navy, in the matter of hulls, engines, guns, and armor, has now no apologies to offer ; and it no longer shrinks from comparison with any of its rivals. The attention attracted by its vessels at the recent opening of the Kiel Canal and the encomiums they there earned are sufficient proof of the substantial accuracy of my statement. We are still somewhat lacking in the numbers, especially of battle-ships, which we ought to possess, in order to have a navy adequate to the reasonable demands that may be made upon it ; but we are gradually approaching this goal. A nation which, like ours, seeks only peace with honor, and lies far remote from possible inimical shores, needs but comparatively few vessels to support its dignity. Officers themselves are in practical agreement upon this subject. They do not ask or desire a naval expansion comparable with that of first-rate European powers. They realize fully that a modest exhibition of craft, all, however, of excellent quality, is quite sufficient for this country's purposes. War may be averted by the mere possession of the means to make it hazardous to the foe ; and in this respect our navy stands, or soon will stand, first and last, for peace. Herein lies the complete justification, in a military sense, for the building, the equipping, the manning and maintenance of our fleet.

Speaking as an insider, familiar with the steps by which our ships have emerged from contemptuous criticism by foreigners, and as contemptuous disregard by Americans, to a state commanding universal respect ; familiar with the passing away of the wooden auxiliary steamer, armed with cast-iron smooth bores, and with the introduction of the fast, steel-armored battle-ship and its high-powered breech-loading rifled guns,—I must say that this development is so vast as to amount to a revolution. I can

entirely comprehend and sympathize with the natural solicitude of thinking men as to whether commensurate means exist to fit officers and sailors for the right employment of the new ships and new weapons so lately confided to their hands, and it is with great pleasure that I have accepted the flattering invitation to describe to you briefly our methods of naval education. You will pardon me the confession that the pleasure is largely tinged with regret that an exponent was not chosen more competent than I am to discharge so important a duty before such a distinguished body as yours.

II. THE NEEDS.

The navy exists primarily for the purposes of warfare. Whatever tends to prepare it for that work is good: whatever tends to divert its energies into channels leading away from this main purpose is not good, however desirable on other grounds. The conditions of modern life, with its keen struggles for existence and its bitter rivalries, have invaded the domain of the naval officer and the man-of-war's man. The day has gone by when insufficient preparation and forethought could find an adequate substitute in mere dash and pluck in action. The dash and pluck are still wanted, doubtless more than ever; but these alone will not suffice. To them must be added that intimate familiarity with the construction, maintenance, and handling of ships and their many organisms, which, secured only at the cost of patient study and long practice, tells the captain exactly what his ship *can* do and what she *cannot* do under given circumstances. When an officer has fulfilled this obligation of careful investigation and exercise, contrasting his own ship and her weapons with others flying foreign flags, never wearying of learning any detail that may possibly be of use in emergency, there is little or no time left him for other matters. Life on board ship now is one unremitting series of drills, instruction, and practice, with exceedingly scant leisure. To expect on the part of the naval officer any considerable intellectual activity in other fields is to misapprehend the present exacting status of his profession.

The following are the classes of officers to be found on board of naval vessels:—

1. Line officers, for the duties of command.
2. Medical officers, whose duties are titular.
3. Pay officers, for pay, subsistence, and supplies.

4. Engineers, to care for and operate the motive power.
5. Chaplains.
6. Marine officers.

We may pass rapidly over some of these classes. The surgeons are recruited from among the graduates of our great medical schools. Being subjected to an extremely rigid competitive examination on entrance, these gentlemen are forced to possess a large measure of ability and technical preparation. The average of their professional attainments is high.

The pay officers transact the business of the navy. They are appointed from civil life, between twenty-one and twenty-six years of age. Their physical fitness is decided by a board of naval surgeons, their moral and mental qualifications by a board of pay officers. A proposition has been made to restrict these appointments to graduates of the Naval Academy, on the score of homogeneity of *personnel*. This proposition, although favorably considered in high quarters, has not yet taken the shape of law.

The chaplains are appointed between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-five years of age, after physical examination only. Their ordination and good standing in their denominations are accepted in lieu of other examination. Their number is quite limited; and they chiefly serve afloat on board of the larger vessels and the training ships for boys.

The engineers are differentiated from the line officers at the Naval Academy, when, as naval cadets of three years' standing, some elect to pass into the engineer corps. From this time on they receive a special technical education.

Marine officers are appointed from the graduates of the Naval Academy upon recommendation by the faculty or academic board, as it is called. Their duties afloat are in command of the marines embarked.

The time at my disposal will not permit my discussing the many ramifications which my subject assumes through the necessary subdivision of duties on board ship, nor can I do complete justice to even those selected for mention. Since all was impossible, I have restricted the scope of this paper to an outline of the training of the line officer and of the seaman.

Let us begin with the latter, and let us formulate the principal demands made upon him. He must be a seaman, an artillerist, a signal man, a mechanic, a torpedoist, and electrician. I do not mean, of course, that every seaman must possess these other at-

tributes; but provision has to be made in our scheme, that the supply of specialists may be sustained.

Although propulsion by sails, the seaman's peculiar province, has made way for propulsion by steam, the need is no less pressing than formerly for the rapidity of thought and action, the fertility of resource, and the general handiness of the sailor. Roustabouts, ignorant of the sea, may be well enough in smooth water, and so long as nothing untoward occurs, but they will be worse than useless in an emergency, such as shipwreck, counting but as so many more incapables to be cared for; and they will be powerless to carry succor to distressed vessels and drowning fellow-men. Accidents still happen, when old-fashioned seamanship rises above all attempts at evaluation. As a mere method of training, nothing has yet been devised so good as cruising on board of a sailing ship. It quickens the observation, stimulates the mind to the solution of new problems, and produces a habit of self-reliance in a well-developed physique. To pass a weather reef-earring in a gale of wind, with the topsail shaking and tugging and the ship rolling deeply, is an experience from which one emerges, for the first time, with a confidence in his powers that makes him practically twice the man he was before. Parenthetically, I commend to your serious thought the establishing of such floating schools in every large port of our country.

III. THE EDUCATION OF THE SEAMAN.

The education of the enlisted man covers four periods: (1) his reception and stay, as a boy apprentice, at the Naval Training Station in Newport, R.I., where he learns the rudiments of his calling; (2) a year in a cruising training ship; (3) his service till attaining his majority on board of a man-of-war in general service; (4) after voluntary re-enlistment for three years as an adult, special instruction at the gun-shops in Washington, and at the Torpedo Station in Newport, in ordnance, torpedoes, electricity, etc. The scheme is progressive. Some of its features might possibly be modified with advantage; but, as a whole, it merits unqualified approbation. Taking the periods in the order named, let us follow the apprentice as he passes through them in turn. These are the important ones among the conditions of entry, as imposed by the Navy Department:—

I. "Boys between the ages of fourteen and seventeen years

may, with the consent of their parents or guardians, be enlisted to serve in the navy until they shall arrive at the age of twenty-one years."

2. "Boys enlisted for the naval service must be of robust frame, intelligent, of perfectly sound and healthy constitution, free from any physical defects or malformation, and not subject to fits."

3. "Their height, weight, and chest measurement, breathing naturally, must be at fourteen years of age not less than 4 ft. 9 in., 70 lbs., 26 in.; at fifteen years of age, not less than 4 ft. 11 in., 80 lbs., 27 in.; at sixteen years, not less than 5 ft. 1 in., 90 lbs., 28 in. respectively."

4. "They must be able to read and write."

5. "In special cases, where a boy shows general intelligence and is otherwise qualified, he may be enlisted, notwithstanding his reading and writing are imperfect."

On reception, apprentices are assigned to a division consisting of six sections of eighteen apprentices each, under a commissioned, a warranted, and four petty officers; and in this division they remain while at the station.

On arrival, apprentices are placed in the "new-comers' squad," and trained in the care of their persons, bedding, and clothing. An outfit is provided by the government.

The new-comers are instructed in the "school of the squad" as far as the manual of arms, and exercised daily in gymnastics and in swimming. They are carefully and frequently inspected as to cleanliness of persons, hammocks, mattress covers, and clothing. The strictest attention is given to this matter, and no apprentice is allowed to commence the divisional routine until he is satisfactory under this head.

The schooling proper is confined to the elementary branches of reading, writing, arithmetic to and including decimal fractions, geography, and history. Each apprentice has a book in which he is made to keep his money account with the government, entering as a credit his pay when due monthly, and his debits in articles of clothing and small stores and in money drawn from the paymaster. When the standard of proficiency is reached in any branch, the apprentice passes in professional exercises the time previously allotted to school. Boys punished with extra duty, who are not satisfactory in their studies, work off their punishment time in English.

The day is divided into seven periods of forty-five or thirty

minutes each. The professional exercises are gymnastics, artillery, sword drill, signals, small-arms, pistols, infantry and aiming drills, target practice, sewing and mending, boats under oars and sails, knotting and splicing, heaving the log and the lead, compass and steering, great guns, spar and sail drills.

The sailing frigate "Constellation" is attached to the station for use in drills and instruction that can only be carried out on shipboard. Physical development is a matter of record by the surgeon, who notes the various measurements on arrival and at the end of each quarter.

The object of the station is to prepare apprentices for going on board ship, and falling quickly and easily into their places, by teaching them the elements of their calling, obedience and respect to superiors, and especially the care of themselves and their belongings. The boys that come are frequently deficient in cleanliness and orderliness. The utmost pains are taken to establish good habits under these heads. No boy is allowed to leave the station until he knows how and does keep himself and his possessions clean, and until he can make and mend his own clothing.

The boys are kept in barracks at Newport, and do not live on board ship. A fierce controversy rages about this point, some officers claiming that the boys should begin at once to acquire "the ship habit." Those who advocate the present system call attention to the superior facilities which exist in barracks for detecting vicious practices and weeding out incorrigible characters. At no time are the boys free from surveillance, and serious offences are followed by the prompt discharge of the guilty person. Such cases are, happily, infrequent.

After six months or so the apprentice goes on board a cruising training ship, where the same general scheme is continued, the practical and ceaseless handling of the ship under sail replacing much school-room work. During these cruises the boys visit foreign ports on the Atlantic coast of Europe and in the West Indies, according to the season, combining pleasant reminiscence and agreeable diversion with the routine of nautical life. A year is thus passed, when the apprentices are drafted to regularly commissioned men-of-war, whose commanding officers are charged by the navy regulations to carry on the instruction, and to perfect the boys in knowledge of their profession. And in these vessels the latter finish out the term of their apprenticeship.

The training system furnishes sailors and buglers to the naval

service. It is with great pleasure that I bear testimony to the excellent character and great value of these boys, as tested by years of experience in all latitudes and in diverse types of ships. My only regret is that the navy gets so few of them, after all. I think I am within bounds in saying that less than half remain permanently in the service. The reason is simple. The attraction of present higher rates of pay on shore outbalances that of a lower rate on board ship, even when the advantages of food, medical attendance, pensions for disability, and retirement in old age are thrown into the opposing scale. Young men who, like our ex-apprentices, are cleanly, sober, well-behaved, cheerful, and courteous, prompt, active, faithful, and intelligent, command better remuneration on shore than the navy can afford to offer. The navy loses, but the country is the gainer. Every ex-apprentice is an apostle of patriotism. In the event of war hundreds — nay, thousands — of these admirable fellows will at once present themselves for service under the old flag they love so well.

To provide a supply of skilled men to care for the batteries, torpedoes, electric lighting plant, and to act as submarine divers, a course of practical instruction has been inaugurated, open to enlisted men whose intelligence and good conduct warrant the privilege and opportunity. Upon recommendation by his commanding officer and approval by the Bureau of Navigation at the Navy Department, under whose cognizance come the details of naval education, the seaman is sent to the great gun-shops of the Washington Navy Yard, where he spends seventeen weeks under skilled persons in learning the elementary use of tools. In the carpenter's shop he is taught to make simple articles of wood, such as are found on board ship; in the coppersmithy he learns soldering, brazing, and the making of small things in copper and tin; in the erecting-shop he assists in assembling and mounting guns and gun carriages, and thus becomes familiar with their parts and uses; in the blacksmith-shop he learns welding, forging, and tempering, making hammers, chisels, springs, etc.; in the machine-shop he learns the use of lathes and tools for shaping minor parts of the machinery pertaining to guns; in the laboratory, the manufacture of fuses and rockets and the use of the hydraulic presses and pumps connected therewith.

Every day's work is marked by an officer, and a weekly examination is held. The indolent and unintelligent are weeded out promptly. The proficient, at the end of the course, are transferred

to the Torpedo Station at Newport for a second term of like duration.

The subjects taken up at this point are electricity, diving, and torpedoes. In the first and last named branches, enough theory is given, in an elementary way, to fit the student for a comprehension of the practical work which follows and upon which most stress is laid.

In electricity, the seaman becomes reasonably familiar with ordinary current and resistance measurements, the detection of leaks and defective insulation, general methods of testing signal and light circuits, the care, preservation, and operation of dynamos, incandescent and search lamps.

Three weeks are given over to diving. The diver on board a modern ship resembles the traditional revolver in Texas.

In the torpedo branch, instruction and practical exercises cover the ground of gun-cotton charges, primers, and detonators, the preparation of torpedoes for service, the care and preservation of torpedoes and their appliances, the dismounting, assembling, and firing of automobile torpedoes.

The graduate of these practical schools at Washington and Newport is rated seaman-gunner. He receives \$26 per mensem, — an increase of pay of \$2 per mensem over a seaman. He is at once eligible for advancement to the higher grades of quarter gunner, or gunner's mate, with pay up to \$50 per mensem. From among the seaman-gunners selections are made from time to time of exceptionally deserving men who are appointed gunners in the navy, obtaining warrants as officers with exceedingly liberal pay.

The course I have just described is, possibly, open to the charge of superficiality. The end aimed at must, however, be the criterion by which the means are judged. If the object of the course were to turn out skilled carpenters, blacksmiths, machinists, or electricians, then its failure would be frankly admitted. Such results cannot be achieved in eight months; and, I may say, such results are not anticipated. It is only sought to secure in ambitious and intelligent men such a knowledge of tools and such familiarity with their use as will make their possessors independent up to the point where the job becomes serious and calls for a journeyman. No ship is without its artificer class who effect repairs of a larger nature. To this elementary familiarity with tools is added the more important intimate knowledge of guns, gun carriages, and torpedoes, which amply justifies the pains and

time expended in this admirable course for the training of seaman-gunners.

IV. THE EDUCATION OF THE OFFICER.

The education of the line officer never ceases from the day of his entry into the Naval Academy until he passes off the active list through death, resignation, dismissal, or retirement. Certain periods of his life are, however, officially recognized as specially devoted to the study of his profession. These are the four years spent at Annapolis, the two succeeding years afloat on probation, and the months at the Naval War College.* The rest of his time the officer is learning through observation, reading, and the practice of his profession, and is fitting himself for the responsibilities involved in his next step upward in the naval hierarchy.

His duties afloat fall under three leading categories,—service as a subordinate, service in command of a ship, and service in command of a fleet. Each of the first two is a preparation for its successor.

As a subordinate, he must be, above all, a competent seaman, able to handle the ship promptly and effectively, to avert disaster and to maintain her position in squadron. He must be familiar with all practicable methods of navigation, with the effect on the compasses of change in the magnetic latitude, and with the remedies to apply. He must be enough of a mechanic to properly care for the machinery of guns, gun mountings, and torpedoes; enough of an electrician to keep the electric lighting, signalling, and motor apparatus in good order; enough of a physicist to understand and guard against the chemical and physical conditions that affect injuriously the material under his charge. He must possess the faculty and habit of command, reaching his ends without friction and without irritation of those subject to his orders. He is accountable for the cleanliness of the men in his division and of their clothing and bedding. He must be an accomplished drill-master, competent to serve and point his guns or torpedoes effectively, to lead a boarding party armed with cutlasses and revolvers, to direct a cutting out expedition, to land a body of men under arms, and to operate on shore with infantry or artillery, to erect tents, and so plan a camp and its routine as to minimize

* Officers are occasionally sent to the gun-shops at Washington to learn the newer details of ordnance and to the compass office for instruction in compass adjustment.

the sick list in even insalubrious climates. He must be enough of an engineer to serve in the engine-room, should the engineer officers be absent through death or disease.

As a captain, his responsibility covers every detail and every act on board his command. It is he who sets the course and pilots the ship, who cares for her safety in storm and fog. He is the judge who awards punishment for offences not serious enough to require a court-martial. He is the sanitarian who regulates the hours, food, and clothing of the crew, and the methods by which the ship is cleaned and the men protected from dampness and unnecessary exposure. He represents the nation officially and personally in foreign ports. Upon his bearing and conduct depends largely the reputation of our country in distant lands. In ports where no consul resides he discharges consular functions. He must be well versed in the elements of international law. A mistaken position on his part with reference to other, and especially remote, powers may bring discredit on the flag or precipitate a needless quarrel. He must be a skilled tactician, and know how and when best to use his ship and her weapons of offence and defence. To this end, he must be a keen and persistent student of his profession, and must know the peculiarities and capabilities of his own vessel as well as those of every foreign man-of-war he meets.

The admiral's duties extend over the fleet in a manner analogous to that just described for the captain. As a tactician, he has the handling not of one, but of many vessels. Moreover, as strategy is his concern, he must direct his fleet in time of war with unerring certainty toward that place where it can, with the least exposure, do the most to damage the enemy and to defeat his purposes. Upon his discretion the issue of war or peace may hang. A strong man, possessing tact and social qualities in their best and truest sense, is a bright exemplar to his juniors and a most happy means of increasing American prestige abroad.

What is now being done to produce officers fulfilling the requirements just laid down? The answer lies in our scheme of education, the outlines of which I shall place before you, premising that at the Naval Academy the cadet receives his theoretical and much practical training for the duties of junior officer; that this academic term is supplemented by two probationary years afloat on a cruiser, after which he passes a competitive examination with his classmates for grading, and receives, if successful, his commission

as ensign; that service at sea affords his principal training for command either of ship or squadron; and that the Naval War College rounds out this training for both captains and admirals. We will begin therefore with the Naval Academy, quoting only such passages from the official historical sketch as bear upon the development of the existing curriculum:—

The United States Naval Academy was founded in 1845 by the Hon. George Bancroft, Secretary of the Navy, in the administration of President James K. Polk. It was formally opened October 10 of that year under the name of the Naval School, with Commander Franklin Buchanan as superintendent. It was placed at Annapolis, Md., on the land occupied by Fort Severn, which was given up by the War Department for the purpose. The course was fixed at five years, of which only the first year and the last were spent at the school, the intervening three years being passed at sea.

In September, 1849, a board was appointed to revise the plan and the regulations of the Naval School.

The plan reported by the board was approved, and went into operation July 1, 1850. The new organization provided for a course of seven years, the first two and the last two at the school, and the three intermediate years at sea. The name was changed to the United States Naval Academy. The corps of professors was enlarged, the course was extended, and the system of separate departments with executive heads was fully adopted. It was provided that a board of visitors should make an annual inspection of the academy, and report upon its condition to the Secretary of the Navy. A suitable vessel was attached to the academy as a practice ship, and the annual practice cruises were begun.

After the system had been in operation a year new changes were proposed, and the recommendations of the academic board on the subject were referred to the board of examiners for the year 1851.

The change recommended by the board of examiners, and adopted by the Department, consisted mainly in leaving out the requirement of three years of sea service in the middle of the course, thus making the four years of study consecutive. The practice cruise supplied the place of the omitted sea service, and gave better opportunities for training. The change went into operation in November, 1851, together with other improvements recommended by the board. This system has been continued, with some slight modifications, to the present time. The first class to receive the benefit of it was that which entered in 1851.

In May, 1861, on the outbreak of the war, the academy was removed to Newport, R.I. The three upper classes were detached and ordered to sea; and the remaining acting midshipmen were quartered in the Atlantic House, and on board the frigates "Constitution" and "Santee." In the summer of 1865 the academy was removed back to Annapolis, where it has since remained.

The term of academic course was changed by law, March 3, 1873, from four to six years. The change took effect with the class that entered in the following summer.

In 1866 a class of acting third assistant engineers was ordered to the academy for instruction. The course embraced the subjects of steam-engineering, mechanism, chemistry, mechanics, and practical exercises with the steam-engine and in the machine-shop. This class was graduated in June, 1868, together with two cadet engineers who had entered the academy in 1867. After an interval of four years, in October, 1871, a new class of cadet engineers was admitted. This class followed a two years' course, somewhat more extended than that of the class of 1868, and was graduated in 1873. In 1872 and 1873 new classes were admitted, the first of which left the academy in 1874 and the second in 1875. By an act of Congress, approved Feb. 24, 1874, the course of instruction for cadet engineers was made four years instead of two. The new provision was first applied to the class entering the academy in the year 1874. This class was graduated in June, 1878.

The conditions of entry are, briefly, as follows : —

1. "The students at the Naval Academy shall be styled 'naval cadets.'"

2. "There shall be allowed at said academy one naval cadet for every member or delegate of the House of Representatives, one for the District of Columbia, and ten at large."

3. "The course of naval cadets is six years, four years at the Naval Academy and two years at sea, at the expiration of which time the cadet returns to the academy for final graduation, and the district then becomes vacant."

4. "Appointments to fill all the vacancies that may occur during a year in the lower grades of the Line and Engineer Corps of the Navy, and of the Marine Corps, will be made from the naval cadets, graduates of the year, at the conclusion of their six years' course, in the order of merit as determined by the academic board of the Naval Academy. *At least* fifteen appointments from such graduates will be made each year. Surplus graduates who do not receive such appointments will be given a certificate of graduation, an honorable discharge, and one year's sea pay." . . .

5. Candidates for admission must be actual residents of the district, etc., from which nominated by the member or delegate of the House of Representatives. "*And all candidates must, at the time of their examination for admission, be between the ages of fifteen and twenty years, and physically sound, well formed, and of robust constitution.*"

6. "Candidates will be examined physically by a board composed of three medical officers of the navy at the Naval Academy."

7. "Candidates will be examined mentally by the academic

board in reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, geography, English grammar, United States history, and algebra. Deficiency in any one of these subjects will be sufficient to insure the rejection of the candidate."

This examination is framed to determine thoroughness of primary education, and covers the usual ground of the subjects mentioned, except that in algebra it is elementary in character and limited to questions and problems upon the fundamental rules,—factoring, algebraic fractions, and simple equations of one or more unknown quantities.

The school year opens October 1 and ends May 31. About a week is spent at February 1 in the semi-annual examination and again at June 1 in the annual examination. Deficient students are promptly dropped. During the summer the cadets make a practice cruise in a sailing vessel, those of the engineer division a similar cruise in a modern steamer constructed for the purpose. The latter visit ship-yards, machine-shops, and manufacturing establishments on the coast, and learn the firing of boilers and the handling of marine engines by actual practice. These cruises terminate September 1, and a month's vacation is granted.

The chairs at the Naval Academy are called departments, and they are as follows:—

1. Discipline.
2. Seamanship, naval construction, and naval tactics.
3. Ordnance and gunnery.
4. Astronomy, navigation, and surveying.
5. Steam-engineering.
6. Mechanics and applied mathematics.
7. Physics and chemistry.
8. Mathematics.
9. English studies, history, and law.
10. Modern languages.
11. Mechanical drawing.

There is also a branch of physical training.

Some of these departments enumerated above need no further mention, their titles being sufficient; but others merit a few words of description or explanation.

Thus ordnance and gunnery cover the ground of gun construction, gun mountings, the use of the gun, exterior ballistics, accuracy and probability of fire at sea, gunpowders, infantry and naval field artillery tactics.

In astronomy, navigation, and surveying, while general astronomy is taught from Young's text-book, nautical astronomy is of necessity predominant. Especial attention is paid to compass errors in iron and steel ships, and to the theory and practice of navigation and surveying.*

In mechanics and applied mathematics the differential and integral calculus are taught with reference to their use in mechanics. The latter subject is sufficiently gone into, the student covering statics, dynamics, kinematics, hydro-mechanics, friction, the method of least squares, elasticity, stress and strain, theory of structures, etc., as contained in Johnson's "Mechanics," Bowser's "Hydro-mechanics," Cotterill and Slade's "Lessons in Applied Mechanics," with Cotterill's greater work as reference.

Physics and chemistry receive a rather full treatment, their importance in the many questions of naval development being recognized. The course carries the student through the elements of physical science, light, heat, and electricity as contained in Daniell's "Principles of Physics," "Practical Physics," by Stewart and Gee, Ganot, Stewart on "Heat," Kohlrausch's "Physical Measurements," Thompson's "Dynamo Electric Machinery." Much practical and laboratory work is exacted, especially in electricity and magnetism. In chemistry, Remsen's "General and Organic Chemistries" are used, supplemented by practical analyses.

Pure mathematics is naturally a leading feature, and is notable for the thoroughness with which it is taught, original and apposite problems being extensively employed to enforce the teachings of the book. Among the authorities used are Hall and Knight on "Algebra," Wentworth on "Geometry," Church on "Descriptive Geometry," Chauvenet on "Trigonometry," C. Smith on "Conic Sections," Aldis on "Solid Geometry," Rice and Johnson on the "Differential Calculus," and Johnson on the "Integral Calculus."

In modern languages French is mostly dwelt upon, with Spanish and German following, during three out of the four years at the school. Nautical technology receives especial attention.

I may here say in reply to the possible criticism that naval officers, despite their exceptional opportunities, do not speak foreign languages as generally as they should, that in no other respect save in art does so much depend upon the individual. A keen perception of sound-differences is absolutely essential here, and

* In steam-engineering all cadets are carried through an excellent elementary course in steam, engines, boilers, propellers, etc.

all persons are not equally gifted in this regard. To many, foreign languages, beyond a few phrases, are not so much difficult as actually impossible. The ingenuity of the Anglo-Saxon in resisting the acquisition of a foreign tongue is the despair of the professor. Moreover, boys cannot be made to appreciate the importance of this matter while their vocal organs are flexible and amenable to instruction; and the boys at the Naval Academy are no exception to the general rule. The groundwork is laid at the academy upon which a certain proportion of the graduates subsequently build.

In illustration, I may cite my own class, of which fourteen members remain on the active list. Through the exigencies of service I am not *au courant* of the accomplishments of all its members, but this much I do know: speaking French fluently and only less well than a native, there are four; speaking French tolerably, there are five more; speaking Spanish well, there are three; speaking German uncommonly well, there is one; less well, there are four others; two are excellent Portuguese scholars; at least one speaks Italian. All naval officers should be able to converse in certain foreign languages, especially French, I freely concede. I regret that this is not the case, but the instances I have quoted go to show that an appreciable fraction do meet the requirement.*

To the theoretical instruction just mentioned there is added an unrelenting round of drills and practical exercises and careful, scientific physical training. The practical work done by the cadet engineers is exceedingly full.

The Naval Academy enjoys certain advantages which, I believe, are shared by West Point alone among our schools. These are a rigid military discipline and an unusually large proportion of instructors to students. The former makes certain things easy here which are difficult elsewhere, and the latter brings to the pupil the ready and constant assistance and supervision of the teacher.

The instructors are, largely, naval officers, graduates of the institution. They receive from the cadets unquestioning subordination and respect, in itself a great educational implement; and they give, in return, a sympathy and an interest born of personal experience.

It would be an error to expect a complete professional education in the four years spent at Annapolis. The time is far too short, and the field too vast. Nothing more is attempted than the

* If we were to adopt the plan followed in many European navies of granting a small increase of pay to such officers as passed satisfactory examinations for the position of interpreter, the linguistic acquirements of the navy would experience a prompt and large expansion.

giving of a sound basis and the inculcating of the habits and the faculty of study. What particular superstructure of intellectual activity within the limits of naval inquiry shall be erected on this basis is a question answered by every graduate according to his taste and capacity.

You will, I hope, pardon the pride with which I venture the opinion that, for the ground covered in the allotted time and for the thoroughness with which its work is done, the Naval Academy can safely challenge comparison with any other existing institution of learning. In its own sphere it was the first ever established. It is greatly admired by all foreign officers ; and it remains to-day, by its intrinsic merit, the first naval school in the world.

From the Naval Academy the cadet goes on board a cruising vessel for his two years of probation. He keeps a journal of his voyages, with notes on places visited, descriptions of foreign ships, guns, forts, etc. He works constantly at the navigating of the ship. He drills the men, does duty in boats and at signals, stands watch in the engine and fire rooms. He is given opportunities to handle the ship and to keep a deck watch. In general, he applies to the practice of shipboard the theory he has already imbibed. This period is followed by an examination covering the whole substance of his six years' service. He is graded by merit, and, if successful, given his commission as ensign in the navy of the United States. At each subsequent promotion he is examined as to his physical, mental, moral, and professional qualifications for advancement.

That the Naval Academy furnishes a solid foundation of technical education is abundantly proved by the fact that its graduates, when not at sea, are often employed on duty exacting something more than a mere high-school training. We find them in charge, as inspectors, of the various light-houses, light-ships, buoys, and other aids to navigation along our coasts, both lake and sea-board. They do the hydrography for the Coast Survey and the off-shore work of the Fish Commission. Some are on duty at colleges. Some are engaged in the inspection and test of steel for hulls, engines, armor, and guns for the new ships. They fill responsible positions in the various navy yards. They have exclusive control of the establishments for naval education. At the Navy Department they direct four out of eight of the bureaux or great offices among which the business and administration of the navy are divided. They design and build the guns for the navy, correct its

compasses, and earn the blessings of the sea-faring world through the beneficent operations of the Hydrographic Office. A graduate is superintendent of the Naval Observatory.

Some have resigned to gain wealth or reputation in civil pursuits.

The Bethlehem Iron Works drew upon the navy for an expert, when it undertook the colossal task of erecting the best plant in the world for the manufacture of steel for guns and armor. Its testing ground is in the charge of an exceptionally able naval officer, retired for color blindness. The accepted determination of the velocity of light was made by a graduate of the Naval Academy. Johns Hopkins, the University of Michigan, and Harvard have professors who graduated at Annapolis. The church, the bar, the bank, have each creditable members who call the Academy Alma Mater.

Harvard, Dartmouth, Yale, Oxford, and Cambridge have conferred degrees upon American naval officers now living for "*rebus navalibus et factis et scriptis*," to quote but one diploma.

Such things may not demonstrate the worth of the Naval Academy; but they go far to prove that one is not the worse for its strict hours, unswerving discipline, and painstaking instruction.

V. THE NAVAL WAR COLLEGE.

There remains one more phase of the naval officer's education which, hardly less important than what has been described, does not readily lend itself to definition. For the development of the subordinate as much has been done as seems possible. Would our scheme be complete if we stopped at this point?

The question was officially put, eleven years ago, to a board of officers, who answered it in the negative. They stated that, while every care had been taken to fit officers for what may be roughly termed the interior economy of naval life, no provision had been made in this or any other country for the study of the great problem of war, for the practical solution of which, and for which alone, the navy exists. Army war schools abounded, but no naval war school. The Naval War College at Newport is the outcome of this board's report, and it is the pioneer among such institutions. Here are treated by competent officers and eminent civilians the various topics bearing on the subject. The college may be likened to the great post-graduate schools where men are fitted

for their specialties. Whatever tends to better prepare officers to command, manœuvre, and fight single ships or fleets finds its place in the course. It furnishes naval officers their higher education.

During last year's term of nearly four months International Law was taught by the late and lamented Professor Snow, of Harvard. Enough of the other lectures may be mentioned to give an idea of the scope of the course,—Naval Tactics, Naval Strategy, Preparation for War, Commerce Destroying, Combined Maritime Expeditions,*Hasty Intrenchments, Fleet Drills, The Relation of Signals to Tactics, The Present Development of the Gun, The Tactics of the Gun, of the Ram, and of the Torpedo, Armor, Ship Construction, Coast Defence, Electricity on Shipboard, etc. Besides these lectures, much time was devoted to war games and the supposititious case of an attack directed on New York by a superior force. The probable theatre of operations was visited, and careful plans drawn up for utilizing such resources as exist at hand.

The ultimate result of the college's systematic work will be the preparation of plans appropriate to any possible threat of attack, on matter by whom made or where directed. Von Moltke's third drawer, left-hand side, will find here its humbler analogue.

This year the aims of the college will be furthered by manœuvres of the home squadron to elucidate certain features of coast defence and to test some of the tentative conclusions arrived at by the faculty. Moreover, the college is profiting by Captain Mahan's return from sea to listen to his masterly exposition of naval strategy.

I may remark that the methods of the college are largely based on historical analysis, in imitation of Captain Mahan, a former president, to whose connection with the college the country owes his books on "Sea Power." The honor which these truly philosophical treatises have brought to American letters is, in itself alone, ample justification for the founding of the Naval War College.

It has been impracticable in the brief time at my disposal to do more than give a bare sketch of what the navy is doing for the education of its *personnel*. I do not pretend that all officers are close students of their profession. Drones are omnipresent. In the naval service there are many cases of early enthusiasm crushed out under the deadly discouragement of slow promotion. Scores of men old enough to be grandfathers and admirals fret out their

lives hopelessly in subordinate grades. "*Cui bono?*" they ask. The future holds forth no promise to them. But even among these are some of our most thoughtful and brilliant men. The old *esprit de corps* impels them to fight for the betterment of the service, even if they, personally, are to derive no profit from their labors.

Taken as a body, American naval officers are conceded by foreigners to stand as high as, if not higher than, those of any other country in all-round acquaintance with their profession; while in every correlated specialty one of their number can be named whose opinion commands acceptance as coming from acknowledged authority. As we have no right to assume a national superiority of intelligence, it must be admitted that this result flows from a system of naval education which, in spite of its faults and its shortcomings, is in the main suited to the genius of our people.

THE DEBATE ON FREE COINAGE OF SILVER.

[Friday, Sept. 6, 1895.]

I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY THE SECRETARY OF THE FINANCE DEPARTMENT.

In my report last year I attempted to give a sketch of the silver legislation of the last few years, with its results, and especially to show the effect on the price of silver and of commodities of the repeal of the Sherman law and of the closing of the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver. At that time I felt justified in summing up the status of affairs in the following words: "The efforts to keep up the price of silver by this country and by India have failed. It would not be strange if silver and the prices of other commodities went still lower. The decline in general prices is quite generally conceded to be an evil, though some deny this. Practically, the only solution of the question that is advocated is international bimetallism, though many think that this would bring yet more evils. It is generally believed that, if England would advocate an international agreement, it could be reached. Her chief objection is that she is a creditor nation, and gains by falling prices. Yet the leaders of the conservative party are active bimetallics, and the bimetallic sentiment seems to be growing in England. Judging from late conferences and reports, the general tendency throughout the world seems to be toward an international agreement, though we need not expect it for some time in the future, even if the tendency is not changed; and new gold discoveries of importance or other unforeseen circumstances might check the movement. Meanwhile smaller countries, and those less strong commercially,—Austria, Porto Rico, San Domingo, India,—are adopting a gold standard, in order to be in harmony with the commercial world; and thinkers generally agree that no one nation alone, however strong, can venture to adopt a bimetallic system without reaching, practically, silver monometallism."

The events of this year that affect the question can be very soon enumerated. The output of gold has shown no signs of falling off, rather the contrary. In Germany the preliminary steps taken

a year ago toward calling an international conference have not been followed up by any decisive action; and, so far as one can now see, the conference is not likely to be called in the immediate future. In England the late elections have put into power in the government Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour, both prominent bimetalists; but Mr. Balfour's recent utterances make it evident that, ardently as he may believe in bimetallism, he does not think it incumbent upon the present government to take any steps, in the immediate future at any rate, toward the adoption of that system, and he evidently thinks that an international conference on that subject would be fruitless. Meanwhile the strongest argument of the bimetalists and free silver advocates—*i.e.*, that the appreciation of gold is the chief cause of the industrial depression under which the commercial world has been suffering—has lost much of its force in the minds of the people since the revival of business of the last few months has been so marked. People find it hard to realize that business is on the broad highway to ruin, when wages and prices are advancing, new factories are opening, and all the signs of the times seem to foretell prosperity and success.

The gold monometallists say that the storm of free silver fanaticism has spent its force; the laws of nature are working as usual, business is safe. On the other hand, the bimetalists shake their heads sagely, and declare that the present prosperity is but a passing relief, caused partly by the normal reaction after extreme suffering, partly by the fact that we have been borrowing heavily, and so have now funds in hand for immediate use that will in time have to be paid, with interest. The causes that have made gold appreciate are still at work; and they are sure that the time is not far distant when we shall see again a time of business trouble, probably worse than the preceding. The only permanent relief is a broader basis for the currency, most easily secured by international bimetallism. After sufficient schooling through experience, they say, the world will learn the truth of their doctrine.

In talking over the probable work of this meeting a year ago, the Chairman of the Finance Department and I were of the opinion that the question of to-day would probably be that of a banking system for the United States, and that the silver question would be at least temporarily settled. Even the President of the Association felt justified in saying in his address: "Just now the country is somewhat weary of the topic. So much so, in fact, that,

in our programme for this year, it has been thought best to restrict this department to one report, and give the sediment an opportunity to settle. Let us hope that the water-beetles of finance will find repose in the mud thus deposited." But the fates have decreed otherwise. The defeat of the Carlisle bill and the syndicate loan stopped temporarily the discussion of the banking question. The silver question has become the important topic of the day, and is likely to be the most important question of the next political campaign. It has been thought best, therefore, to have the matter talked out to-day before the Association by some of the best authorities on both sides that the country affords; and the debaters have agreed to let the question take the specific form,—*Resolved*, That the United States should provide, by law, for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 with gold.

2. OPENING ADDRESS OF HON. A. J. WARNER, OF MARIETTA, OHIO.

(Report defective in the first part.)

Twenty-five years ago there were not forty millions of people out of the entire population of the world using gold exclusively as money: to-day there are more than three hundred million such people. Austria is attempting to establish the gold standard. Pressure is brought to bear upon Russia to have a redeeming surplus in gold. The Indian question is still before the world. Is the gold standard to be established in India? If it is, and when it is, you may prepare for an immediate and a very great rise in the value of gold; for it will surely take place. The law of supply and demand cannot be set aside, and, when India makes a demand for \$100,000,000 of gold suddenly, there will be a scramble for gold, an enormous enhancement in its value, relative to commodities; and this will be expressed by a fall of prices generally throughout the world.

The increase of debt and the appreciation of money must be stopped in this country, or we shall soon be in the condition of Egypt. I may not be able to impress you with my own ideas of the dangerous road the United States is now travelling. First, as to the increase of debt. In 1869 Mr. David A. Wells made a report for 1868, stating our debt abroad — I do not mean the government debt alone — at \$1,500,000,000. Professor Cairnes, a

few years later, put our debt to England alone at £300,000,000 (which was about the same thing), and the average interest, dividends, etc., including what was then spent abroad by travellers, at \$175,000,000 a year. If we start with that, and add the annual interest that we are now to pay, and what has probably been expended by travellers abroad, and for the carrying trade, and deduct the balances in our favor from those against us, we should find that our debt to-day is more than \$8,000,000,000. Upon that we have the authority of Professor Thorold Rogers. We have this statement direct from him, as well as from Mr. Gladstone,—that the investments of England alone in other countries are more than \$10,000,000,000. Certainly 40 per cent. of that is invested in the United States. Mr. Heidelbach, one of the large exporters of gold from New York, in the February *Forum* placed our annual dues abroad at \$350,000,000,—\$75,000,000 as interest, \$75,000,000 as dividends, and \$100,000,000 expended by travellers or in the carrying trade. He is too low on dividends and perhaps too high on some other items, but not too high in the aggregate, so that the fixed dues abroad from the United States have risen to between three and four hundred millions. Thus since 1868 we have really had no gold come to us.

This increase of debts has arisen entirely from the attempt to pay interest annually. We have been borrowing all this time. We have given new notes in the way of railway securities, until all the great railway systems of the United States are owned in Europe. You understand that a representative of the owners of the railways of the United States can call together the presidents of all these systems and dictate to them, under penalty of removal from office at the next annual election, what the rates shall be on our railway systems. But, passing that by, this increase of debt, I say, must stop sometime. Now add to all that the effect of a constant appreciation of four or five per cent. in the money unit itself, as for the past twenty-five years. In the Middle Ages an increase in the value of money worked finally the overthrow of the earlier civilization. But the effect of the appreciation of money was comparatively trifling then. Now, with \$75,000,000,000 of world-debts,—and there are at least that (I do not mean national debts), more than the entire wealth of the United States put together,—4 per cent. increase in twenty-five years will have doubled that. You have thus doubled the debt as a burden upon the people. So the power of automatic aggregation of wealth has

been tenfold what it would be by the appreciation of money alone. Those two things cannot go on permanently. This aggregation and this acquisition of wealth must stop.

Here is more than a distribution of annual products merely. Interest is paid out of the annual products of a country; but the effect of an increase in the money standard extends to all possible accumulations of wealth, and is the principal agency in the wrongful redistribution of wealth. That must stop; and I know of no way to stop it but by restoring the bimetallic system,—submitting money again to automatic regulation through the product of the mines. There may be no fear of an excess of the precious metals. Why, if they should become so abundant from production as to depreciate all money and raise prices, you would soon reach a point where it would be easier to make a dollar by producing commodities than by digging the metals from the mines; and people would go to that industry. That is the automatic adjustment of money; and, in my judgment, when we depart from that principle, we are jeopardizing civil institutions, we are endangering the right of property. Submit your money to regulation by legislation? No debtor country can make protective statutes. We must compete with all other debtor nations in paying our debts. No country can maintain a higher level of prices than obtains in other countries. It is impossible for us in the United States, therefore, to maintain a higher level of prices than elsewhere. If we should, then our creditors would cease to take commodities of us, and would demand gold. I could explain the present boom in business (the source of it), I think. Its coming from a rise in prices is impossible. Why? In New York the other day a banker said to me, "We are having a boom in business as a result of the rise of prices." "What," I said, "you mean that you are in favor of a depreciation of money?" "Oh, no." But what is a rise of prices but a fall of money? If it takes more money to buy the same commodities, that is a fall of money. If it takes fewer commodities to get the money, that is a rise of prices. The whole question is one of prices.

3. REMARKS OF HON. JOSIAH PATTERSON, OF MEMPHIS, TENN.

Mr. Chairman,—The serious difficulty in replying to the address just made is this. The gentleman assumes that it is entirely practicable for this country to establish the bimetallic standard and to maintain gold and silver in concurrent circulation, and he argues simply that it is desirable to have the bimetallic standard. Now, I admit that. If I believed that the government of the United States could establish the bimetallic standard and maintain gold and silver in concurrent circulation, I would vote for the free, unlimited, and independent coinage of silver as quickly as my friend from Ohio. The difficulty with me is I do not think this country can do it. And it seems to me that the rational discussion of this question would be in this manner,—for him to maintain, first, that this country can establish the bimetallic standard and maintain it, or next, failing in that, that it would be better for the United States to have the silver standard than the gold standard. We could then reply by insisting that it is impossible for this country to establish the bimetallic standard; and, being impossible, it would be better for this country to adhere to the gold standard which it now has rather than to abandon it and go to the silver standard. That seems to me a proper statement of the question.

Now, by reason of false teaching, vicious legislation, and party environment, there is great confusion in the public mind in respect to a proper solution of this question. It seems to me that we have got beyond the domain of scholastic discussion; and the thing that remains is to bring home to the American people truths which scholars in an academic debate would pass by, as lawyers pass by the admitted facts in a case. The people are taught that money is an instrumentality for the interchange of commodities, and properly so. Now, we have in this country three kinds of money, substantially,—gold money, silver money, and United States notes, or promises to pay. These various kinds of money are alike in two respects (I mean now from the standpoint of the masses). They are alike in this; that they are all three full legal tender money; and, next, they all pass in the daily transactions of business on a parity. Now, these two circumstances have misled the great body of the American people. In olden times, in former generations, the people regarded the image of the king

stamped upon the coin as giving it value and purchasing power, and not the substance out of which the coin was composed. So the vicious legislation that we have had,—namely, the government compelling you to take its promise to pay in payment of your debt (the legal tender act), and consequently the coinage into a full legal tender of less than 100 cents of silver,—the mere fact that the government has done these two things, and yet the money has the same purchasing power, passes from hand to hand just as freely as gold among the plain people, has misled the people; and so they regard the fiat of the government as the thing which constitutes money. We have about five hundred millions of promises to pay. If they pass upon equal terms with gold, why not have a billion? Why not build all the public roads in the United States with bonds? If the government can take fifty cents' worth of silver and coin it into a dollar, which passes upon a parity with gold, and has \$420,000,000 of these in circulation, why not coin a billion, and give the people all their necessities require?

These are questions that are troubling the minds of the people. In my judgment, the first thing to do in educating the masses upon this question is to get it engrafted in the public mind what standard money is, and how it differs from all other forms of money. Gold is the standard money of the United States. Take the gold dollar, and what are its essential features? It is a thing of value. It is composed of a substance which has commercial value. By law 23.22 grains of that substance in its pure form shall constitute a dollar; and 2.58 grains of alloy, so as to harden it, are to be added. Now, this dollar shall have free coinage; that is, no seigniorage is to be paid by the holder of the bullion. When the holder of refined bullion offers it to the mints of the United States, it is coined into American money, and turned over to him free of cost. The coinage is unlimited; that is to say, all the people in the world, in possession of all the gold bullion that they may have or can acquire, have the legal right to take that bullion to the mints of the United States and have it coined into American money. Now, this dollar has a wholly unnecessary feature,—the legal tender quality. What is it that measures the purchasing power of that gold dollar? I am not here to debate to what extent the use of gold for so many ages has contributed to its commercial value. I only deal with the fact that it now has commercial value, and I lay down the proposition that the purchasing power of that gold

dollar absolutely depends on the commercial value of the substance out of which it is composed. In other words, if you melt that gold dollar down into bullion, it is still worth one hundred cents. Drive a nail through the centre of it and it is still worth one hundred cents. It must necessarily be that way, because we have free and unlimited coinage of gold, and the holder of the bullion can convert the bullion into money without cost to him. Consequently, standard money is money the purchasing power of which is exactly measured by the commercial value of the substance of which it is composed. You take up the morning newspaper, and you read that the Mexican dollar is worth 53 cents compared with our money. Why? It is standard money, yet is worth no more in Mexico. It is standard money,—has free, unlimited, and independent coinage in Mexico; and its purchasing power is exactly equal to its commercial value. We see a Mexican dollar quoted in the morning papers: that means that the bullion composing it is worth 53 cents, or the dollar itself is worth that; and it makes no difference which you take. Silver is the standard money of Mexico. Gold is standard money of the United States.

Let us take another step forward. Greenbacks, or the notes of the government, are simply the promises to pay money on demand. Every one of them is simply the debt of the government. They are on a parity with gold,—not because of a fiat of the government, not because the government says that you shall take them in payment of a debt, but because the holder of that paper believes with an unshaken confidence that the government is willing and able to redeem that greenback note in the standard gold money on presentation. Well, now, the silver dollar stands on a somewhat different footing. It is coined money. It is not the promise of the government to pay anything. But the coinage is limited. There are about 420 grains of silver in the dollar. It is denied free and unlimited coinage, and is in no sense standard money. The government of the United States collects annually about \$350,000,000 in the way of revenue. These silver dollars are a full legal tender for all those revenues. Consequently, every silver dollar now coined can find its way into the Treasury of the United States at least once every year. As long as the government receives, therefore, these silver dollars into its Treasury on an equality and on a parity with gold, and pays gold on its own obligations, it follows, as night follows the day, that the parity is maintained between gold and silver; and, if it was pewter money instead of silver,

the parity would be there all the same. Therefore, the purchasing power of a silver dollar does not depend on the commercial value of the substance of which it is composed, but depends on the ability of the government to maintain those silver dollars on a par with gold. Therefore, the purchasing power of a silver dollar is measured exactly by the commercial value of the gold which enters into a gold dollar. That is another form of money.

Then we come to national bank currency, promissory notes, checks, clearing house receipts, bills of exchange, drafts, and all those other forms and instruments of exchange which have been adopted by commerce; and they are maintained on a parity with standard money simply because the holder believes that the payee of the paper will discharge the obligation in gold. So it is that the whole mechanism of exchange securely rests on the basis of standard money, and on the harmonious and certain workings of that mechanism depends the prosperity of our common country.

Now, the proposition under debate is to allow the free, unlimited, and independent coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. 23.22 grains will go into $37\frac{1}{4}$ grains 16 times. That makes the ratio of 16 to 1. The proposition, therefore, is to coin $37\frac{1}{4}$ grains of pure silver, or add one-tenth, making it $41\frac{1}{2}$ grains of standard silver, into standard silver dollars. That is to say, take the shackles off of silver, make it independent money, declare its independence of gold, and let it stand absolutely on its own merits, as gold does. In other words, coin 23.22 hundredths grains of pure gold into a dollar, let the coinage be free and independent, and let that dollar go forth into the channels of commerce with a purchasing power exactly equal to the substance out of which it is made. Then coin $37\frac{1}{4}$ grains of pure silver, without limit and with entire freedom, into standard dollars, the purchasing power of which shall be exactly equal to the commercial value of that number of grains. Thus the proposition is to establish two standards of value. Now, if those two standards are equal,—that is to say, if 23.22 grains of pure gold are exactly equal in the open market to $37\frac{1}{4}$ grains of pure silver,—then the bimetallic standard would result; and, so long as that condition prevailed, gold and silver would remain in concurrent circulation. But, so soon as the commercial value of $37\frac{1}{4}$ grains of pure silver should vary from the commercial value of 23.22 grains of pure gold, then we would not have the bimetallic standard and the concurrent circulation. Things which are equal to each other are equal to the

same thing. If the commercial value of $37\frac{1}{4}$ grains of pure silver is equal in the open market to 23.22 grains of pure gold, they will both equal the same measurement, and be the same standard of value. But, when these two commercial values separate and become different, it is mathematically impossible for them to equal the same standard of value.

Now, for the purpose of argument, I will assume that the commercial ratio between gold and silver is 32 to 1 instead of 16 to 1; that is to say, the metallic value of a silver dollar is fifty cents. Then how is it? Suppose to-day that we establish the bimetallic standard at the ratio of 16 to 1, then we should have one standard dollar regulated and its purchasing power fixed by the value of $37\frac{1}{4}$ grains of pure silver, which, measured by gold, would be worth fifty cents. And we should have another standard dollar composed of 23.22 grains of pure gold, which, measured in silver, would be worth two dollars. He who contends that any government can maintain those two dollars in concurrent circulation contends for a circulation which is against all the experience of mankind,—contrary to the consensus of opinion among the scholars of the world, and contrary to the experience of commerce in every age of the world. It has always been a singular thing to me that the advocates of free silver coinage now in the country take the view they do. They do not want a ratio of 20 or 30 or 25 or 10 or 15 to 1; but their idea is to restore bimetalism, to establish the bimetallic standard, and to hold gold and silver in concurrent circulation by the establishment of a ratio of 16 to 1, and that magic ratio to have not only the power to bring about the bimetallic standard, but to maintain it for all time to come. That is magical, not logical.

One other thought. Coinage has nothing to do with commercial value. The use of a thing as money for generations may add something to its marketable commercial value; but, when the government says you may coin 23.22 grains of pure gold into a dollar, that does not say anything about the value of those 23.22 grains, and, when it says you may coin $37\frac{1}{4}$ grains of pure silver into a dollar, that does not say anything about the market value of that number of grains. Therefore, coinage has nothing to do and has no effect upon the commercial value. Why, we have coined over \$400,000,000 of silver here in the last sixteen years, without regard to market value, and have been holding that silver on a parity with gold. But the free, unlimited, and independent

coinage of silver, at the ratio of 16 to 1, if it results in the establishment of a bimetallic standard and in the concurrent circulation of gold and silver, will necessarily result in doubling the price of all the uncoined silver in the world. Not only that, but it will result in doubling the purchasing power of all silver coins in the silver countries of the world, because the coins in the silver countries of the world are all standard money, and measured by the commercial value of the substance out of which they are composed.

Hence I reach the conclusion that it is simply impossible for this government to maintain the bimetallic standard. It is simply out of the question and impossible for this government to maintain gold and silver in concurrent circulation, where we have the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. Therefore, the only proposition is, Which is better for this great government,—the gold or the silver standard? Now, briefly, I prefer the gold standard, for a few short reasons which I will give to you. I prefer it because the production of gold in the world exceeds that of silver. Last year the world's gold production amounted to \$200,000,000, \$55,000,000 more than the production of gold during any year in the flush times in California, and equal to the production of both gold and silver during any of those years. In the last three years the world has produced \$230,000,000 of gold more than it produced for the first forty years of the century. There have been some marvellous gold discoveries recently in Africa, and also in our own Alaska. The improved method of treatment, I feel perfectly confident, is such that before the beginning of the twentieth century the annual output of the world will be more than \$250,000,000 of gold.

I prefer the gold standard for another simple reason. Every gold country in the world uses both gold and silver as money. We could eliminate from our circulation all other kinds of money except silver, and its representative, below the denomination of ten dollars, create a vacuum for silver, and could use all the silver we have now coined and possess in the world,—utilize the silver now piled up in the Treasury, making it the money of small transactions, while gold would be the money of commerce. And throughout the world all the gold countries largely use silver in their circulation, while there is no silver country which uses gold as money at all. It may be hoarded, it may be piled up as a treasure; but wherever the silver standard prevails gold does not go

into circulation, and wherever the gold standard prevails there is the use of silver money. I believe I can safely say that the gold-standard countries of the world to-day use more silver in their circulation than all the silver-standard countries of the world combined, notwithstanding they have, perhaps, more population.

Again, commerce has elected gold as its standard. There is not an enlightened country in the world that has not adopted the gold standard; and, mark you! there is no bimetallic country — there is no country where the free coinage of silver obtains — that is not absolutely on a silver basis. So I am arguing a proposition which is in accordance with the experience of the world up to date; and I repeat that there is not a bimetallic country in the world,—all the countries are either gold-standard countries or silver-standard countries. Now, the enlightened commercial powers have adopted the gold standard without exception; and so the silver countries have to transact their business, in settling international balances, with reference to the gold standard. For instance, a merchant of the United States, when he buys goods, has no other question to think about except the value of those goods measured in gold. The Mexican merchant, on the other hand, not only has that to think about, but he has to study how much his silver will vary in purchasing power while the trade is pending. Hence it is that all the progressive and enlightened commercial countries of the world are at the gold standard, while those which are otherwise have the silver standard.

So much was I impressed with this great truth that before the death of the lamented Gresham I went to the Department of State one day, and said to Judge Gresham that I would like to have him put an expert at work on the consular reports coming in from all the countries of the world, and make up a table showing the weekly wages paid. You see, I have an old-fashioned idea that the men who toil constitute the grand army of civilization; that the men who handle the axe, the plow, and the hoe; the men who carve the stone, mould the brick, and hammer the iron; the men who erect the houses, build the ships, and construct the railroads; the men who manipulate all the marvellous machinery which man has invented, are the men who constitute the rock on which progress and civilization rest. I had an idea before I saw Judge Gresham that there was not one silver-standard country in all the world where the men who toil for wages earned enough to maintain them in comfort and independence. Well, this expert went

to work; and he made out two great sheets,—one for the silver countries, and one for the gold countries. It fully sustained my view upon that question. A great many letters were written to the State Department, and finally I sent these sheets back to the State Department, making some suggestions; and latterly they have been at work making up a pamphlet, and I have here the advanced sheets of that pamphlet, which I desire to turn over to the Secretary of this Association.* I say, with this information in my possession, that there is not one country in all the world where civilization and Christianity are in the ascendant, where Christian men and women send missionaries out to do work in the name of the Master, where scientific thought is in the ascendant, where commerce and schools and colleges flourish, where men and women are comparatively happy, and where the men who toil earn wages sufficient to maintain them in comfort and independence, which is not on a gold standard.

4. REMARKS OF JOSEPH SHELDON, ESQ., OF NEW HAVEN, CT.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen.—In the press of other subjects upon the attention of educated men in the United States, and particularly in the Eastern States, the importance of this silver question has been somewhat overlooked. Indeed, the very absurdity of the present economic condition of the country has, strangely enough, blinded some persons to the truth about it. Now, we declare that the economic condition of the United States to-day is substantially equivalent to what it would be under a short statute in two sections, and a declaration of policy in two clauses: “*First*, There shall every year, by proper legislation, be secured, to the growers of wheat in Canada and to the growers of cotton in Mexico, an advantage in competition with the growers of both these staples in the United States, substantially such as would be secured to Canadian wheat-growers by a bounty of fifty cents a bushel on wheat and to Mexican cotton-growers by a bounty of five cents a pound on cotton.” (When you come to study this question, read “India” for both Canada and Mexico.) “*Second*, Wheat raised in the United States shall not, after the passage of this act, be made into flour; and cotton raised in the United States shall not be made into cloth.”

* See the Appendix to this Debate.

"Declaration of Policy.—In order to keep the public credit high and the public faith inviolate, it is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to pay the debts of the United States, whether held at home or abroad, in these great staples, at a price no higher than they would be under the operation of this statute. It is hereby further declared to be the policy of the United States to repeal this act whenever, by international agreement or otherwise, proper permission of those nations who profit most by the enactment of this law shall be given for its repeal, so that the United States shall not gain any unnatural and undue advantage from said repeal."

Nothing, surely, could exceed the absurdity of such a law and such a declaration. But under the operation of such a law the economic condition of the United States would be substantially what it now is under the existing statutes in relation to the coinage and use of silver as full legal tender money. For it can make no difference to the American grower of wheat or cotton whether the bounty given to his rival is given directly or indirectly: it pinches him the same in either case. The rise in gold or the fall in silver operates as virtual bounty on wheat and cotton grown in India and marketed in competition with similar products grown in the United States. This has so often been pointed out as to be the commonplace of the discussion.

It can further make no difference to the American grower of wheat or cotton whether the price of his product is reduced by the natural operation of the second section of this suggested statute or by the operation of a statute and a usage by which one-half (the silver half) of the metallic money of the world is put in the process of demonetization, and a large portion of the other half (the gold half) is hoarded in national war-chests and "reserves," and placed in private hoards, for the profit which a diminishing volume of money always brings to those who hoard money and do not invest it in employing labor or in the production of things useful to mankind. This profit is just now made the greater and more terrible and more influential as the growth of population and the need of money are rapidly increasing under the quantitative law of money and of prices. If this suggests the truth or the direction in which the literal truth can be found, you will agree with me that the situation ought to be patiently studied and our arguments to be patiently listened to.

There are in this discussion many assumptions which our oppo-

nents regard as facts, but which we regard as fictions. Each side starts from these assumptions as the premises of its arguments, the one side regarding them as facts, and the other side as fictions. The debaters therefore inevitably reach opposite conclusions. They fail to meet and fairly answer the opposing arguments ; and, therefore, the so-called debate goes on, and may go on forever, without eliciting the truth which ought to be the object of all our debates.

The proposition before us here is inevitably one of some difficulty, some complexity. That difficulty and complexity are the greater because these assumptions are not first of all clearly settled as matters of fact. A few of these assumptions are so vital in this discussion that we shall try to settle some of them here and now.

Some of our opponents assume that, as a yard-stick provided by statutory enactment is a real and true measure of all space, and the pound weight established and defined by law is by comparison a true measure of all weight, so the gold unit of value in precisely the same manner is the measure of the money value of property. They assume that this money unit of value in gold is itself practically unchanging in value. They assume that with this gold unit of value they can measure all money value,—not always perhaps with mathematical precision, but with an exactness the nearest practically perfect that is known among men. They assume that by the evolution of money and the mechanism of exchange it has come to be so considered and to be so practically treated by the whole commercial world, by all intelligent and thoughtful persons whose attention has been adequately directed to the subject.

They assume that a true formula for a measure of the money value of other property on the gold basis might be something like this: 25.8 grains of gold made into the statutory "unit of value" equals one dollar,—equals 100 cents everywhere and always,—all other values will be simply multiples of this unit.

Or on the silver basis: $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains of standard silver made into a statutory unit of value also equals one "dollar," equals now 50 cents, liable at any time to be only equal to 25 cents, or equal to 60 cents or any other number of cents. They assume that this silver unit is a shifting mockery, and is absurd and intolerable as a measure of value. They assume that it can never be restored to any tolerable stability as a measure of value (if it ever can be

restored at all) except by an international agreement of many nations to give and maintain it as of a purely conventional and artificial value. They assume that till such an agreement is reached it is simple madness for the United States to coin silver on the same terms as it now coins gold.

This, I think, is a fair statement of the central conception of the true measure of value which our opponents assume as a fundamental *fact* in the usual argument on the negative side of the proposition before us for debate. This central assumption I utterly deny. At the same time I admit that, if this one assumption were true in fact, the argument of our opponents would be simply overwhelming. If this one assumption were a fact, and not a fiction, it is inconceivable how any man of common sense and candor could ever have raised any question as to the validity, the conclusiveness, of their argument.

If a single coined dollar, whether of gold or of silver, can, in any true sense, be the measure of the money value of other property, if this assumption is a fact, and not a fiction, then the silver question is indeed a "lunacy," a "craze," and a "fraud." Our opponents say its existence can be explained only by supposing that it originated, as they claim it did originate, among some ignorant and unscrupulous Western silver miners, and by further supposing that these miners, finding the product of their mines becoming cheap by an enormous overproduction, have desired to sell their depreciated product to the government for twice as much as it is really worth. They say its existence, continuance, and spread are explained by further supposing that this "silver craze" is also supported by some dishonest debtors, really desiring to pay honest debts with dishonest dollars, each worth only fifty cents; that it is further supported by other ignorant persons who believe they can shrewdly get something for nothing, that by sufficient adroitness they can make two and two five, and not four. They say that it is supported by some other people who in short believe that they can profitably found national prosperity on a great palpable fraud, and that with sufficient astuteness and finesse they can quietly set aside or outwit the moral and pecuniary laws of the universe.

If these assumptions are facts, and not fictions, it is no wonder that the newspapers taking them for facts, and their supporters to be such as we have just pointed out, are proclaiming day after day that the "silver craze" is dying out in the West and in the South. If this one central assumption is a fact, the "silver craze" ought

to die instantly and to die everywhere. If it is true, any argument for the affirmative of the proposition before us for debate would be impossible. If this assumption that any measure of the *money value* of other property can be found in a single grain or coin of gold is a fact, I would instantly and at discretion surrender this case. I would ask for no mercy from the court, and confidently hope and believe none would be granted.

If that assumption were true, I should only feel a little humiliation to find that any one could ever have supposed me endowed with idiocy so gross and ignorance so abnormal as to resist an argument for the single gold standard so clear, so direct, so overwhelming as it is when that argument starts from that assumption as a fact, and not a fiction. For any one who can leap over an impassable gap in his facts and find himself at last on solid ground in this assumption as a fact, the way is clear, easy, and rapid to the conclusion that the United States should not coin silver on the same terms as it now coins gold. It would be needless, useless, and absurd.

If this assumption about a "unit of value" is true, it is, however, an original discovery so commanding and unique that it must ultimately place its discoverer in the very first rank of original investigators, by the side of Newton, Copernicus, and Darwin, and in the beneficent utility of his work as far above them as a true universal measure of value in the common affairs of life is more important than any possible theory of the stars or of the origin of species.

We affirm that a very little examination will positively demonstrate that, as a proposition, it is not only untrue, but is absolutely *unthinkable*; that it is as impossible to find the true measure of the money value of other property in this way, in a single thing, as it is to find the amount expressed by the numerator of a fraction whose denominator is unknown. The proposition is absolutely unthinkable, because the essential elements for any possible conception is omitted and unknown.

Still, the discoverer of this great new means of measurement of the money value of other property must forever have a high place. For twenty years he has held a place of high honor among our seventy millions. This discovery has held all these millions with so firm a grip that tens of millions of them have delivered up their labor, their property, and lives with the devotion of martyrs for religion or the helplessness of victims butchered to make a Roman

holiday. He will surely at last gain his fit rank by the side of that immortal genius who, in the next age, shall invent perpetual motion, and that other who shall exactly square the circle, and with that renowned philosophical genius of our own day and age who has already discovered that "the sun, he do move." These four,—all equal in glory,—each in his own peculiar sphere, will forever occupy the very highest niche in the four-square temple of fame, and be forever embalmed in the grateful remembrance of mankind.

It is important to test the truth or the falsity of this one fundamental assumption. It is the one indispensable premise of the ordinary argument for the negative of the proposition under discussion. If the labor cost of a grain or a coin of gold was a measure of the value of other property, we should need only to know that labor cost to know the money value of other property. One coin for the whole country would faithfully keep that record that might be stamped upon its face. The value of *commodities* may, for the purpose of comparison with each other, be measured by each other. We may properly say that one cow is worth as much as two calves, one horse is worth as much as two wagons. This is not at all what we are seeking for. We seek a measure of the money value of other property in its relation to debts, to time contracts, and all the other special uses of money.

Let us demonstrate, if possible, that no measure of the money value of property can be found in a single grain or coin of gold, arising either from its labor cost or from the sum total of all its conditions and qualities. Let us show, if we can, just how a true theoretical formula for a measure of the value of other property than money can be made,—a formula sufficient to test whether this assumption is a fact or a fiction.

To test this matter, some rather violent suppositions are permissible. We recall first the fundamental axiom in regard to value: that there is no value in exchange without limitation in amount. There is no exchangeable value in air, for it is limitless.

Suppose for the purpose of the test that the legal tender laws were so changed that gold coins were the only legal tender money, and that all the gold coins in existence were destroyed or lost, but the mints were ready to run, and the first dollar is struck. Would that dollar have a fixed and unchangeable value? It is the only coin in existence, and it would of course have an enormous value from the enormous demand for that dollar with which

to make legal payment. Suppose a thousand or a million or ten millions more were struck and put into circulation, would that first dollar retain the same value, unchanged and unchangeable, that it had before any other dollar than itself was coined? Manifestly not; but our opponents base their whole argument on the assumption that it has an unchangeable value.

Suppose, then, that a wire were strung, passing on into space, and each one of those dollars, as fast as coined, were hung on the wire, like billiard counters. As the numbers grew along the wire, the value of that first dollar, and each dollar of the whole, would decrease as the numbers increase, till we should reach the absolute vanishing point of value in gold dollars, in the limitless number of them all. Take, then, any assignable number, and mark it off with the cue. Then, as you should pass back toward the vanishing point of value, and increase the number, the value of the first dollar, and of each, would decrease again till we again reach the vanishing point of value. Pass the other way, reducing the number, and the value of each would increase as the numbers decrease.

To find, then, the money value of a single dollar of gold or of silver, we should need to know the whole number of which it is one. A gold dollar part of a hundred dollars, as the whole number in existence, would manifestly have a different value from a gold dollar part of ten millions or a hundred millions, other things being equal. So we say that a unit of value, whether of gold or of anything else, is, as a measure of the money value of property, absurd and impossible. It is as unthinkable as is the amount represented by a fraction whose denominator is unknown. The numerator alone cannot possibly tell you anything about it. A single dollar of gold cannot measure the money value of other property. The essential condition of any conception whatever of money value is omitted. So not in the labor cost of a simple grain or coin of gold can we find a measure of the money value of property.

But a true measure of the value of property can be found in a fraction whose numerator is one and whose denominator represents the whole number of the units of value and their accepted substitutes in unhindered circulation in the commercial world, of which that one is a part.

This formula is founded on the quantitative law of money and of prices. Its terms contain the theoretical elements that are necessarily involved in a true measure of money value. We are

simply the sealer of weights and measures, stepping into a store where it is alleged that the proprietor has persuaded some of his customers that his foot weighs just a pound, and that it has an unchanging and invariable weight in buying and selling goods. Some persons have had doubts, and others suspicions, as to the possibilities of that foot, considered as an unchanged and unchanging weight in such conditions and for such purposes. We are testing that mode of procedure.

We are testing this assumption, not making an entire formula for determining the price of goods at any time or place. Much less are we taking into consideration any factor arising from the demand and supply of the property whose money value is to be measured. Nor are we taking into consideration anything about the number of the people, their condition and characteristics, whether they are millions of Americans or hundreds of Esquimaux whose monetary demands are to be considered, to be met and supplied.

We are simply asking what (other things being equal) is the true test for the measurement of the money unit itself, and so of the money value of all other property. We are testing the instruments before we begin to use them. We are setting forth by an illustration the old economic law known as the quantitative law of money and prices. This quantitative law of money and prices has met the approval of every political economist before this controversy arose, and most of them since, as being necessarily fundamental. It has met the approval of every historian of prices, of every man of common observation; of every creditor, while we trace its working in the direction of increasing the number of dollars of legal tender in unhindered circulation: he then shouts that that is dishonest inflation of the currency. When we call his attention to the same law working in the opposite direction, he finds difficulty in seeing that there is any such law, or that it is working any injustice or wrong, if there is. We have heard much of "dishonest inflation" through legal tender paper money. It is said that gold itself, however increased or diminished in amount, would not change in its own value nor change the prices of other property.

But, if Stanley had brought back news from Africa that he had found real gold so plentiful there that he could shovel it up by carloads, the operation of this law would have instantly shown that it is not on the color or the substance on which the money function has been cast, but literally upon the sums, greater or less,

of the units of value, on which the value of each depends, and so the money value of all property.

Perhaps it may not be superfluous to restate the illustration of the formula for the true measure of the value of property (other things being equal) by means of a fraction whose numerator should be *one*, and whose denominator should be the whole number of units of value and their accepted substitutes in unhindered circulation in the commercial world. This illustration has some value by recalling, in connection with this quantitative law of value which it illustrates, the simple old arithmetical rule in ordinary fractions,—that to divide the denominator of a fraction by two has the same effect on the amount represented by the fraction as to multiply the numerator by two.

Now, the face-call of every one of the immense existing number and amount of obligations to pay money (estimated as at least \$100,000,000,000) may be considered as a numerator written over this common denominator of them all. Divide this denominator by two, as we shall do when we fully demonetize the silver half of the money of the world, and we shall double the value of that immense mass of debts. It will appear in the money value of the property (by which they must be paid) shrinking in value one-half or more.

Any one who should directly raise the face-call of one of these bonds would be a forger and a felon. Whoever is guilty of the compound and continuing felony of doing the same thing on every one of this immense and inconceivable number and amount of these obligations we do not send to the State prison, but do send him to the White House, to Kentucky, and to Georgia, to expound the true inwardness of the meaning of "Sound Money." And any reduction of the number of dollars and their substitutes in unhindered circulation in the commercial world adds correspondingly to the money value of every one of these obligations, by reducing in that same degree the money value of the property in which they must be paid. When the money value of these immense obligations is doubled, slavery has come, and come to stay.

When it is perceived that the same money will buy more and more property as time advances,—produced by hoarding gold in the war-chests of Europe or in our own Treasury, or by hoarding and locking up money idle in safe-deposit vaults, in the stockings and secret hiding-places, and, above and beyond all, by the absolute cessation of the coinage of silver,—then these obligations gain

an immense amount of added value, and property decreases correspondingly in value. More and more of sweat and toil goes to pay each hundred dollars of debt. Fewer and fewer are the men who dare invest money in productive industry and the payment of wages. Only those can safely do so who control the conditions of a monopoly.

Again, our opponents come up with another form of the same assumption or an assumption based on the same fallacy we have just been considering. They say that the "quantitative law" of money and of prices was correct in the old conditions of business. It was true before the new and universal use of checks, drafts, clearing-house certificates, and all the other economical ways and means of payment. But we have changed all that now. They say the business of purchases and sales is now substantially barter, that debts and credits balance each other, that bank credit money is all that is really essential now under the new order of things, since 95 per cent. of all payments are made through banks by checks and the other new machinery of payment.

They say all we need now of real legal tender money is to act as a *measure of value*. The values themselves are exchanged and disposed of by mutual checks. They say we do need just money enough to act as a standard *measure of value*. We do need a little of the best money just for that purpose, but for no other. For that purpose we need, however, that it should be of the very best possible quality. The quantity is of very little importance.

Here it is again,—the same fallacy. The very question is again here plainly begged. The question is about that very *measure of value* which we say does depend upon the number of units of value and their substitutes in unhindered circulation in the commercial world. If it were a fact that 95 per cent. of the payments of the whole community were made through checks and drafts, then the measure of the value of property would be made up of 5 per cent. real money and 95 per cent. credit money. But the latter may be shrunk or swelled at will, and property values would chase up and down with this 95 per cent. part of the measure of value. It would be like a yard-stick, 5 per cent. of solid wood or metal and 95 per cent. of India rubber, to be stretched or shrunk as the interest of the user might dictate. It becomes a kind of "confidence" money, fit for use only by "confidence" men when they deal with the rural citizen. What we want is not a small amount of real money that grows less from year to year, with credit money

for the residue, large or small as may happen, but an amount of real money as large as possible, so that this useful credit supplement to real money should be the best and most stable possible.

But, as a matter of fact, the 95 per cent. of payments through banks to 5 per cent. of real money indicates very little of the use of money by the whole community. In the city of New Haven there are 10 banks through which payments are made by checks. They have perhaps 500 accounts each. These 5,000 persons paying by checks by no means indicate the real use of money by that community of 100,000 people. The other 95,000 use an aggregate of money, in the multiplicity and the rapidity of their transactions, that would make a different showing if it could be ascertained.

But the measure of the money value of property rests not upon the small amount of real money the people use, however scarce it may be, but upon the whole amount of real money and of the credit money in unhindered circulation in the world.

Stamp out a thousand times the fallacy that a measure of value can be found in a single unit of value or in any number of such units less than the whole, and it seems that a gold-standard man cannot open his mouth without showing that he really believes, after all, that the quantitative law of money either never did exist or has ceased to have any practical importance in the business of life. He seems to think that a true measure of value must be literally akin to a yard-stick, because it would be such a handy thing to have and to believe in. Show that the number or the material of yard-sticks cannot change the length of one of them, and show further that the number of units of value more or less does change the value of each of them, show that the change extends from an absolute annihilation of the value of each and all of them, by a limitless number of them, or that each dollar may be doubled, trebled, centupled, in its value by reducing their number sufficiently, and the gold-standard man flies instantly back to his old fallacy,—that a practically unchanging measure of the money value of property can be found in a single gold coin.

The pretence that the quantitative law of value can be suspended or be superseded by means of checks, drafts, or bank credits, is like a pretence that the law of gravitation is suspended by railroads or balloons, or other means of aerial navigation. Railroads do reduce the friction: they don't suspend gravitation. So checks and drafts reduce friction: they do not and cannot

suspend the law that governs the measure of the money value of property.

I repeat, then, that the quantity of a dollar depends literally upon the quantity of all kinds of dollars. This is the old, familiar, time-worn doctrine of the ages. It explains all the facts: it stands every test. Let us, then, either heartily recognize its existence, and decide this question accordingly, or fight a preliminary battle right here as to its existence and its decisive bearing upon the question here in debate. The silver men stand upon it unreservedly. It is true or false. Not an inch can the argument move till this position is carried. Words may be poured out endlessly. Evasions and flank movements may be undertaken by most marvellous ingenuity. The argument can't stir.

Either they or we are right about it. If they are right, and the measure of the money value of property can be found in a single gold coin, then we need but one in all the markets of the world, as one clock, by means of electric wires, might tell time exactly for a whole town. If we are right, then the United States should immediately restore the old measure of value by coining silver on the same terms as it now coins gold. We stand here as on a strategic point. We say to our opponents, Dislodge us from this position or surrender the question in this debate.

We do not trouble ourselves about a multiplicity of details, of crafty sophisms that are used to befog and bewilder many. The American people have been long dazed and puzzled by the bold, reckless pretences, and in some quarters the little, flippant, unobserved tricks and changes in the meaning of terms in this argument. They are about ready, I fancy, to say, We may not understand the whole of this apparently intricate matter, but for twenty years we have faithfully travelled this road. It has led to nothing but disaster, and we do not intend to travel any farther in this direction.

A Yankee stepped into an honest German grocer's store, and asked for half a dozen crackers, which were laid on the counter before him. "Well," said the Yankee, "never mind the crackers now," and pushed them back. "I guess I'll have a glass of beer," which he drank, and walked off. "See here," said the grocer, "you no pay for the beer." "Yes, I did: I gave you the crackers for the beer." "But you didn't pay for the crackers." "I never had your crackers." Puzzled and disgusted at not being able quite to see through this system of finance, he

brought his hand down on the counter fiercely, as he shouted at his triumphant customer, "I don't know how das is, but I don't want any more of your custom." Uncle Sam is now as badly puzzled as that grocer, and by a quite similar trick of logic.

Again, it is assumed by our opponents as a fact, and is claimed by us to be a fiction, that the public faith has been virtually pledged to redeem in gold coin all forms of the paper currency of the United States, that this pledge extends even to the silver dollars, and that the prosperity of the country is inseparably involved in the maintenance of that pledge. If these are facts, the argument ends here.

We all agree that the public credit must be maintained clear and high, the public faith must be kept inviolate. That is, the United States must take no particle of advantage of any ambiguous or equivocal or even doubtful terms in its contracts, but must perform in letter and spirit whatever it has agreed to do, to the last jot and tittle of the law by which its obligations have been created, but no drop of Christian sweat beyond that. No law in heaven or on the earth binds the government to do more than this. It is solemnly bound not to do more than this.

1. We deny totally the existence of any such thing as a virtual pledge of the public faith in contradiction of the express words in writing by which that faith has been pledged. No law ever heard of or dreamed of among business men anywhere, at any time, can be invoked to bind one for a moment in honor by any such Quixotic, romantic, and absurd rule as this: that, when a plain alternative contract, perfectly understood in the beginning by the parties to it, by which payment of money was to be made in a less difficult way or a more difficult way, the payer is in any remotest particular in honor bound to pay in the more difficult way. Such conduct would reverse all experience, all expectation of human conduct.

We deny totally and absolutely the existence of any such thing as a virtual pledge of the public faith in such conditions. That faith must be pledged according to the laws as construed by the Supreme Court, or it is no pledge of the public faith at all. The express contract as it is made and as it is construed by that court, provided for this very purpose in the beginning of the government, affords the only solid ground on which to adjust expectations on one side and the obligations on the other. If we depart

from the true line of the absolute contract as so construed, if we depart from this rule of common sense and the experience of mankind, we introduce endless confusion, disorder, and danger. We then provide that implied and fanciful claims, about which men must always differ, may be substituted for claims resting in express words, clear declarations in writing, and settled construction of the court about which no man may doubt.

If we depart from this wholesome rule, there is literally no end to the exactions and the claims that may be made, under any other mode of determining the rights and duties of the parties to contracts with the government. If we leave the settled decisions of the law and the courts, pray what limit but force—ultimate force—is left us?

If one shall, under a claim of a virtual pledge of the public faith, be justified in claiming payment in gold to-day of coin obligations, what shall prevent his claiming an endlessly increasing amount of sacrifice and toil in payment of the public debt, as gold mounts higher and higher under the fierce, increasing, endless scramble for it by an ever-widening circle of nations, and an ever-increasing facility for locking up gold by the holders of the obligations of the government for the very purpose of making such unjust exactions? That way, not honorable payment, but slavery and confiscation, lie. That way repudiation lies. For what shall prevent the other side, under a change of power or of disposition, from claiming in reprisal the right to pay in any other form of payment which Congress may authorize and which the Supreme Court has by repeated decisions declared Congress has ample power to provide?

The claim of a power to make a virtual pledge of the public faith different from the express, written words by which that faith was really pledged must be resisted as a patriotic duty. The Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution, adopted in 1868, declares that the validity of the public debt shall not be questioned. This does not mean that the validity of any fanciful claim as to the public debt and its mode of payment shall not be questioned, particularly when that claim conflicts with the plain words of the written contract.

Ours was originally a government of law, and not of arbitrary power in the hands of any President or Secretary of the Treasury. Till very recent times parties dealing with the government have been subject to the wholesome rule that they must take notice of

the limitation of the powers of those assuming to act in behalf of the government. That rule must be restored, and must be inflexibly maintained.

2. The public faith has never been pledged to pay the obligations of the government in gold coin. Not a statute exists that by any possible legal construction supports that claim. Not a statute exists in regard to any form of the public debt or in regard to the coinage of silver dollars that does not positively show that this claim is utterly without foundation.

Five statutes more particularly relate to these obligations.

1. That which in 1792 defined a "dollar" and defined "coins."

2. Those statutes which created the public debt, including those under which the government demand-notes were issued as money.

3. The Act of March, 1869, by which the public faith was expressly pledged not to payment in gold, but to the payment in coin of the obligations of the government.

4. The declaration of policy in the Act of 1890. That act authorized the issue of the Sherman notes in payment for 4,500 ounces of silver a month. The declaration of policy was this:—

That upon demand of the holder of any of the Treasury notes herein provided for the Secretary of the Treasury shall, under such regulations as he may prescribe, redeem such notes in gold or silver coin at his discretion, it being the established policy of the United States to maintain *the two metals on a parity with each other* upon the present legal ratio or such ratio as may be provided by law.

5. The further declaration of policy in the Act of 1893, which is this:—

It is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to continue the use of both gold and silver as standard money, and to coin both gold and silver into money of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, such equality to be secured through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as will insure the maintainance of *the parity in value of the coins of the two metals*, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts. And it is hereby further declared that the efforts of the government should be steadily directed to the establishment of such a safe system of bimetallism as will maintain, at all times, the equal power of every dollar coined or issued by the United States in the markets and in the payment of debts.

It is entirely legitimate for the government, through its consti-

tuted authorities, to declare and to change, from time to time, its policy as to the money metals and as to its coinage laws. But it is not legitimate, but a bald usurpation of power on the part of the President, to originate and carry out a different policy from that which has been adopted and declared by the government to be the policy of the United States.

This the President has done, and is now doing. He is setting aside and totally disregarding, even reversing, the policy of 1890, that has never been disavowed by the Congress, of maintaining "the two metals at a parity with each other." He has adopted or is continuing a policy that, so far from maintaining "*the two metals* at a parity with each other," is calculated, if not intended, to drive the metals as far as possible apart in their value. That policy adds largely and unnecessarily to the value of gold as a commodity by increasing the demand for gold, in which alone he redeems all paper and the silver dollars themselves. He redeems all the coin obligations of the government in gold alone. This policy largely and unnecessarily decreases the value of silver as a commodity by refusing almost entirely to coin silver into dollars and by discrediting silver as primary money of full legal tender. In this way he violates the first principles of bimetallism, which the government has declared its intention to preserve. In one way only can both these declarations of policy be maintained at the same time. It is by adopting and inflexibly maintaining the true principles of bimetallism. It is to provide for the coinage and use of silver on the same terms as it now coins and uses gold.

5. ADDRESS OF HON. ROSWELL G. HERR, OF NEW JERSEY.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I shall be compelled to ask the indulgence of my hearers because I have been called suddenly into this work; and I come before you simply for the purpose of stating a few propositions which seem to me to be sound, and, while I am not able to read them in any prepared form, at the same time I hope to be able to so express myself that, whether I am right or wrong, you will know where I stand on this question.

I have such a different idea as to what money really is from the two gentlemen who have taken the affirmative of this question that it would be almost impossible for me to discuss the question before us without calling attention to a fact or two which it seems

to me their definitions omit. Money has been defined a great many times by thinking men in past ages. I have a distinct idea of my own that, when money enters into a transaction and helps to make a trade, there is no element in the transaction that differs from a trade made between any other two commodities. Money value and actual value should always be the same. If my friend Judge Sheldon will study that proposition for a night or two, he will get over this whole business which he has read to us here. Money value should never differ from actual value.

Mr. SHELDON.—Just at this point will the speaker tell us just what actual value is?

Mr. HERR.—Articles came to be used as money simply because they were of value. My friend from Tennessee stated it exactly. The market value, the commercial value, of the article, always fixes the real purchasing power of anything used as money. In early days people used various articles as money. There was a time when cattle were used in several nations of the world as money. Why do we not use them now? Simply because we have found something better. People found it difficult to make change with cattle; and, you see, it led to inconvenience. Wheat, barley, grain, were once used as money all over the face of the earth; but they were perishable, and the people discarded them. They found something better adapted for many purposes. They found that metallic money was better than any other thing that had ever yet been discovered and tried. The people have ever discarded the poorer, and used the better. That is a law of nature, which I suppose you have heard of in this scientific association,—“a survival of the fittest.” To-day gold is the money of the civilized world simply because it is the best substance known to the human race for the large transactions of the civilized world, and for no other reason.

Of course, I dispute from beginning to end the whole doctrine of the last speaker about the quantity of money governing prices. I cannot stop to argue such a proposition as that, but will simply say it is the worst humbug of this age of humbugs. What the people need is good money; and, when you have good money, you cannot get too much of it. If you resort to poor money, you cannot have too little of it. People want money to show exactly what it is. There have been men in the past who had my notion about money. Let me dwell upon it a little longer. Whenever there is a trade between two parties, their minds meet on what? On an

equivalent passing from one to the other, and the trade never takes place until both parties are satisfied as to the equivalent. Now, you could not make money out of a thing that has no value unless it is representative money, a promise to pay some real money; and such money relies for its value on the sureness of getting the valuable thing, as promised. You cannot take an article that has no value, and make money of it,—real money,—because we use money to measure values with. Consequently, you have to take something that has value. You cannot make a yard-stick out of anything that has no length. Just think a moment on that proposition, Brother Warner. If you are going to measure length, you must have some length to measure it by. You cannot measure capacity with something that does not hold anything. You cannot measure value unless you get something that does of itself possess value. Now, what is it that constitutes value? I have here some quotations that I wish to read, because they go back further than my memory on the subject. I find that Aristotle once told the people away back in his time what money was. He says :—

“It is an intermediate *commodity* designed to facilitate an interchange of *other commodities*.”

You see, he had the idea that it was something that must have a market value. I read these, Brother Warner, for only one purpose,—to show you how little Aristotle and other fellows knew. Copernicus wrote,—

“The coins of gold and silver must bear the same ratio to each other as the metals do in the markets of the world.”

He had that notion, you know, that the commercial value governed, just as my friend from Tennessee has said,—that the commercial value has something to do with this question. It was a notion of his, of course. Thomas Jefferson had the same idea, because he wrote,—

“Just principles will lead us to discard *all legal proportion*, and to compare the *market value* of the metals.”

Alexander Hamilton had the same idea. John Stuart Mill, whom my friends are never tired of quoting,—a man, you know, of considerable notoriety, and, I have been told, of some brains,—said :—

“The ultimate regulator of the value of money is the cost of its production. Whoever sells coin or tallow or cotton buys money. Whoever buys bread or wine sells money.”

Now, the quotations that I might use here are unlimited; but my time will not permit to read them to any greater extent. If you will think a moment, you will see that they are unnecessary. Your good common, every-day sense will show you how we use money, how we measure values. When men at one time used the skins of animals for money, they did it because there was a surplus of them: they were always in demand for clothing, and they were easily divided. The experience of the world had not got beyond pelts then for money. Now, when a person said such and such an article is worth four coon-skins, it meant just the same as they mean now when they say it is worth four bits; that is, they used something the people were accustomed to use. We use the term "dollar" because we have become familiar with the word; and, when we say a thing is worth so many dollars, we use terms that we understand alike. If a person should tell me that an article is worth so many "francs," I would have to go into mathematics before I could get any idea about the value of the article. If they should tell me a thing was worth so many "marks," I should not get any idea from that statement. I would have to figure out what it meant in terms of our money. You see, we have to use terms that both of us understand. If a man should say to me: "You look pretty heavy, you must weigh about so many 'kilogrammes,'" I shouldn't know whether I was heavy or not. I would have to go to work, and find out how much a kilogramme is, and then I would have to reduce it to something I know about. We use money terms in the same way, and we come to measure the value of property by the actual value of the substance used as money.

Since the history of the world is written, since great national transactions have been possible,—I state this proposition for my friend's consideration,—no nation has ever yet for any length of time been able to use two standards. They have always dropped one and used the other, because it is a mental impossibility to use two standards unless they were identical in value. Just the moment one article gets to be cheaper than the other, you have two measures that are not the same. In such a case a party using money to pay anybody with always uses the cheaper article. If you were selling cloth and had the right to use a measure thirty inches long and one thirty-six inches long, and could call them both a yard, you would always use the thirty-inch rule. You would try to buy with the other measure, you understand. People always

select the measure that is the cheapest to pay with, and that has been the history of the world. I know that bimetallists tell us that France for three hundred years kept the market value and the legal value at the same point. Yet France never, during that whole period, saw a time when the two metals agreed. No nation ever did business with both metals when there was a variation of one-quarter of one per cent. The good money hides from the poor money. That is the reason that I say to my friend that he has not discussed the question before us at all. That question is, "Ought this nation, when silver is only worth about fifty cents on the dollar, to open its mints to the free coinage of silver without any regard to the rest of the world?" We take the negative of that proposition. We do not believe it would do. We believe it would get us into trouble. I can see serious difficulty. First, you drive all the gold of this country out of the nation. It would be bought and sold as a commodity, and it would not circulate as money unless the value of the silver dollar came to be equal to the value of the gold dollar. Is there a man on the face of the earth who believes that, by a government statute, we could produce an equality of value between those two metals on the old ratio?

TIMOTHY WRIGHT, of New York.—Certainly, sir.

Mr. HERR.—I am sorry for you, sir, if you really believe that. There is not an instance to sustain your belief in the financial history of the entire world.

Mr. WRIGHT.—The whole history of the money question corroborates it.

Mr. HERR.—The whole history of the world proves just the contrary; and, if you live to see it tried, you will know more about it than you do now. When it is tried on, you will see gold at a premium the next morning; and you will see our people doing business on a silver basis.

This whole philosophy is based on the idea that we should run this world for the benefit of people who get into debt. My whole philosophy is based upon the theory that we should run this world in favor of people who do honest work and earn honest wages. That is the difference between us. Establish the silver measure of value in the United States, Mr. Chairman, and it will divide into halves the day's work that every man performs. They tell us that we want a cheaper dollar, that the dollar is getting too good. Well, that may be so for them. It isn't so for me. I work for wages,—for dollars. I don't want the value of the dollar that is

paid to me split in two. I don't want to get a dollar that I cannot buy as much with as I do now. There are twenty-three millions of people in the United States who belong to what the census people call the "gainful workers" of the country. Of that number seventeen millions depend upon the wages they get each week upon which to live. Does anybody here think that we would confer a blessing upon those seventeen millions by giving them cheaper dollars every week, and not only that, but burn the candle at the other end, and make them pay more for what they use? I want no blessing of that kind in mine. I get no more than I like now. I have a sort of a notion that here in this world people are happy according to the amount of stuff they can honestly earn and consume. It is what we use up that benefits us. It is what we get away with that does us good here in this world. Yes, it is. That is what makes life worth living. Now, you change the standard of value on their plan, and you divide a man's wages right in two, and force him to abandon the luxuries and necessities to which he has been accustomed here in the United States. It is against that change that we enter our protest to-day.

I wish my friend here would explain to me how it is that, the more a nation knows, the less it takes to doctrines such as he has been preaching; and, the less a nation knows, the more sure it is to be a silver standard country. That is a proposition that I want you to digest a moment. England in 1816 adopted the gold standard. Why? She told why. Her financiers said: "We can have but one standard. For centuries we have been trying to use both, and have failed. As long as we can have but one, we prefer gold"; and they selected gold. There was not any "bribery" even charged in those days. That was away back in 1816, you know,—a good while before the law of 1873. There is no charge that they were bought up to do that. Indeed, at that time a silver piece was worth more than gold, according to their old ratio. They adopted that course on the ground that gold was the more stable and the better metal for the large transactions of the world. Our silver friends here deny it. Now, England ought to have known why she did that. Other nations kept using or trying to use both standards. We tried it in this country. We put the ratio at 15 to 1, and did our business up to 1834 with silver coins. Gold became an absolute nonentity as far as our coinage was concerned. If you will read the debates in Congress,

when they changed the ratio in 1834, you will find that there was not an exception. They all said, "We have no gold in circulation in the United States." They made another mistake then, and put the ratio at 16 to 1, and undervalued silver; and then we lost our silver, and entered upon a gold basis. I assert here that the business of this nation from that day to this has all been done on a gold basis. There is not any doubt about it. Our people finally had the question staring them in the face: we could not use both measures. If we must select one, which had we better select? And the law of 1873 had its conception in the minds of our experts; that is, in the minds of men who knew something about coinage. All this talk about this being a crime is all stuff and nonsense. That was a law as honestly conceived, as thoroughly discussed and understood by the experts at that time, as any law ever passed. We adopted the gold standard. Germany in 1871, ahead of us, had already adopted the same standard. Since then, as my friend from Tennessee told you, every civilized nation on the face of the earth has adopted the same standard; and every half-civilized nation, if they have any standard at all, have the silver one. Now, how does this occur?

Mr. WARNER.—England has adopted free trade.

Mr. HERR.—England is the only country that has adopted free trade. This is not the first time that I have met these gentlemen, or men of their ilk, you know; and I have yet to get them to explain one thing. It is this. Delmar, in his recent history,—and he is their great authority, the great bimetallist of Europe,—tells us that in the early days silver was worth the same as gold. A pound of silver would buy a pound of gold anywhere. Then he gives us the centuries when it took four pounds of silver to buy one of gold, and then he goes on down till when it took six, and then six and a half, and then afterwards eight; and then he strikes the Roman Empire, when it took ten, and then twelve. Now, what I call your attention to is this: that from the dawn of civilization down to the present time silver has been constantly getting cheaper and cheaper. What ails it? Why has not gold been going down and silver going up? You see my trouble about this. There must be some inherent cause. I know what it is. It costs less and less to get silver as compared with gold than it did in those early days. The labor that enters into the production of an article is really the measure of value of that article all over the world, and it always ought to be the measure. What people try to

do in trade, if they are honest, is to exchange honest work for honest work. That is all there is in the commerce of the world. And, whenever you have an article that does not represent the same amount of labor that it once did, it ought not to be called worth as much. It is not worth as much. The difference between worth and work is not very great, and the reason silver to-day is where we find it is from two causes: *First*, they are getting it for half what it formerly cost to get it. If they are not, why don't they quit mining it? Why haven't they stopped producing it? The product has increased every year for the last ten years, although silver has been all the time going down. No one denies that. Now, if it costs more to get it than they are getting for it, they would stop getting it, wouldn't they? That is a law that I don't have to argue. After a person has tried for three or four years to produce an article, and gives away two dollars for every good one he gets back, he quits: he hunts up some other business and finds some other work to do. Now, the fact that we are increasing all the while the product of silver shows any sensible man that we are making it for less labor. *Second*, If you put this nation on a silver basis, you compel our people to do business with *cheaper money*. It is the same old dodge that they used to practise, that of clipping coins. They used to claim that the king could clip the rim right off a coin, and still it remained the same in value. But folks got over that notion after a while.

Now I come to my other proposition. Gold is the measure of value for the civilized countries of the world, and it is going to remain so. I am not a prophet, though I am now prophesying. It is going to remain so, because it is the best adapted to the money needs of the people of the civilized countries. Silver is to-day the measure of value in all the half-civilized countries of the world, and it will remain so until their civilization gets out of the slough it is now in. Silver does well enough in a country where they pay very little for work. Here is a little coin that they use in China. [Exhibiting one.] It would take two thousand of them to buy one of our gold dollars: one thousand of them would buy a Mexican dollar. What could we do in the United States with money of that kind? Could we use it? No. Why not? Because our transactions are so large that it would be so cumbersome that it would tire people out to carry that kind of money around with them. In Sparta at one time they used iron for money, and they got along well enough until it took two horses to

draw what one horse would sell for. Then it was difficult to make the transfer. Our transactions are so large that we need a more valuable kind of money than silver. The people of the civilized world are going to use gold because the transactions of the world are large. We are not going to demonetize silver. Our friends talk about our taking half the money of the world away. Why, we did not take away a dollar of it. We are using one billion three hundred thousand millions more silver as money in the world than were used in 1873. Half the world is using silver for standard money now,—yes, a good deal more than that: over three-quarters of the people of the world use silver entirely as a money of redemption. Am I not right? I am usually right, as you will find out if you follow me closely. We did not demonetize silver at all. We are using it on a sensible basis. We use both gold and silver. We use gold as the measure of value and as a basis of our operations, and we use it because we like it. People don't have to get a law passed to make them take money that they want. Did you ever think of that? You don't have to make anything a legal tender if it is something people want. There never was a law passed making anything a legal tender yet, except for the purpose of making somebody take something that he did not want. As long as the money is the best, it will pass itself everywhere. Consequently, this nation could not affect the price of gold one iota if they should demonetize it, because it is worth in the markets of the world just as much uncoined as coined; and, when you offer a fellow the best there is, he is going to take it without appealing to law to make him take it. That is the history of the human family. Now, silver is going to be used in all civilized nations as the money for small transactions. It is going to be used more generally; and we are going to keep the measure of value, so that, when a man earns a dollar, he will know to-day what he is going to get for it to-morrow.

But our friend who was last up told us that this gold appreciation had brought the nation to the verge of destruction. I have heard that before. That calamity business is not new to me. I have been travelling for the last fifteen years an average of between thirty thousand and forty thousand miles a year, up and down, East and West, throughout the United States; and, if there is anything that I know about, it is the condition of the people in the United States. I say to any man who thinks this country is on the verge of destruction that I wish he could travel with me for

a week or two, and keep his eyes open. I would show him the comforts and the blessings that are everywhere strewn all over this land as they are in no other nation on the face of the globe. Why, it doesn't make any difference what we invent. If it is something the people want, there doesn't seem to be any difficulty about their getting the money to buy it with. Take bicycles, for instance. They are both ornamental and useful, you know. How many have been manufactured and sold this year, do you suppose? I have looked the figures up, over thirty million dollars' worth; and this is while we are right on the edge of destruction, remember. Over half of that came right out of the pockets of the people that they tell us are starving to-day. What nonsense it is to talk to thinking men the way my friends do here! People are in debt, to be sure; but they are not in debt as badly as they used to be. We are paying our debts as we grow in prosperity.

That is not all. It does not follow because a community has some mortgages that it is in distress. Did you ever think of that? The more a community is worth, the more mortgages they will give. Why? Because they have got something to mortgage, and the people themselves put the mortgages on their own property. I have a little farm, and I am right up to snuff on it. I have a mortgage on my farm, too, but I put it there myself; and that is not all, either. I knew what I was doing when I put it there. To hear these friends of ours talk, you would think there was a great animal stalking up and down over the United States; and, whenever he caught a poor farmer with his back turned, he clapped a mortgage right upon his farm, and then took all his property and froze to it. The mortgages of the United States are given by the people who own the property. Not one per cent. of them, the census shows, were given by people in distress. They were given to get money, just as I gave mine. I wanted to borrow some money; and my land had better credit than I had, for some reason or other. I got money easier on my land than I could get it on myself, and so I hired it on the land. Say, was that wicked? I supposed I had a right to do that.

The CHAIRMAN.—The meeting will now adjourn until three o'clock.

[*Afternoon Session.*]

6. REMARKS OF A. B. WOODFORD, ESQ., OF NEW YORK.

I must confess that I feel a delicacy about dealing with this old subject in the presence of so many gray heads who might rule out a youngster like myself; but you were all so pleased with Mr. Horr's remarks this morning, and I had written out myself so many of the things he said, that I felt encouraged. I now want to add a few suggestions along the same line, and then to present what seems to me a possible middle course between these two extremes. Mr. Sheldon reminded me very much of the man who was walking up and down his room, keeping the guests awake, one night in a hotel, until the proprietor came up, and asked him what was the matter. He said he had a note of \$1,000 to meet the next morning and only \$800 with which to meet it. "Well," said the hotel proprietor, "why don't you go to bed, and let the other fellow do the walking?" I confess that, if all the gentleman from New Haven said to us is true about debtors, I think the people to whom we owe the money are the ones who should get into a *furore* over this matter of bimetallism. But I do not believe it is true about debtors. Mr. Horr said it is the rich people who put mortgages on their property; and I saw it stated recently that there were more mortgages in sight of the Plaza Hotel, at Fifth Avenue and 59th Street in New York, than there were in half a dozen States of the Union. I was so interested by that statement that I obtained some statistics (the Extra Census Bulletin, No. 98, contains statistics of farms, homes, and mortgages); and thence I find that in New York State the encumbrance on farms, mortgages, more than doubles the amount in all the Southern States together, from Maryland to Texas, and the New York encumbrances exceed those on all the farms and homes in the States west of the Missouri River by over \$60,000,000. I have an article in the *Social Economist* on this question of debts, from which I take these tabulated figures: New York State mortgages, \$380,000,000; all the fifteen Southern States, \$171,000,000; fifteen Western States and Territories, \$316,000,000. It is, then, people who have something to put a mortgage on that are in debt.

Economists, unfortunately, are divided into two very extreme groups; but it seems to me they ought to get together in some way, or else not call themselves economists. This subject is ca-

pable of scientific treatment, or else there is no science of economics. If there is the great danger that our silver friends suggest, then it is the duty of scientists to guide, particularly in a time of danger. It is their only excuse for being, that they educate the public. Two groups of economists, taking such opposite views, leave the people in a quagmire that, for my own part, I see no immediate way out of, because I do not believe that the few economists who think as the few I know do are likely to convert such men as those of extreme opinions who have presented themselves in debate this morning.

Some men seem to go crazy on this question. They forget the fundamental principles that they live up to every day in the week, when they get into a silver controversy. They are misled by what are supposed to be histories of prices and histories of currency, by discussions of constitutional right and ethical right, and by the discussion of local and party interests.

Now, the Constitution gives no individual any right whatever in money-making. Congress alone has power to coin money, money of a particular kind, with the government stamp upon it. You can make all the money you like,—that is, something that will circulate all right in the community,—provided you do not put somebody's else name on it, or the government's name on it, or the government's stamp upon it,—something that will fit in between two parts of a trade. The constitutional right, consequently, is zero. Congress has the power to coin money. The States cannot coin money. Congress has exercised that right in a peculiar way. The purpose of the bimetallists and the economists who discuss that right is to give us a money that shall always mean exactly the same thing. What is economics going to say on that subject? What have scientists to say about it, as students of economic history? It seems to me the answer lies in a theory of prices,—a theory with which every business man is familiar, however we economic doctors — if I may class myself in that group — may disagree. Somebody's cost must determine prices. People cannot go on making goods below cost; and you cannot go on making goods considerably above somebody's else cost, if he can do enough business to supply the market. Wages are determined by cost,—the cost of living. They are higher in a large town than a small one, because a man wants more to live on. I know of factories in Connecticut that have been moved from one town to another because, in the words of the men who moved them, "it cost less to

live there, and they didn't have to pay so high wages." The cost of those laborers who are willing to live on a small sum determines the price in that line of industry, provided there are enough of that kind of men to drive others out of the business. For instance, if there are enough washerwomen who are willing to live on sixty cents a day to do all the work of the community, you cannot get above fifty cents for a dozen pieces; but, if they have to get \$1.20 a day in order to support themselves and their children, why, you cannot get your washing done for less than a dollar a dozen. So it is with the cost of producing silver and gold,—not merely some silver and some gold. We get a certain amount of silver and of gold each year, and we keep getting more and more silver every year; and, accordingly, the price of silver has gone down. The cost of producing it has gone down. We have found new ways of getting it out of lead ores. There is a gentleman here who can tell you about a particular mine which was worked and given up thirty-five years ago, and to-day that mine is being worked by simply working over the waste that was thrown aside years ago. We have discovered cheaper ways of making silver.

That fundamental principle of price is the elementary one that we must agree upon. As Mr. Sheldon said, if we do not agree on this elementary question of standard of value, we have got to stop the discussion. The bimetallists, the advocates of free silver at the present time, present their argument in the shape of a coach with five wheels. History and political economy are the large hind wheels. The sentiment of a large democracy and the sense of justice are the front wheels. Selfishness and the instinct of self-preservation in the nation act as the fifth wheel of this bimetallic coach, which bids fair to stand first in the presidential contest of 1896. The arguments may be formulated as follows: (1) *The Popular Argument*. Silver, it is urged, is the people's money: everybody uses it, and hence is familiar with it. It exists in large quantities. Its price cannot easily be manipulated by the bankers. It is the money of the vast majority. (2) *The Historical Argument*. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries certain people began to make better dollars than were made anywhere else. Their king had not yet clipped the corner off from their dollars. A silver coin then circulated as current with the merchants. The manner of dividing a dollar is French, into *dismes*. Jefferson is responsible for our decimal system, introducing the French method of dividing the currency. The dollar of our forefathers

was Spanish money imported into the United States by merchants. It was used by the English colonists from Maine to Georgia as a representative of their unit of value,—a foreign coin used to represent the domestic unit of value. Their money of account was pounds, shillings, and pence. In Connecticut the people bought goods in York shillings, sold them in Yankee shillings, and made $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. on the difference. They could show the customer that the goods cost so many shillings; and, if they sold them for just the same number of shillings, of course he couldn't complain. American gold coins were not used until after 1834, when we reduced the dollar, and made it a smaller thing. Gold coins were not used until along in the 40's, and have been our unit of value ever since. For two generations we have been doing business on a gold basis. Consequently, to talk about restoring and remonetizing silver does not apply to America at all. We have never remonetized anything but some old Spanish coins,—worn and quite dishonest coins, as we found when we came to melt them. Our own silver dollars practically have never been used; and a silver dollar to-day is not used, for the same reason that a gold dollar is not used. It is a poor coin (I mean the coin itself), and all talk about coining such confuses the public. We use either gold or silver as the basis for our currency,—\$3,500,000,000, which we require in the United States at the present time. (3) *The Ethical Argument.* People say that since 1873 gold has been rapidly appreciating in value. They do not remember that in the 40's it rapidly depreciated, so much that the monometallists were then silver monometallists. It is indeed unfortunate that a particular Irishman that I happen to know should have worked for thirty years to get possession of a farm up in Litchfield County, Connecticut; and now what is it good for? Absolutely nothing. He can earn more in one day in town, with a pair of oxen, than his farm will produce in a week. Within two years this farm has been abandoned. Steel rails were discovered, and means of getting wheat from the West have been developed; and the poor farmer in Connecticut cannot afford to work his land any more. Of course, that is hard on the farmer; but, if we did not have steel rails and all the improved means of transportation, it would be harder on the rest of mankind.

To restore the industrial equilibrium, they say, we must coin silver freely at the ratio of 16 to 1; that is, we must leave the mints of the government open to individuals. The idea of free coinage

is simply that an individual can take bullion to the mint and have it coined, the government's function being limited to coining it in a particular way. The free coinage of silver, then, to produce this result, must either raise the price of silver to \$1.29 an ounce by increasing the demand or else you have got to work more silver mines. It is the cost of producing those last ounces of silver that we want each year. I know you do not believe it, Mr. Warner. But you have not been in the business of raising wheat for twenty years. You have not been in the wholesale grocery business or in a manufacturing business. You are off somewhere in the realm of speculation. It is the cost of producing the cotton cloth that is purchased under the greatest disadvantage that determines the price in Worth Street. It is not the King Philip Mills, it is not the best mills, that determine the cost of cotton cloth. There is another man engaged in the business. His costs are greater. It is the cost of the most expensive portion. A larger demand for silver means poor silver mines. A smaller demand for gold means not using some of the gold mines. That means a lower cost of gold, because we do not work quite so hard to get the last ounces of gold that we want.

That, then, will produce the equilibrium. That movement of poor gold mines going out and poor silver mines coming in will produce it. Now, the question arises, Can an act of Congress achieve that? One group of economists maintain that bimetallism is a scientific impossibility. They insist that the government cannot give value to a commodity. I submit that it can by giving a new market. I submit that bimetallism is possible, and it seems to me that our so-called economists are not scientific when they talk of it as a scientific impossibility. I say it is quite possible that, as a result of changed relations, an equilibrium may be established. Mr. Horr tried to prophesy this morning. The prophet in this instance should be a man who is in the business of mining, and can tell us what the probable cost of the next ounce will be.

I submit, then, that for a considerable time, at least, there would be no appreciable difference between 23.22 grains of gold and $37\frac{1}{4}$ grains of silver. Consequently, I think one group of economists must get down off their perch and land somewhere midway between their former position and the extreme position of the bimetallists. The other group, to which nearly all the economists in America belong, maintain that a price can be

fixed by international agreement. I would simply say that, if so, it would not be because the law giving value to a particular commodity varied, but because of an equilibrium of costs. If an international agreement can fix a ratio of 16 to 1, why not 60 to 1, if there is such force in an agreement? Tying the two metals together seems to me like yoking an aged horse with a thoroughbred young colt, and trying to drive a magnificent coach and team in Central Park. Corn and wheat,—is there any natural relation between them? If so, what is it? True, when the price of potatoes rose, the people up in New England used a little more rice or hominy. There was an equilibrium established. Potatoes do not go quite so high as they would if there were no rice or hominy. Both silver and gold must be used by the United States at the present time as a basis of currency. They can be so used; and they will circulate concurrently only when they are equal in value on the market, as gold and silver, quite independent of being coined. Is there any possible scheme by which we can arrive at that result in the American market? Professor Jenks has said that he belongs to a group of international bimetallists, but he has no little hope of international bimetallism. That is a discouraging view to take of the present situation. It seems to me that we ought at the present time, inasmuch as the basis for our greenback currency is rapidly disappearing in the retirement of government bonds, to provide a new basis for currency in the shape of silver. We must use it, as has been suggested, as subsidiary coinage; but it could also be used by depositing it with the government exactly as government bonds are now deposited, upon the issuance of certificates based on the value at the date of deposit. It is exactly on this principle that you deposit with a broker in Wall Street a certain amount of money with which he is to purchase bonds and stock,—you keep up your margin. If you deposit a million ounces of silver because you want currency, government will return you nine hundred thousand worth of certificates. This would put silver as a basis of currency, broaden the basis, and given as practical bimetallism.

7. SECOND ADDRESS OF MR. WARNER.

I am glad that we have brought to the front the main question,—the source of value in money. Either the quantitative theory is correct or it is not: either the theory of intrinsic value is true or it is not. If money possesses intrinsic value, or a value independent entirely of its use as money, and for that reason has been chosen as the measure of the value of things, then there is no silver question; then there can be no rise or fall of prices; there can be no variation in the value of money: it is fixed and unalterable, the thing most desirable of all things in the world to-day. But this is a thing absolutely impossible. The value of anything is any other thing for which it will exchange, *even*. The price of anything is the money it will exchange for. The law of value, which is as old as Aristotle,—and I can quote Aristotle, too, with my friend from New Jersey,—is this, and it is as well settled in economics as is the law of gravity in physics,—that whatever cause affects supply, in relation to demand, affects value; whatever cause, natural or artificial, affects demand in relation to supply, affects value; whatever cause, natural or governmental, affects the supply of money in relation to the demand, alters the value of money; whatever cause affects the demand for money in relation to supply, no matter what it may be, alters the value of money. Whatever cause affects the demand for money, I say, changes the price. Price is the value of a thing in money. When we speak of values, we speak of the value of one thing as compared with another. That is determined entirely by the law of supply and demand; and, as I said this morning, it does not make any difference whether you have money or not,—that would be true under a condition of barter. But prices depend upon the quantity of money, on the one hand, and the things to be bought and sold, on the other. There is no law of money at all, if that is not true.

I believe in the science of economics. It is as much a science as any physical science; and it rests upon precisely the same laws, it is arrived at by the same methods of reasoning. If value, on the other hand, instead of depending upon the quantity, the number of money units, depends upon something else, undefinable,—a value that is intrinsic,—then value can never change and prices can never vary. If, as my friend from Tennessee said this morning, there is a commercial value to money, if there is a commodity

value, then we give over the proposition. But there is no such thing. There never was a time from the beginning of history, since the precious metals were used as money, when the value of the precious metals (commodity value) was separable from the money value. It is the monetary use that chiefly determines the value of the metals, and it has in all ages. The value of gold is determined by the quantity of gold now in the world, and the demand for it from all sources. Of that demand four-fifths is for monetary uses. The demand for gold as money is from everybody, all the time: the demand for it in the arts is secondary, and probably not more than one-fourth or one-fifth of the money demand. Its chief value arises from its use as money, and is absolutely inseparable from it. When we have our teeth filled, they are filled with gold at its money value.

Now, a word as to the money cost of production. I was astonished at the proposition laid down by the last speaker, that the cost of the last ounce of silver or gold determines the value of all the silver or gold in the world. If that is a scientific proposition, I say, give up science for wild greenbackism. I can take you to mines in the West where the cost of producing gold is not 25 cents an ounce; there are other mines where it cannot be produced for \$500 an ounce. I know mines of silver where silver can be produced for 25 cents an ounce, and others where it costs \$1 an ounce to produce. The cost of producing the last hundred millions, which is not 2 per cent. of all the gold in the world, determine the value of the gold produced two thousand years in the mountains of Spain by slave labor! Why, that is not the law of anything. Of course, the cost of production affects the supply. Here is the general law, which I will state, and I am sure no economist will question what I say: the cost of production in anything — gold, silver, or anything else — determines its value only to the extent that it affects the relation of supply to demand. Nobody can get away from that.

MR. WOODFORD.—I should question that statement very much.

MR. WARNER.—I grant that in many of those things the cost of production follows very closely on value; but that is the law of everything, and the law of money as well as of commodities of all kinds; and I am dealing here with economic principles. I have to state, therefore, what I think the law of value. A thing must have value to measure value. That is the proposition we advance here. Must a thing have value for something else than money?

Not necessarily. Convertible paper may be money, if you will wipe out all metallic money, and replace a dollar for a dollar. All economists agree to that. Take wheat, for instance. Is it necessary that wheat shall have a use for bread, in order to give it value for flour? So it is with money. That is the law of money.

My friends here want good money. So do we ; and good money is that which varies least in its relations. Therefore, money can be secured by maintaining stable relations between money property, on the one side, and things to be bought and sold, on the other. Anything has value that can be bought and sold. Scientific money of the highest order would be that so regulated as to preserve the greatest possible stability between prices generally and money, so that the same quantity of things would be exchanged on the average right along for the same quantity of money. Nothing else is strictly honest. Merely theoretical money, the nearest approximation to that, are the precious metals. If you open the doors to the coinage of both metals, you have then the natural limitation of quantity. When you have gold and silver, you subject their supply to the same laws, and come to the nearest and the only possible automatic regulation ; and you come nearest to securing that ideal of money. My friend, Mr. Horr, thinks that the dearer money gets, the better it is. Not so. The worst money in the world is that which is undergoing appreciation. Better have money depreciate than to have prices go down everywhere. The fall of prices in the last two years has been more than \$10,000,000,000. The New York *Tribune* last February, in a very able article, said there had been a fall of prices of \$9,000,000,000 in the wealth of the United States. What does that mean? Taking by legislation from one class and turning it over to another! The honest way would be to increase the value of money by adding weight to the coins every year. If you want to increase the earnings of labor by appreciating money, why not add a few grains every year to the weight of the coins? You affect it in precisely the same way by lessening the quantity of the metals. My friend wants to make money good by making it scarce. That is the only way you can make it scarce, and that is about the position that my friend from New Jersey takes. To divide wages, you appreciate money. I hope Mr. Horr will answer that. If we restore silver, labor would get that 50 per cent. I remember having some debate with the gentleman from New Jersey before on that question. Economists do not agree that

prices precede the wages of labor in all cases. If there is a rise of prices as the result of scarcity of a thing, then prices are independent of labor altogether or may be. But a rise of prices—that is, the result of the depreciation of labor—cannot precede the increase of wages, because it can only come from a larger expenditure of money on those commodities; and labor buys those things. Read Professor Cairnes on that question. Whatever he says there is not much room for anybody else to add to, and little that you can take away from it. My friend quoted Aristotle. Let me quote him, too:—

Money by itself has value only by the law, and not by nature, so that a change of convention between those who use it is sufficient to deprive it of all its value and its power to satisfy our wants.

It is the doctrine of all modern economists, from John Locke down, that the value of money depends on its quantity. The quantitative theory of money is established, and cannot be overthrown. The doctrine of intrinsic value is simply a fad, a notion that has long gone out of use; and no economists to-day, and few dead, have maintained it.

8. CLOSING REMARKS OF MR. PATTERSON.

I desire to state what I understand to be the meaning of what my friend says, because I am not very clear that I comprehend him. I understand him to lay down the proposition that there is no such thing as intrinsic value in money.

Mr. WARNER.— Yes, that is it.

Mr. PATTERSON.— I understand him further to say that the quantity of money regulates prices, and that the government might issue irredeemable and incontrovertible paper, having no other money but that; and, if it was issued only in sufficient quantities, it would perform all the offices of money.

Mr. WARNER.— I did not say “sufficient.” I put in a limitation there, which is a limitation given by Ricardo and Albert Gallatin: that, if you had only just as much inconvertible money as you have of gold and silver,—that is, if you had no more of it,—it must be limited to the amount of metallic money that you would have if you had no paper.

Mr. WOODFORD.— And you do not know how much that is.

Mr. PATTERSON.— Suppose we had no gold or silver, and you wanted to make some paper money, how would you manage?

Mr. WARNER.— If you issue no more than you do of metallic money, it cannot be depreciated. That is the doctrine of Ricardo. But you must not exceed your distributive share of the world's metallic money. That is the law.

Mr. PATTERSON.— In other words, if we had no gold and silver at all, and issued irredeemable money relatively to our share of the world's supply of gold and silver, it would perform all the offices of money; and, if we did not issue too much, it would be just as good as metallic money.

Mr. WARNER.— Yes, it would have the same value, unit for unit, dollar for dollar.

Mr. PATTERSON.— I am inclined to think that would be a very unsatisfactory sort of currency. We should be very much like the old darky who had got a possum all baked and potatoes well cooked, and was waiting for them to cool, and fell asleep; and a young darky came in, and ate up the possum and the potatoes, but took occasion to grease the old man's mouth. When the old fellow woke up, and saw that his prospective feast had vanished, he exclaimed, "Well, I declare, I must have eaten that possum; but it was the most unsatisfactory possum that I ever did eat." So I think that would be the most unsatisfactory money that a people ever used.

Mr. WARNER.— I am not advocating that kind of money, but only wished to illustrate the value of money.

Mr. PATTERSON.— It does not seem to me that the universal experience of mankind ought to govern a people and a country in an emergency like this. There is not a man present who does not know that, if the metal in a gold dollar was reduced one-half, the purchasing power of that dollar would be reduced one-half.

Mr. WARNER.— Certainly. You double the units.

Mr. PATTERSON.— Simply because one-half the metal was taken out of it,—one-half of the substance which composes it and constitutes its value. I do not want anybody to understand me as saying that, if we produced no gold in the world, that gold would have the same purchasing power for all time that it has now. I do not pretend that gold has not depreciated since the reign of Queen Elizabeth. I do not pretend to say that the production of gold in California and throughout the world in the last forty years has not caused a marked depreciation in the price of gold. Neither do

I want to be understood as denying that the demonetization of silver by the commercial powers of the earth has had the effect somewhat to appreciate gold. For that reason, as I said this morning, I would restore the bimetallic standard if I could do it. But I cannot do it. The government cannot maintain it. So it is that I would prefer the gold standard to the silver standard, because gold is the more plentiful metal of the two, and for the reason that it is the money of commerce; and we can use silver in subordination to a gold circulation. But, I confess, my mind cannot grapple the thought,—this idea of the metallic value of the substance out of which money is composed having nothing to do with its purchasing power. Why, suppose you go into some silversmith's store. He does not care whether he buys of you a dollar gold piece or a piece of gold bullion for the purposes of his trade. As a commodity, he would buy the coin as quick as he would the bullion, showing that the value of that money is exactly equal to the commercial value of the substance out of which it is composed.

I understand that there is no way for our free silver friends to get out of this discussion except some way like the one pointed out by my distinguished friend. In 1894 I had a canvass in my district, in which I met a gentleman who served eight years in Congress (a man of considerable ability); and I said to him: "The intrinsic value, or the metallic value, which is a better term, of this silver dollar,"—holding one in my hand,— "is fifty-one cents; and yet you are for the free, unlimited, and independent coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. Now, suppose the metallic value of this dollar was only forty cents, what would you do?" Why, he said, he would vote for it if it was only thirty cents. "But," said I, "suppose it was only twenty cents?" "I would vote for it if it were only ten." "But suppose it was only five?" "I would vote for it if it was only one." Said I, "Suppose it was only half a cent?" "Why," he said, "I would vote for it if it was a quarter of a cent." "Then," said I, "you accept the doctrine of fiat money, that the government can create money?" Now, I see no way out of this discussion except that.

Either the advocates of sound money are exactly right in this discussion or the government has some divine right by which it can create something. I do not believe that the government can any more create money than it can create the world. It may regulate the affairs of mankind, but I do not subscribe to the doctrine

that government can create money; and this idea of fiat money which has sprung up among the American people, growing out of the legal tender act and out of the coinage of less than fifty cents worth of silver into a dollar, has produced a state of affairs confusing to the public mind and extremely hurtful. And, unless the good citizens of this country prosecute this campaign of intelligence and of sound money to the end, it may produce a condition of affairs that will bring about a great deal more trouble than we had in 1893. We must get that false idea out of the minds of the people. It was brought there by vicious legislation. The government is responsible for it, and this shows that no government can deal with its currency dishonestly without propagating false ideas which are extremely hurtful to the public welfare. I still subscribe to the old doctrine that I laid down this morning,—that a gold dollar has a purchasing power equal to the commercial value of the substance which composes it. If that be true, the gentlemen who have discussed the other side of this question say the case is with us. They do not deny this, if that be true. Well, it is true.

Mr. WARNER.—Let me ask you so to define your position that there may be no mistake about it. You say that the gold dollar possesses what you call commercial value, or commodity value, entirely independent of its employment as money.

Mr. PATTERSON.—The point I make is that here is a substance out of which the money is made. That substance, in the shape and form of a commodity, has a commercial value; and then the money which is made from that substance cannot be exchanged for any other substance or commodity that is worth more or less than the substance out of which it is made.

Mr. WARNER.—But does the employment of that dollar as money add to its value as a commodity?

Mr. PATTERSON.—I would say that the use of gold as money has added to its commercial value. And so with silver. To what extent I do not know. It has also been depreciated, I believe, by production. But the fact is that the people of the United States find this commodity with a commercial value. No matter what contributed to that, it has got the value. If you take that substance and coin into money, I say (it being standard money), the purchasing power of what is so coined is exactly equal to the commercial value of the substance out of which it is made; and, that being true, the proposition for the free and unlimited coinage of silver is preposterous.

Mr. SHELDON.—Suppose the number of gold dollars should be indefinitely increased, would that make any difference?

Mr. PATTERSON.— I think so.

Mr. SHELDON.— If it were indefinitely increased, you think that increase would make a difference?

Mr. PATTERSON.— I think that, if some discoverer should find a great gold mine, which abounded with gold as a coal mine does with coal, and we should go on under existing laws coining gold indefinitely, the commercial value of gold throughout the world would rapidly decline. I think the money coined under such conditions would only have the purchasing power of the commercial value of that substance; and, if you produced a world of gold, after a while it would go down until it would have no more purchasing power than iron.

Mr. SHELDON.— That is, the quantitative theory has a bearing upon this matter,—the more money you have of gold, the less would be its value.

Mr. PATTERSON.— Yes, I think the more money in the world, the more gold produced, would affect its commercial value.

Mr. SHELDON.— And, if it was increased indefinitely, that all its value would go out of it?

Mr. PATTERSON.— Yes, supposing the quantity of gold in the world should become equal to the quantity of iron.

Mr. SHELDON.— Then you do not deny the quantitative theory?

Mr. PATTERSON.— What do you mean?

Mr. SHELDON.— Why, that the value of gold depends upon the number of dollars there is of it.

Mr. PATTERSON.— Yes, I think that.

9. CLOSING REMARKS OF MR. SHELDON.

I have been requested to answer a question or two; and I begin by saying that I am not quite certain, under the suggestions of the gentleman last up, whether he really does accept the quantitative theory of money or not. He says the commodity value is one thing. He occupies both sides. The difficulty with our friends is that they are constantly occupying both sides.

There is still another assumption which our opponents regard as a fact. That assumption is that, if we should persuade the United States actually to provide for the coinage of silver on the same terms that it now coins gold, it would lead to disaster. This is

usually held up before us as a probability so almost absolutely certain that they may well regard it as a fact.

No one has ever found time to utter more than a word of horror, never a word of demonstration. President Cleveland and Senator Sherman, in particular, always seem to see the consequences of coining silver on the same terms as we now coin gold under the figure of blessed Uncle Sam madly leaping in a wild tempest, in utter darkness, into a fathomless chasm roaring with the sound of many waters, plunging into cataracts, and dashing into foam.

Indeed, if this were a fact, or the shadow of a fact, and not an exceedingly mischievous fiction, we should all say as Punch said to the candidate for matrimony, "Don't,"—don't jump just yet.

If this were a fact, our friends opposed to us have the argument. We want prosperity, not disaster, for the country. If we had never cautiously, frequently, carefully, gone over the situation in its principles, and in view of its admitted facts, we might not look the possibilities of the situation so quietly in the face. But we have, according to our light, examined the facts, not once, but many times,—not on one side, but on all sides. If the coinage and use of silver by the United States on the same terms as it now coins and uses gold were actually entered upon, it is safe to say that both gold and silver either would or would not circulate in the United States at a parity with each other. Gold would or would not go to a premium. Gold would or would not in part or in whole ultimately leave the country. So far the most timid may venture with bated breath to go with us. If gold and silver should really circulate at a parity at our present ratio, if gold should neither go to a premium nor leave the country, we shall all agree (shall we not?) that it would be a consummation devoutly to be wished. No one of our opponents here or elsewhere would grieve (would they?) if such should be the result.

As a matter of historic fact, France did adopt a policy quite similar to this, and did successfully maintain it for seventy years, with profit and honor to itself and to the great convenience and advantage of the commercial world. That policy was adopted under the guidance of the genius and statesmanship of the first Napoleon. It was part of a series of measures designed to strengthen France against Great Britain, as he was preparing to wage war for what he claimed to be the violation of the treaty of Amiens. France was losing no such immense sums as the United

States is losing every year by delay in treating silver as it treats gold. France could not gain such an immense commercial and financial advantage as the United States can easily gain by doing what France then did, and by showing just how these two metals may be kept one money of equal value, with slight oscillations.

France was in no such conditions as we are in to guarantee its success when she did adopt it. She was at war and has been in conditions of war during a large part of those seventy years. We are at peace, and shall probably long remain at peace, unless another civil war shall break out of the latent heat of this very controversy. Our resources in extent and variety and amount vastly exceed those of France. The area of the single State of Texas is so much greater than that of all France that the map of France on the same scale may be laid upon Texas and leave room enough around the edges to put in the whole of New England, and leave enough over to make a respectable European kingdom.

We have seventy millions of the most industrious, intelligent, and successful inventors and creators of wealth that ever existed. Those millions, increasing 25 per cent. each ten years, are planted on a fertile continent whose resources are not yet understood. We are losing (by not adopting the policy we are urging to-day) more than five hundred millions a year, and that loss is bound to increase, on the whole and on the average, every year, till we at last end the loss by removing the cause and occasion of it. That cause and that occasion are found in the refusal of the United States to coin silver on the same terms as it now coins gold. The present situation is such that the perils before us are less than those behind us. Let the word ring out to the camps of Israel that "they go forward."

But let us look candidly at the other alternative. After our success in persuading the United States to provide for the coinage of silver as it now coins gold, let us suppose that gold and silver do not circulate at a parity with each other. Suppose Mr. Windom's swift "ocean greyhounds" shall come and carry all the gold away. Let us face all the facts. What else would occur? Our opponents will say we have violated the public faith and destroyed the public credit, that we are on a silver basis, and that chaos is at hand.

Before we absolutely die in despair, let us remember we have some experience to instruct us in this contingency. All the gold did once leave this country, and did stay away for nearly forty

years, from 1794 to 1834. Then, when we put into the coinage a little less gold than formerly, nearly all the full legal tender silver dollars left this country, and gold to some extent came back. On both occasions the full amount of both the metals that were raised from the mines were poured into the circulation of the world. Both metals continued to sustain prices all over the commercial world, and no complaint was ever then heard that disaster came to us. It could not come; for both of these metals went into the circulation of the commercial world,—the silver through the mints of France and Germany and other States, the gold through the mint of England and other countries.

Our prices then as now were sustained and fixed by both metals. Prices in Europe and the United States maintained a general level, as the level of the sea bordering on Europe supports the level of the sea that washes these shores.

But suppose, as our opponents will say, that the "saddest picture in the book of time" shall be disclosed, and that gold has gone to a premium of from 10 per cent. to 50 per cent. over silver. Suppose that all the gold should be shipped to Europe. Of course, that supposition would be a most violent improbability. It would certainly go under less pressure at 10 per cent. or 50 per cent. premium than it now goes. The gold, if it disappeared, would go into the circulation of the commercial world through the nations of Western Europe. What effect upon money prices in Europe would the dumping upon the market of Europe of our \$600,000,000 in gold have, under the quantitative law of money value already set forth in this address?

Manifestly, it would be to raise all prices in Europe in gold, because the number of units of value in gold circulating there would be much increased by our dump upon them of \$600,000,000 of gold. That is, a bale of cotton or a bag of wheat would sell for more dollars in gold than it now does. All exports from this country would bring more gold than before for the same amount of exports. These exports would pay more of our European debt at a high price than they now do at a low price.

The coinage of silver on the same terms as gold would bring not disaster, but something like prosperity to these exporters, and so to the United States, so far as it is represented by those exporters and those wage-earners who are employed in preparing and transporting and selling these exported products. It would stimulate the production of more exports and give employment to

millions who cannot under present conditions set themselves at work. But the premium on gold would be a hindrance to the import of manufactured goods from gold-using nations and be in substance an added tariff on those goods,—a tariff that would not be evaded. One wanting European goods would soon find that the American goods have their points of excellence, and one of those points would be freedom from a premium on gold. This would set our people in the manufacturing States to work on orders for the domestic trade. To the extent that these manufacturing States represent the United States, to that extent prosperity would come from the coinage and use of silver on the same terms as gold. The argument we make would have its justification in results. The silver-using countries of America and Asia would prefer our trade to that of any nation to whom they must pay for goods with gold and with a premium on gold. Their interests would make the United States the manufacturing, commercial, and financial head centre of the silver-using nations. But that is a position that Great Britain for three hundred years has planted colonies, and poured out the blood of her armies and navies, and has tasked the capacity of her statesmen of most commanding ability for many generations, to secure for herself.

The position would come to us without a struggle abroad and with no expense,—only the abandonment of a position of paying in gold alone that must prove untenable at the last, and that is such as to leave one in doubt whether it was assumed in an accession of unnatural idiocy or in treason itself.

The London *Financial News*, Mr. Williamson, a Liverpool merchant trading to South America, and the Earl of Warwick, in his late journey in this country, and many British consuls and commercial agents in the silver-using nations, all agree that a premium on gold would enable the United States to gain great advantages in the trade with the silver-using countries. This would set more of our people at work, and would show by greater and greater proofs on every hand that the coinage and use of silver on the same terms as gold by the United States was productive in a high degree of prosperity for this country. It would at once shut up the Treasury of the United States as a ground for easy and abundant spoliation, and stop giving Great Britain a perpetual bounty for refusing to join us in an international treaty for the coinage and use of both gold and silver. It would put upon her the pressure of the permanent loss of the position she has struggled for so long—of being

the "workshop of the world"—if she should refuse to unite with us in that measure. It would allow a person of common sense to look at the conduct of the Treasury without shame and disgust.

There are yet vast fields of unapplied arguments in this case, all tending directly to the one great point that the United States should immediately provide for the coinage and use of silver on exactly the same terms as it now coins and uses gold. Let it come, and let it come quickly.

10. CLOSING REMARKS OF MR. HARR.

Before you sit down, Mr. Sheldon, I want to get your idea of this quantity business. If we should divide a gold dollar, and call one-half the amount of gold in it a gold dollar, there would be twice as many gold dollars as there are now. Would that double the property of the world?

MR. SHELDON.—No, sir.

MR. HARR.—What would it do?

MR. SHELDON.—It would double the prices of property, but it would not double the value of property.

MR. HARR.—Would that be a good thing to do for the world?

MR. SHELDON.—I think it would not be, simply because this question has its chief value in relation to the payment of debts and time contracts. That would divide them by two, and it would not be a proper thing to do. It is these debts and contracts that you sneered at so much this morning that are really the important thing in this matter.

MR. HARR.—I did not ask for a speech. You have answered my question. Now, I desire to say that this discussion can never get anywhere, from the simple fact that we do not understand terms alike. We mean one thing by money, and they mean another. We mean one thing by value, and they mean another. Consequently, no matter how much gospel I may preach in fifteen minutes, it will run off their backs like water off a duck, simply because they have a different definition from my own. It is a matter of common sense. Governments can fix in measures how long a yard-stick shall be. The Constitution gives them the right to do that. But can any government make a stick of 30 inches just as long as a stick which is 36 inches long? Here is a quality that is not subject to governmental action. Government can declare 12 ounces a pound, but government cannot make a 12-ounce

pound the same as a 16-ounce pound. Just so with values. Two things that differ in value never can be made by legislation to agree in value, because value does not come from legislative enactments. Hence these men may talk all they wish: government cannot, as my friend Patterson said, create money. It can regulate it. I have heard my friend Warner so many times before, and have heard him express himself in language more strong than elegant in reference to this fiat money business, that I was surprised to-day when I heard him adopt its principle; that is, that the government out of a piece of paper could create value, and have it convertible into nothing. What would you have the bill say? Remember we have no such thing as a dollar. A dollar, we know what that is. It is so much gold or so much silver. I can conceive of that. But here is to be some money that is not based on anything. The government hereby agrees to pay what? how much? To be paid out of nothing, and so on. What do they mean? It is almost impossible to discuss this question and keep my temper; and I am naturally a good-natured man, you understand. It is terribly trying to have a man stand up and pretend that you can create the values of the world by passing a statute. I sometimes use homely illustrations. I was reared on a farm, and I gather my illustrations sometimes from farm-life. I remember, when I was a boy, that we used to rear calves on milk. Four quarts of milk was a fair dose for an ordinary sized calf. But suppose the calf was taken with this quantitative theory, and he did not want any more real milk, but some more nominal milk, — something that should look like milk, something he could call milk, “fiat milk,” — and so, being a Populist calf, he commenced to “bleat” for more milk. You turn in four quarts of water. It would still look like milk, but the calf has got to get around eight quarts of it in order to get his feed.

Mr. WARNER.— That is credit milk.

Mr. HERR.— But, according to their theory, he thinks quantity is all that is necessary; and he bleats for more milk. So they double his dose, and then he has to drink sixteen quarts. Then they double it again. He doesn't get any more milk any of the time than he got at first. Say, what is the end of that calf? You will all readily perceive where he has got to bring up finally. Why, there is as much sense in that as there is in their theory about money. Let me make this statement, and I will ask my friend Warner to answer it: The real original measure of all values is

human toil. The first measures of values were determined by the amount of labor that went into the articles being exchanged. The civilization of the world tends to the cheapening of all commodities. When measured by labor, gold has depreciated 50 per cent. within the period that my friend Warner says it has increased 100 per cent. Don't shake your head at that, Brother Warner, because you are shaking it at a truth that cannot be denied by any man. I have lived in this country and travelled through it pretty thoroughly all my life, and I know what I am talking about. I have lived under the gold standard for a great many years. Labor gets more than twice as much gold to-day for every day's work it performs than it did from 1858 up to 1860, and it gets more than it got in 1873. Wages have been constantly increasing. You see, our silver friends leave out of view this greatest commodity of the human race,—work. Now I lay down this proposition: Civilization should do three things always, or else it is not worth anything. It should increase the wages of men and women who work; it should decrease the price of products; it should increase the profits of men who make inventions. They are all possible. Every invention should be divided honestly: it should cheapen the products, and it should give better pay for work. It should also give the person who makes the invention something for the product of his brains. Gold has been going down when valued in works, not so fast though as silver. My friend Warner said that articles had depreciated 50 per cent. in the last three years.

Mr. WARNER.—No, 15 per cent. I took the New York *Tribune* for my authority on that.

Mr. HERR.—Well, 15 per cent.,—the general range of prices had depreciated 15 per cent. in the last three years. That is what you said,—the general range of prices. There is no such thing as "the general range of prices being stable." Whenever we get so that the general range of prices is stationary in the world, I want to die. General prices should be constantly going down. As invention makes production cheaper, people should get more for their labor and more for their dollars. Why has not corn gone down? It is as high as it ever was. Why have not many other agricultural products gone down? The agricultural products of the United States bring within a small percentage as much as they did in 1873. The Senate Committee named 265 of those articles, and showed that they had depreciated only 7 per cent.

Mr. SHELTON.—Do you include cotton and wheat?

Mr. HERR.—They have gone down ; but, if they have gone down under your theory, why did not corn go, too? Why did not pork go down? Why did not cattle go down? If they depreciate under your law, the depreciation must be universal. I will tell you why wheat went down. I know about it. Wheat went down because it cost so much less to produce it than it used to. I have been on a good many farms in Minnesota and in Dakota; and the farmers tell me there that they could raise wheat and make money on it at 30 cents a bushel, year in and year out. They can do that by reason of improved machinery. When I was a boy, I used to reap wheat; but it would keep a fellow mighty busy for twelve hours to secure half an acre. Now a man sits and drives, and covers more than ten acres in a day. Every article that you can show me which has been cheapened I will show you has been cheapened by the great law of invention, of better methods of production. Gold has been somewhat depreciated in value, silver enormously.

Now, my friends, this fiat money business is an old question. It is a sort of disease. When it takes possession of a man, there is no help for him. It must have its run. There is only one thing about it which is at all encouraging,—that it is like the measles: when you get over it, you never have to have it again. I sometimes call these people cranks. I do not mean it offensively at all, because I never want to offend my friend; but, by my definition of a crank, I think they are entitled to come under that head. It is this: when a man gets so that he looks at one question and nothing else in the world, and looks at everything from his standpoint on that question, and gets unable to see the bearing of anything said by anybody else, he always becomes twisted, and ends up by being a genuine, thorough crank on that question.

I just started in to say that the whole philosophy of this thing originates in a desire of people in this country to get something for nothing. It is a comfortable doctrine. It would be for me. It would help me, because I am in that condition where, by robbing somebody else, I might seem to be better off; but I am not going to turn burglar just yet. This whole doctrine is another name for repudiation in its worst form, and I want to say to the people of the United States that, if we ever adopt this system, we shall be considered by the business world as a set of men who do not keep our obligations; and our national credit is worth more to me than my individual advancement. I want this nation to live and run its

business like a sensible business man, and I protest against any method that attempts to make us join the ranks of repudiators anywhere on the face of the earth. Let us deal with our creditors honestly, like men, and not attempt to pay our debts simply by taking advantage of the bankruptcy law. Sometimes it is necessary; but, if it should become universal, the poorest currency that I can think of now would be the discharge by the court of one's debts. It would be as good, though, as Warner's fiat money.

11. CLOSING REMARKS OF MR. WARNER.

I have endeavored to adhere to what we believe to be sound economic doctrines; and I want to repeat, for the benefit of Mr. Horr and others, the law that governs and affects the value of a thing. If anything can affect the supply in relation to the demand, it can affect the value. If we should stop the export of wheat, would it not affect the value of wheat? You see, we go back to that simple law, like the law of gravity. My friend has used the word "value" where "prices" should have been used. As he uses the term "actual value," it has no meaning. The relative values of things are not changed, but prices change with the supply of money.

I want to state the law of bimetallism, and especially why I am in favor of restoring the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. Bimetallism is the right to convert either gold or silver into money, without limit, at the ratio fixed by Congress. Bimetallism consists in the right to convert either gold or silver into money, and from 1792 to 1873 that right existed for every man and woman in the United States,—to have his gold or his silver converted into coin at the ratio prescribed by law. That was bimetallism. Now, when we are told here that we never had bimetallism in this country, you perceive the statement is quite an error. We had bimetallism down to 1873; and the effect was precisely the same, —although at one period we had more gold and less silver, and at another period more silver and less gold,—the effect was precisely the same as though our money had been half silver and half gold. The total mass of the two metals combined determines the precise level for the world: it is the total mass of the two metals that fixes the price.

Mr. WOODFORD.—You do maintain, then, that prices have averaged the same in European countries and the Orient as in the United States?

Mr. WARNER.—Not in the Orient. In Europe, certainly, I do. We cannot have the gold standard in Europe and the United States, and then have one level of prices there and another here. Prices cannot rise here above the international level without the expulsion of gold. I would restore the free coinage of silver and gold exactly as it formerly existed. I lay down this law: that, when it costs nothing to convert either gold or silver into coin, there can be no difference between the value of a metal uncoined and after it is coined. Therefore, the value of the silver bullion must become at once absolutely the same thing. I believe that the United States has power enough in the commercial world to maintain the parity between the metals; but, should it not have that power, how long would it take for gold to go to a premium? We cannot reduce the volume of money one-third and have it depreciated in value at the same time. Mr. Cleveland made that mistake when he wrote his first letter to me in 1885. My friend from Tennessee said that, if we opened our mints and coined silver, then the coins of all the world would be doubled. Oh, no, the gentleman makes a mistake in not adhering to the doctrines of monetary science. The value of the rupee will not be changed in India until they have so increased the volume of rupees that they become depreciated relatively to commodities. The quantitative theory applies to money at once. The value of silver coins in Mexico will not become depreciated until through this process you have increased the quantity of money there. Consequently, prices would rather fall in Mexico, while they would undoubtedly rise here; and they would rise the world over, because, while we are not increasing the quantity of gold in the world, we are adding a metal to it that does the same work. Now there are two ways to stop the appreciation of gold: one is to increase the supply of gold; the other is to substitute something else for gold,—make something else do the work of gold.

12. SHOULD WE PROVIDE BY LAW FOR THE COINAGE OF SILVER
ON THE SAME TERMS ON WHICH GOLD IS COINED?

LETTER FROM HON. MICHAEL D. HARTER, OF OHIO.

If the coinage of the United States is to be a legal tender, No; if the legal tender quality is subtracted from the coinage of the future, Yes.

The brevity of what I shall endeavor to say upon the subject of coinage will, I trust, not prove so obtrusive as to lose for me the coveted and careful consideration of any of the many eminent thinkers present. It is one of the peculiar things connected with the discussion of the coinage question that so-called bimetallicists have chosen a time when the United States enjoys bimetallicism practically for the first time in its history (and that to its fullest extent) to propose a change. Since the resumption of specie payments, Jan. 1, 1879, and really for some time before that, we have, under the Statute of 1873, lived in the midst of the fullest application to the business of the country of the principles of bimetallicism. For over sixteen years it has been possible for both debtor and creditor to do part or all of their business in either gold or silver, or their paper representatives. No citizen of the country has found any trouble in having the money he used composed of either gold or silver at his option. I say it is odd that men who assert that they are bimetallicists should now clamor for a change. It is only fair to remember that we have tried the policy they recommend to us, and it is but just to say the result was monometallicism. They propose no new conditions which promise that monometallicism would not again follow the changes in the law which they so vehemently demand. Enlarge the field of observation, and we discover that their system has in every land and in every age produced monometallicism, not bimetallicism; and it follows that the sincere and intelligent advocate of bimetallicism must cast his lot with us, who, while demanding the continuance of laws which recognize only one full and free legal tender coinage, present full and continuous bimetallicism as its fruit. Applying the rule, "By their fruits ye shall know them," the natural and inevitable conclusion of the real bimetallicist must be that his place is in the ranks of the single standard people.

All human experience shows that even the most frequent changes in ratio fail to keep gold and silver in general circulation where statutory free and unlimited legal tender coinage of both is provided for. To such an intelligent body of hearers I need not in detail go over the history of Europe, covering six hundred years of failure, nor more than thus allude, as I have, to the utter downfall of so-called free coinage in the United States from 1792 down to the hour when, by the resumption of specie payments, actual, every-day bimetallism was realized as the fruit of the Act of 1873, which established a single standard of value by limiting the coinage of silver dollars, while permitting the unrestricted coinage of gold.

Until those who contend for a change in the existing system can show that what they *think* will result from such change *has* at some time or in some place justified their demand, the voters of the land and those in authority do well to shut their ears to appeals and arguments in favor of such change.

I do not think I should be justified in occupying your time to establish the fact that the change demanded in our system would produce monometallism, and that it would be silver monometallism; nor that the change would bring upon our country and its people calamities so dire and results so distressing as to render their unnecessary description at this time out of place.

The burden of proof now rests upon those who demand change; and they must show why the change they propose will be attended by results different from those which have always attended the exercise of their pet theory. When they can show us a nation which has been wise enough, in the course of even a very long career, to select a ratio for the two metals which enabled it, under free and unlimited legal tender coinage of both, to keep them each in general circulation (as we have them in the United States of America under the Act of 1873), it will be time enough to take the cotton out of our ears and give attention to their discordant demands. Until that time, not only the wise, but even the moderately intelligent, will see that it is only common prudence to make no change, but allow the "let well enough alone" idea to have full swing.

Very briefly, however, I wish to present to you the proper solution of the coinage question, and incidentally, therefore, the permanent settlement of the currency issue itself.

We ought to have free and unlimited coinage, and at a fixed

ratio, of both gold and silver; and this ratio may well be maintained at 1 to 16. But such coinage should not in either instance be a legal tender. We now have enough legal tender coin and paper to serve all needs for all time to come; for, indeed, we have little or no need of any. Permit the vast volume of legal tender money to continue in existence, but stop the production of more. This would close the mints to the present coinage of gold as well as silver. Open them at once, however, to the free and unlimited coinage of silver *globes* of the same weight and fineness as our present standard dollar; also open them to the coinage of gold *globes* and of gold five *globe*, ten *globe*, and twenty *globe* pieces, and let the fineness and the quantity of gold put into them be precisely the same as we use in making the gold dollar, the gold five dollar, ten dollar, and twenty dollar pieces.

It is clear that the new coins would circulate at their actual value, and that is precisely the rate at which every coin ought to pass current. At all times a gold globe would be taken as an equivalent for a gold dollar, because each is of the same intrinsic or commodity value. The silver globe would pass for about fifty-three cents at this time, and at all times would command its proper honest value; *i.e.*, its commodity value.

It is easy, however, to see that few, if any, silver globes would be minted, for the simple reason that there is no real demand or legitimate place in the business of the country for more silver. If the time ever came when more silver was needed or when a larger quantity would be a convenience, silver globes would drop from the mint like rain. That such a period is likely to arrive prior to the millennium is quite unlikely, however, in view of the fact that we now possess in the shape of coined standard silver dollars about *eight* times as many as the people can be forced to use; and any great demand for a larger number is rendered still more improbable from the fact that the demand for silver dollars does not keep pace with the increase of population nor with the growth of business.

Such a system of coinage as I have suggested here, and which I have from time to time urged with more or less vigor for some years, in Congress and in the public press, will, if adopted, take the coinage question forever out of the domain of politics. There can under it be no clamor for an increase in coinage of either gold or silver; for it is evident to even a tolerably intelligent observer that, if there was any real or actual demand for the

greater use of either metal as money, it would flow into the mints in the shape of bullion and out in the shape of coin until such demand was satisfied. It is equally clear, too, that such a system of coinage would put not only our own stock, but the entire stock of gold and silver bullion of the world under tribute, and would command it until our coinage needs were fully met. Can you conceive of a greater boon than the eternal silencing of the wise-aces who are continually clamoring for a change in the volume of the coinage, and who imagine they or Congress can determine how many dollars per capita are needed to supply 67,000,000 of Americans with a proper volume of money, when every thoughtful man knows he cannot make even a moderately close estimate of the number of dollars per capita needed to properly transact the affairs of any half-dozen people pointed out to him in his own town?

That specific performance of contract, as a substitute for legal tender, is to be preferred to the latter, will not be seriously disputed by those who have given the subject attention; and this my plan of coinage would bring about ultimately.

In passing, I would call the attention of those who feel that some form of legal tender is required, to the fact that the trade of the world, international trade, is all done without any legal tender; and at the same time remind the particularly timid that the plan presented contemplates keeping in circulation our present ocean of legal tender money. Remembering my promise made when I began to address you, that only a little of your time would be taken, I close here, notwithstanding I have but fairly entered upon what I think is a far more important and an infinitely more scientific side of the question than that suggested by the topic more particularly under consideration at this hour.

The CHAIRMAN.—We shall now have the pleasure of listening to some of our friends on the general question; and I ask Senator Higgins, of Delaware, to favor us with a few words.

13. ADDRESS OF SENATOR HIGGINS.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Mr. Horr this morning made a proper apology that he had short notice to address this distinguished Association on this important subject. As a possible new member, I beg to suggest that the Association does not advertise its meetings very well. Coming home from a fishing trip, I am caught here; and so I submit what few remarks I have to make without any antecedent preparation.

I do not know but what the remarks of Mr. Horr, applied to the upholders of independent free coinage in the United States, are equally applicable to those who take the other side; and, when any one becomes infected, so to speak, with the silver question or the silver problem, he becomes almost more dangerous than the Ancient Mariner who fixed his cold gray eye on the unwilling stranger.

I agree in many respects with what has been said on each side of this discussion, and disagree with both. I think the world has never had to do with a more momentous problem than the silver problem, whether it be regarded in respect of the currency question, either as it affects transactions between man and man in the daily occurrences of life or as it affects the finances of the nation, and the nations in their daily and annual accounts, or whether it goes into that other, and, as Mr. Sheldon stated here, what he thought the most important phase of the question; that is, as it affects the equity between debtor and creditor on time contracts. I do not disparage the great importance of this problem, as its consideration is thrust upon mankind; from it they cannot escape; and under some sort of settlement or want of settlement of it they will have to rest. I do not disparage the importance of this problem in respect of either branch of the currency question. But I beg to submit to this body, which represents the scientific thought of the United States on all the various subjects which affect the social welfare of our people, that there is another phase of it more important than either to which I have referred, and which up to this time has received almost no consideration whatever from the people of the United States. If you were attending such a discussion in England or in France or in Germany, you would probably hear no other subject discussed than the one which I now propose to say a few words about; and that is

The Effect of the Disparity of the Metals upon the Trade Relations of the Nations and the World.

Great as is the importance of this problem as to currency, it almost sinks into insignificance as the facts as to its effects upon manufactures and trade begin to emerge from the mists of ignorance, and to come forth before our astonished gaze; and we are called to contemplate the future. Why do I say this? What is the silver problem? Let me say here that I have nothing to say against the crusade that has been made by the present administration for sound money, for I believe silver monometallism by the United States alone is thoroughly and absolutely unsound; but I beg to differ with my friends on that side of the contention, if they advance the proposition that gold monometallism is other than unsound. Both are fatally unsound. Both are the outcropping of the disparity of the metals. What is the condition under which the world rests to-day? The yellow races of mankind are using silver alone as their currency, at fifty cents on the dollar in terms of gold. Christendom, the white races, are using gold alone. I do not know whether the population of the dark races—that is, the Oriental, the Mexican, and the Spanish-American—exceeds that of Christendom or not; but you may say that the world is fairly divided into two halves in this regard. And that, gentlemen, is a fixed condition which we have to face, about which there is no dispute, and out of which the problem grows. This disparity, I may be permitted to say, is of comparatively recent origin. Throwing all academic discussions aside, it will not be denied that up to 1871, and from that time until 1873, there was no silver problem to perplex mankind. From the remotest dawn of antiquity up to the hour of the demonetization of silver by Germany, after they obtained the indemnity payment from France at the end of the war of 1871, there was no such problem. Before that the wit and wisdom of men, as Mr. Evarts once happily said, had not tampered with it. Before that the whole condition may be said to have come properly under the same idea as Topsy had of her origin,—that “she was not born at all, she just grewed.” But the unexpected happened. Germany conquered France, brought with pressure Hanover, Würtemberg, Saxony, and Bavaria under one empire, established an imperial currency, drew in all the silver that was used by the various federated States, and (inasmuch as England was prosper-

ous, and England had a gold monometallic currency, *ergo* it would give prosperity to Germany if she had it) she demonetized silver, dumped all her silver coin upon the French mint; and the scientific Frenchman found that it was with difficulty that he could maintain the coinage established by Napoleon seventy years before. And, whether through apprehension as to whether he could longer maintain it or not, or whether out of a keen sense of natural resentment, whatever might have been the motive, France closed her mints to silver coinage, and this departure between the metals began. About that time the Bonanza mines were opened, the iron rails led to the Rocky Mountains, and the output of silver was large. Men said that overproduction of silver was the cause, as if silver or gold, as money metals, were like wheat or corn or cotton, the prices of which were fixed by the annual output; whereas the money metals are the remnants of the accumulations that have come down from all the ages; and the annual product is but an increment of not the greatest moment.

So we went on with the disparity deepening until 1893. Meanwhile the United States took two important steps. I want to say that I had no confidence in the outcome of the Brussels Conference from the time the Secretary of the Treasury showed me the terms upon which the call for it was based, or, rather, accepted; and that is, to consider merely "an enlarged use of silver." I think the enlarged use of silver has been thoroughly tested, and found to be a delusion: I believe there is no solution of this question except by giving back to silver its imperial and royal function as a money metal of full debt-paying power. But I want my friends to restrain their enthusiasm, when I couple that proposition with the other one, which I lay down with equal emphasis, that never can that be done until all the world comes into a bimetallic agreement; and that is until England agrees. That is where I stand. I do not believe anything else is bimetallism. By bimetallism I mean that arrangement by mankind, made without convention, that existed from the dawn of the ages until 1871 to 1873. But the House in 1878 passed the Bland Act, and on coming over to the Senate it was turned into the Allison Act. Instead of free coinage it was a coinage of two millions a month. And so we went on until, in the Fifty-first Congress, a free silver bill passed the Senate. And then between the two Houses there was enacted what has since been known as the Silver Purchase

Act, by which we purchased four and a half millions ounces of silver a month. So we have coined under the Allison Act over \$300,000,000 of silver. Under the Silver Purchase Act, which was passed to prevent a free coinage act being enacted, there were issued about \$150,000,000 of paper promises to pay—treasury notes—against as much pig silver. On the proposal of the Silver Purchase Act we were assured by my friend, Senator Jones, of Nevada, that the purchase of four and a half millions ounces of silver a month would take up “the slack,”—“the silver that was kicked about the London market,”—and put it on a parity with gold. It went up to \$1.21 an ounce in the public markets; and some people made money, and others lost in the speculation. It then went back, until finally it reached about \$1.05 an ounce, when \$1.29 is the full price of the metal at the ratio of 16 to 1. At the Brussels Conference Mr. Allison informed the nations that, if they did not enter into a bimetallic agreement, the United States would repeal the Purchase Act. Upon that the representatives of the India government said: “If you do that, we will stop the coinage in India. We cannot any longer stand the condition that obtains in that regard.” And so, upon the expectation that the United States would take the action they did, in the month of June, 1893, the government of India suspended the coinage of silver; and in so doing, as I think, played right to our hand. In November, after three months of long and serious discussion, the repeal act was passed; and India, the one great free coinage nation left in the world, and the United States, the only other one, a large purchaser, retired from the market, and silver plunged from eighty cents in the dollar to fifty cents in the dollar.

Why, Mr. Chairman, there has been no such grave step taken by the nations in any stage of their existence. It has carried consequences with it. It has elucidated facts. It has brought before us a world of evidence that it behooves men to become absolutely familiar with. Professor Wayland said to me yesterday, anent the subject for discussion to-day, that the trouble he had to find with it was that you could get no accurate information or facts. We are getting a large body of facts. The great disparity of the metals, by this means brought down to fifty cents in the dollar, in terms of gold, operates as an automatic tariff of 100 per cent. in favor of silver-using countries against imports from gold-using countries, and a bounty of 100 per cent. upon all products of all silver-using countries exported into gold-using coun-

tries; and that fact simply reverses the relations of the two races, — the yellow and the white. It drags the laborer of Christendom irrevocably and hopelessly down to the level of the Indian and of the Mexican. It is this fact which made me feel, when I had the opportunity to discuss this question before this body, that I could not refrain, as the Friends say, from bearing my testimony. Why and how does this effect arise? I confess that I was sceptical about it for a long time. If it were only open and patent, so that all could see and acknowledge it, it would be readily accepted by mankind. It is the subtle facts and relations of facts involved that lead to such wide-spread misconception. But take now the export of wheat, and see how it works out. Under the pressure of Indian competition and the law of supply and demand operating thereunder, wheat last year fell to what in my State amounted to fifty cents a bushel for wheat there, about fifty-seven cents in New York, and, for the purposes of comparison and illustration, say seventy-five cents a bushel in Liverpool or London. Out of that seventy-five cents a bushel, taking freight and expenses to the seaboard and across the water, the farmer in Delaware got fifty cents in gold. What did the India merchant get? That gold turned into silver and transmitted by bills of exchange to India amounted to \$1.50 in silver, and out of that you have \$1 net in silver for the India merchants. But you say that silver is only worth fifty cents in the dollar to gold. There you come upon the vital fact in this situation,—the one which challenges the wisdom and the courage and the honesty and the fairness of the statesmen of Christendom. The fact is that that dollar in silver in India buys just as much wages to-day, when silver is at fifty cents in terms of gold, as it bought before the disparity. Now understand, if I were only theorizing, that would be one thing; but, bear in mind, that is the fact. You can take the tables, and learn all about it. Allow me to refer the Association to the report of Mr. George Jamieson, the British consul-general of Shanghai, which was published about November, 1893; and also to a paper by Mr. Jamieson upon the silver question, "Injury to British Trade and Manufactures," printed this year in London, upon a premium offered by Sir Henry Thompson, a member of Parliament, for papers on that subject. This was the prize essay. I would also refer the Association to the address made in July, 1894, before the London Chamber of Commerce,—a commercial, and not a governmental, body,—by Mr. Iremonger, the financial

representative of the Straits Settlement in England, and reprinted as a public document by the United States Senate.

There is a deep reason underlying this, to us, startling phenomenon,—the fact that was cited against the argument I am presenting by my friend, Mr. Horr, this morning. It is that the Oriental laborer works, ever has worked, and ever will, for the mere bare cost of subsistence at the lowest stage of living. Whatever advantage India gets from the transactions I have thus explained, it does not go to the laborer. It goes to the man between,—the farmer who employs the laborer, if he is that kind of farmer, or the merchant. The Indian, the Chinaman, the Japanese, the Malayan, the Mexican, the descendant of the Aborigines of South America, intermarried with the Spanish somewhat,—all work only for the bare cost of subsistence. When I was in Mexico in 1884, I found that along the railways the price for labor was $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents a day, and away from the railways only 25 cents a day; and so it has remained since, and will remain, except as laborers in the mills may ultimately get something better as they work up in the mechanical arts or work for themselves.

You thus have that condition established. Now, what is the consequence of it? The Indian grain-dealer gets just as much value for his wheat when it is selling in London at 75 cents a bushel as he ever got for it. Two rupees—or a dollar—a bushel was just about the immemorial price of wheat in India. In competition, at this disparity of the metals, it brings American wheat to 50 cents a bushel near the seaboard,—a price that renders the growing of wheat in the United States at a profit impossible. When I stated this the other day to a friend of mine here, a distinguished banker from New York, he said, "But we should grow something besides wheat." Ah! but there are a great many farms in this country that cannot find a substitute for wheat. Wheat has been the great money crop of the North. It is the great agricultural product of international use and exportation. Corn we do not export in the primary form to any considerable degree, but only in the secondary form; and so the price of corn is not affected. Neither is the price of cotton, because cotton is not largely enough grown in the silver-using countries to come in competition with us here. But wheat is. We cannot grow cotton in the North. It is not an encouraging proposition to present to the farmers of the United States that they will have to abandon the growing of wheat; and right there I may ask, If we do aban-

don wheat, and bring it down to a price that we can live at, it will be an American price, and then only because we have 20 cents a bushel duty on it. When we grow no more wheat than we eat, we can get an American price on it; but then we cease to export it. And without that what becomes of our balance of trade? So you see that, under the direct operation of the law of supply and demand, India's competition brings wheat down in just this way.

I neglected to state one or two other axioms, which will not be disputed at all: that where the supply exceeds the demand the price is fixed by the price the excess fetches; the price of the excess where the supply exceeds the demand fixes the price of the whole mass, and the price of the excess is fixed by the cost of production at the lowest point of production. Hence, when you have, as we have had during these past years, an excess of supply of wheat over the demand, the price has been fixed where it is raised at least cost; namely, in India, under the operation of this bounty arising from the disparity of the metals. Thus it comes home to you that the result arises under the direct operation of the law of supply and demand. That is sound doctrine, and you cannot get away from it.

Now take it upon another side. Mr. Jamieson shows in his report upon silver in China that the price of silver in the silver-using countries has remained substantially steady during all the years since the disparity between the metals arose, proving conclusively that the operation of this disparity of the metals is to appreciate gold; and the lower silver fell the more they could export, and the more profitable it became to them. He shows that up to 1893 there was a constant appreciation of gold. Since 1893 the phenomenon has appeared of an increased price of silver. Just how or why that change has come about he does not undertake to explain, nor would I undertake without more information, to assign a cause for it. But you have the great fact ascertained by taking the prices from the price current at Shanghai through a number of years.

Now take the other side. What is the effect of the disparity with regard to the imports of India? We export nothing to India substantially. England exports to it largely, as she does to all the Oriental countries and to South America. Those are the markets of the world, about which we hear so much,—the markets extra-territorial to Europe and to the United States and Christendom. The disparity of the metals operates as a tariff against the silver-

using countries' imports, and a bounty upon the India exports to gold-using countries.

As I was going to the mountains, two weeks ago, I cut from the New York *Tribune* of that date a letter from Mr. Ford, the present very reliable and intelligent correspondent in London, who has been substituted for Mr. George W. Smalley. He writes a letter from Dundee in Scotland; and I may be pardoned for reading just a little of it, so as to give you the facts:—

A visit to the jute mills alone was worth the journey from London. A fleet of one hundred merchantmen is employed in supplying from India the raw material for this class of manufactures; and many thousands of men, women, and children are dependent upon their daily labor in the jute factories. Jute has been the chief industry of the town; and until very recent years, when it was subjected to destructive competition from India, it was in a most prosperous condition.

The prosperity of this working class is menaced not from America, where the new tariff is markedly favorable to the Scotch industry, but from India, where within ten years all the coarse branches of jute manufacture have been introduced with cheap labor. The raw material is there, and it can be converted into manufactured product at prices which imply starvation in Bonnie Dundee. Scotch capital has gone into the Calcutta jute mills, and it has earned larger dividends than can be paid at home. Not satisfied with employing cheaper labor during the daytime, the leading jute manufacturers in India have introduced electric lighting, and kept their operatives at work a good part of the night. The natives are expert weavers and spinners; and they are not only contented with the lowest wages, but they are also able to thrive upon them, and lay by a penny for a rainy day. It is this formidable competition from the jute empire that has brought on hard times in Dundee, and, although the improvement in American trade has been noticeable this year, is still menacing the great industry of the town with destruction. The manufacturers in India are constantly enlarging their investments, introducing higher grades of goods, and competing boldly for the jute trade of the world. It is this tremendous pressure of competition from a cheap-labor country that is imperilling the prosperity of a well-organized industry and creating a general feeling of insecurity and unrest. It is not strange that veteran free-traders in the town are asking whether the workers of the United Kingdom are not to be protected in some way against the destructive enterprise of the Asiatic colonies, or at least whether some form of fair trade may not be practicable.

Mr. Ford evidently considers that this condition in Dundee is the result of cheaper labor in India. But labor is no cheaper in

India now than it was before competition with the Dundee jute industry arose in India. The deadly quality of the competition has come from another cause. A new factor has entered the problem; namely, the disparity of the metals and the bounty upon Indian exports and the tariff upon their imports of 100 per cent.

The day after I read this letter I saw a cablegram in the *New York Sun*, stating that ten thousand men had gone on a strike in Dundee in the jute works. In Mr. Ford's letter in the *Tribune* of a week later there was a statement that the strike would amount to nothing, inasmuch as the mill-owners had notified the men that, if they did not return to work, they would close the mills; and clearly, he says, they will have to do that anyway, under the Indian competition.

I was, therefore, not surprised when the important question was asked Mr. Balfour as to what this government was going to do for bimetallism; and that the question was asked by no other than Sir John Long, the member of Parliament from Dundee. Shall Dundee perish? Shall there be a transfer to the Orient of the manufactures of Christendom? Read the paper in the June number of the *North American Review*, of Mr. Romero, Mexican minister to our government, the distinguished gentleman who addressed you last evening on the subject of Mexican jurisprudence. He points out that the same features are found there that exist in the silver-using Orient, the disparity operating as a bounty on their exports and a tariff on their imports. Is this to go on? Where will it lead to? There can be no escape from it, if the world does not go to bimetallism, except as the labor cost of Christendom is brought down to the labor cost of the Orientals, plus the bounty and the tariff. We are hopelessly handicapped. There is no other escape from the dilemma.

And this brings us to the question, What is the remedy? My silver friends say, Independent free coinage by the United States alone. I ask them, Will that restore the parity? My friend General Warner said to me in conversation this morning, "Oh, if there is a premium, and a slight one, it will do us good." That implies that it will not restore the parity. Then, in the language of the law, I demur. I admit your contention, but I denounce your remedy as quackery. It is not a remedy. You have not diagnosed the disease. What is the matter with your friend? Oh, he has heart disease. I am sorry. Again, Oh, he is troubled with dropsy. That is too bad. The next time it is,

Apoplexy ; and he dies. A post-mortem discloses the fact that the man died of Bright's disease. The question is not whether we shall go to free coinage by ourselves or not, or whether gold monometallism is a bad thing or a good thing. The thing we have to grapple with is, How can we restore the parity? How can we destroy and remove the disparity? I will say for myself that I did not vote for the repeal of the so-called Sherman Silver Purchase Act under any mistake on this subject. I fully expected that it would restore momentary confidence, in the bankers' panic that we had at that time, and so it did. But I did not expect that it would restore prosperity to this country, and I did not vote for it with that expectation. I do not expect to see prosperity while the disparity of metals continues.

What, then, is your remedy? I reply: Do as we did in the repeal of that act. Make thereby a declaration of currency war against Great Britain. Simply that, and nothing else. We must say to England, "No more merely enlarged use of silver, nothing but the deepest disparity, until you are ready to help remove it absolutely ; and we will see who will suffer the more." We are now ready for war. One hundred years ago such a struggle was waged. And, after Saratoga, the people said, "What shall we do?" But our forefathers did not falter. They stood there, relentless antagonists to the mother country, then, as now, fighting against her own best interests as well as ours ; and the result was that England lost her splendid empire on this continent. We are in such a struggle again. Whatever may be the theory upon which the present administration is making this fight, I think its object is the correct one ; and that is,—stand fast where we are, make no enlarged use of silver, do not deny the existence of the distress that comes from this collision, take the American people into your confidence, have the courage of common honesty and your convictions, but just say to England, "We can stand it as long as you can stand it." And I believe in the result she will come in or do worse.

The CHAIRMAN.—We shall be glad to hear from Judge William Wirt Howe, of Louisiana, on this subject.

Mr. HOWE.—Mr. Chairman, I yielded my time to Senator Higgins, and I think he has covered the ground so fully that I will add nothing to the discussion.

Mr. SANBORN.—I want to call Senator Higgins's attention to

the fact, which I assume to be a fact, because it was communicated to me last winter by a citizen of the State of Washington. He said to me: "When wheat is 28 cents a bushel in the State of Washington, as we export our wheat to China and Japan, we can raise wheat at a profit. At the present moment wheat is 25 cents a bushel there, and there is not a profit; but, whenever any wheat can be sold in Washington for 28 cents a bushel, we can raise it at a fair profit." He said to me that this price arose from the large trade between the State of Washington and Asia. I submit that for Senator Higgins's consideration.

Senator HIGGINS.—All I can say is, a situation like that will be most destructive to other wheat-growers in the United States.

14. REMARKS OF ANSON PHELPS STOKES.

I am opposed to the coinage of silver at 16 to 1. I am opposed to it, not because I believe in gold monometallism. I am equally opposed to that. I believe there is a solution of this whole difficulty which reasonable men in time may come to; and that is the free coinage, on substantially equal terms, of both gold and silver, in quantities of equal value, at the ratio of their market values. How that can be done conveniently I have pointed out in my book on "Joint Metallism." I am confident that it can be done, and that it will work no injury to any just interest.

I would have the silver in new silver standard coins to be equal in weight to the gold in the gold standard coins; and I would open the mint to the free coinage of both gold and silver, when presented together in quantities of equal value of each metal, according to the government ratio of the time, which should be based always on the market ratio, and change only when the market ratio changed as much as one integer,—*e.g.*, from, say, 25 to 1 to 24 to 1 or from 29 to 1 to 30 to 1. The true economic ratio would thus soon be arrived at, and would very seldom change; and any change would not make recoinage necessary.

I would have a currency so based, half on gold and half on silver, legal tender for the payments of debts contracted after a date some months later than the passage of the act.

I did not expect to speak upon this subject to-day, and I will not detain you with further details now.

The officers of the Association were kind enough to invite me some time ago to take part in this debate; and I then felt that the

controversy had got to go on for some time under conditions unfavorable to any attempt at arrangement between the gold and silver parties, and that the time for compromise must be deferred.

To-day I am much encouraged to think that this time is more nearly approaching. I feel that those who have spoken here for gold monometallism are willing to have a larger use of silver, if it can be had safely and honestly, and those who have spoken for silver are willing that we should try 16 to 1, and then, if it does not succeed, to have a different ratio. My proposition is that the United States should decide to begin at a fixed future date to coin both metals, when presented together in quantities of equal value, and at the market ratio of the time when this new coinage begins, and to change the ratio when necessary.

The great thing that we have to consider now is the danger of the position in which we are at the present moment. That, it seems to me, has been lost sight of in this debate, except by the gentleman who has just spoken, and whose remarks I have listened to with the greatest interest. It is that to which we should address ourselves,—that position, which is degrading to our gold-using countries, making it impossible for them to compete with silver-using countries. If I may be permitted to quote one sentence from my book, I think I can show you how I regard that difficulty:—

General prosperity in our country depends largely upon the prices obtainable for our chief exportable staples. The fall in these is directly caused by the demonetization of silver, because for every pound sterling which a planter in India receives for cotton or wheat sold in England he can now employ twice as many native laborers as he could a few years ago, for their wages remain the same in silver coin.

That is what we come to in the end. What is our position at the present moment? We are having to pay abroad a balance of \$1,000,000 per day, and we cannot go on doing it unless we can export much more surplus products. We are getting less into condition to do this than we have been. The danger is that there is an appearance of prosperity which has been brought about during the last few months by the operations of speculation in sterling exchange. The American people have got hold of some money, and think they are going to have a good time.

In reply to his invitation, I wrote to our Secretary July 27:—

The times are not propitious for moderate views or for efforts for accommodation between the partisans of gold and the partisans of silver. The artificial appearance of prosperity produced by the gold which government has borrowed at an exorbitant rate has intoxicated the people, who now expect to be saved by getting deeper in debt, and are unwilling to be reminded of the day of reckoning.

So I must wait to appeal to Philip, sober, as he will be when gold exports commence again in earnest after the government's partnership in exchange speculation comes to an end. In this partnership the government put in its credit and the good will of the business, and the other partners contributed experience.

We shall soon have confronting us the condition we had a little while ago. It is well known that the bonds sold abroad are for the most part coming back. It is well known that we can, if we are willing to remain in such a dependent condition, go on for some years in that way, with frequent issues of government bonds. But, unless we can get into a position to export more of our surplus products, we cannot reduce our foreign debt nor get out of danger.

Our greatest danger is our greenback currency, which is twice as dishonest as our silver currency; for there is more than half a dollar of real value behind each silver dollar or silver-dollar note.

I have enjoyed this debate very much indeed, although I do not agree with either side. I do hope that we shall not think only of the simple proposition of 16 to 1, but that we will think of the greater proposition of putting our currency on a safe basis. If credit money is the best money, then fiat money is the best money, because the government's credit is the best credit. What we want is more real money and less credit money. What we want is that no dollar shall be issued that does not have a specie dollar behind it. As the human character is constituted, we shall never have any safety except on that basis.

APPENDIX TO THE SILVER DEBATE.

[See pages 61 of Journal and 17 of pamphlet Debate.]

WAGES IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

The following statement, showing the rates of wages in the general trades in various countries, has been prepared by the Department of State. The rates given have been compiled from United States Consular Reports, with the exception of the rates in New South Wales, which have been compiled from the Statistical Register of New South Wales for 1891. In some cases, where no general rates of later date were available, the statistics are taken from a Special Consular Report, entitled "Labor in Foreign Countries," printed in 1884. In nearly all the cases, however, the rates for 1884 are supplemented by later statistics. These subsidiary figures will serve to show that but slight changes in the rates of wages have occurred during the decade, and that the rates for 1884 are substantially the same as those which now prevail in foreign countries, the former being, if anything, higher than the present rates.

It was considered necessary, for comparative purposes, to give a column to the United States; but, as there is no department compilation showing the average wages prevailing in this country, the figures were taken from the report to the United States Senate (Fifty-second Congress, second session), upon transportation, wages, and prices, for fifty-two years, ending July, 1891, in certain localities in Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, and Tennessee. The rates for the several trades, as stated in that report, were collated; and the averages are the rates given in this statement. It is deemed necessary to add, however, that the rates given cannot be called a true average of the rates which prevailed in the States mentioned. For instance, some trades are mentioned once or twice,—that is, in one or two reports, representing only as many places (cities),—while others are mentioned in six, ten, or more reports; and, while the oft-mentioned trades may be accepted as comparatively true averages, the trades mentioned in only a few reports represent only the districts for which they are given. In the absence of all other statistics, this was the best that could be done in regard to the United States; and the rates, as a rule, should be taken as only comparatively those which prevailed in 1891.

The weekly hours of labor—that is, the actual working hours—in the several countries, as well as can be ascertained, are:—

I. COUNTRIES WITH CURRENCIES ON A GOLD BASIS.

Australasia.—New South Wales, not stated; New Zealand, 48 hours; Victoria, 48 hours.

Brazil, 60 hours.

Belgium, 54, 60, 72, and 78 hours, 60 hours being the most general.

Canada, 60 hours.

Denmark (Copenhagen), 60 hours.

France, 60, 66, and 72 hours, 60 hours being the most general.

Germany, 60, 63, 66, and 72 hours, 60 and 66 hours being the most general.

Holland, 60 and 63 hours.

Italy, 60, 66, and 72 hours, 60 hours being the most general.

Spain, 60, 63, and 72 hours, 60 hours being the most general.

Switzerland, 60 and 66 hours, the latter being the most general.

United States, 60 hours.

2. COUNTRIES WITH CURRENCIES ON A SILVER BASIS.

Austria, 60, 66, and 72 hours, the latter being the most general.

China.—In Amoy the general trades labor 60 hours; but in Southern China, and generally throughout China, the working hours are from "daylight to dark," with an hour for the noonday meal and a few minutes in the forenoon and afternoon for tea and refreshments.

Columbia, 60 to 72 hours.

Ecuador (Guayaquil), 60 hours.

Japan.—The hours of labor may be assumed as somewhat like those in China.

Mexico, 60 hours.

Persia.—From sunrise to sunset. In winter, an hour at noon; in summer, two intermissions, at eleven o'clock for breakfast and a few minutes in the afternoon for lunch. Generally speaking, no labor on Fridays.

Russia, 60, 69, and 72 hours, the latter being the most prevalent.

Venezuela, 60 hours.

[Austria-Hungary and Russia are omitted from the fixed-currency table for the reason that, while a gold basis has been recently adopted in the former and is being gradually established in the latter, they were on a silver basis at the time the rates of wages given were in force. They are therefore included in the table of countries having a fluctuating currency, with explanatory notes as to the present condition of their finances.]

The following supplementary statements give such later information as was obtainable concerning the rates of wages in gold-standard countries:—

Germany, 1889.—Annual wages earned in various industries: building trades, \$124; potters, \$157; machine-shops and iron and steel works, \$200; gas-works and water-works, \$194; chemical industries, \$188; leather industries, \$187; paper mills, \$162; potteries, \$158; glass-works, \$155; silk mills, \$146; textile industries, \$123; rolling mills, \$238; quarries, \$63. (Consular Reports, No. 148, p. 97.)

Bavaria, 1890.—The British consul at Munich, July 9, 1890, reports: In the country the price of skilled labor is lowest in the textile industries, and highest in parquetry and in stove and glue factories, etc.,—male skilled labor, 48 cents per day to \$1.20; ordinary male labor, 42 to 66 cents; female skilled labor, 34 to 72 cents; ordinary female labor, 26 to 34 cents. Men's average wages in the industries: textile, 72 cents; iron industries, \$1.28. Printers in Munich, 82 cents. Ordinary labor in Munich, 54 to 66 cents; ordinary labor in the country, 48 cents. Wages of skilled female labor in Munich, under 72 cents per day.

Prussia, 1892.—A Berlin machine-maker, by constant work, earns \$250.60 per annum; a Berlin bricklayer or carpenter, less the rainy and frosty days, earns \$253 per annum; an Erlangen first workman in a stone quarry, \$232.53; ordinary workman, \$187.95. (Consular Reports, No. 145, p. 302.)

Hamburg, 1894.—Weekly wages in Hamburg ship-yards: pattern-makers, \$5.70; machinists, \$5.64; boiler-makers, \$5.45; plumbers and pipe-fitters, \$5.40; carpenters, \$5.20; riveters, \$5; furnace men, \$4.56;

sheet-iron workers, \$4.50; coppersmiths, \$6; moulders, \$5.50; laborers, \$4.32. (Consular Reports, No. 170, p. 293.)

England, 1891.—Street-car drivers, \$5.82 per week.

England, 1892.—Telegraph service, government operators: Men, first-class, \$9.73 per week; second-class, \$2.92, \$3.40, and \$4.38 per week, for first, second, and third years respectively. Women, first-class, \$6.80 per week; second-class, \$2.43, \$2.92, and \$3.65 per week for first, second, and third years respectively. The second-class operators are two to one of the first-class. The number of women employed as operators is one-third of the total force. Midland Railway operators are paid from \$97.33 for first year to \$389.32 for the tenth year, the increase taking place year after year; higher salaries according to the special circumstances of each case. Great Western Railway operators are paid from \$340.65 to \$729 per annum. Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway operators are paid \$4.86 to \$6.32 per week. (Consular Reports, No. 144, p. 47.)

Liverpool, 1894.—Weekly wages in ship-yards: pattern-makers, \$8.51; machinists, \$8; boiler-makers, \$8.63; pipe-fitters, \$8.51; carpenters, \$9.11; drillers, \$6.30; joiners, \$8.51; fitters, \$5.59; riveters, \$7.90; calkers, \$7.90; painters, \$8; smiths, \$9.36; laborers, \$4.86. (Consular Reports, No. 170, p. 302.)

Ireland, 1894.—Weekly wages in Belfast ship-yards: platers, \$8.26; helpers, \$3.89; riveters and calkers, \$7.53; drillers, \$3.77; joiners, \$8; smiths, \$7.78; finishers, \$7.05; bolt-makers, \$7.90; strikers, \$4.74; pattern-makers, \$8; fitters, \$7.78; shipwrights, \$8.14; laborers, \$3.77; riggers and sawyers, \$7.17; sail-makers, \$6.96; plumbers, \$8.75; assistants, \$2.67; polishers, \$7.30; upholsterers, \$8.26. (Consular Reports, No. 170, p. 304.)

Scotland, 1894.—Weekly wages in the Clyde ship-yards: pattern-makers, \$9.35; machinists, \$6.48; boiler-makers and plumbers, \$8.64; pipe-fitters, \$7.29; shipwrights, \$8.10; joiners, \$7.84; drillers, \$9.18; riveters, \$10.80; calkers, \$9.72; painters, \$8.10; furnace men, \$6.48; sheet-iron workers, \$7.02; coppersmiths, \$8.37; iron moulders, \$8.10; brass moulders, \$6.60; blacksmiths, \$8.10; laborers, \$5.40; frame setters, \$9.18. (Consular Reports, No. 170, p. 307.)

Holland, 1892.—Statements can only be approximated on account of the great difference and fluctuations in both hours and wages. One witness stated that a good workman (on the docks) at Rotterdam ought easily to make \$4 to \$4.80 per week the year round, but the rate of wages per hour may be put at from 8 to 10 cents. Laborers employed on railways and at the depots average from 36 to 70 cents per day, with a bonus of \$1.25 to \$1.60 per month. Drivers on tramway cars from \$4.05 to \$5.68 per week, and conductors \$5.25. Smiths and others in the factories of the tramway companies earn \$6.08 per week. Engine-drivers on steam tramways earn from \$4.86 to \$6.85 per week, besides a bonus. These appear substantial earnings, but it must be borne in mind that in Holland the purchasing price of the florin (40.2 cents) scarcely exceeds that of a shilling (24 cents) in England. (British Consular Reports.)

Holland, 1894.—Weekly wages in ship-yards: pattern and boiler makers, \$6.24; machinists, \$6.72; plumbers and pipe-fitters, \$5.28; carpenters and painters, \$4.80; joiners, calkers, furnace men, and moulders, \$6; drillers, \$4.88; fitters-up and riveters, \$7; sheet-iron workers, \$5.08; coppersmiths, \$5.64; laborers, \$4.20. (Consular Reports, No. 170, p. 300.)

Italy, 1889.—Per diem wages in Florence: Machine and moulding shops,—cabinet-makers, 48 to 68 cents; wood-carvers, 39 to 68 cents; carpenters, 48 to 59 cents; carriage-builders, ordinary hands, 58 cents;

first-class hands, 96 to \$1.15. Pottery and porcelain works,—painters, 10 cents to \$1.15; turners, 58 to 96 cents; firemen, 23 to 49 cents; laborers, 28 to 49 cents; potters, 58 to 68 cents. Glass-works,—blowers, 96 cents to \$2.30; cutters, 58 to 96 cents; mechanics, 58 to 76 cents; laborers, 20 to 76 cents; founders, 48 cents to \$1.15. Goldsmiths and jewellers, 49 to 96 cents. Paper mills,—machine-tenders, 39 to 49 cents; ordinary hands, 29 to 45 cents. Printers, 58 to 96 cents; lithographers, ordinary hands, 34 to 69 cents; skilled hands, 59 to 78 cents. (British Consular Reports.)

Italy, 1890.—Weekly wages in Genoa: carpenters, \$3.60 to \$6 for first-class hands and \$3 to \$3.60 for second-class; masons, \$3 to \$3.60; plasterers, \$3 to \$4.25; stone-cutters, \$3 to \$3.60; house painters, \$2.40 to \$3; blacksmiths, \$2 to \$4.80; tailors, \$2.40 to \$4.20; shoemakers, \$1.80 to \$2.40; hatters, \$2.40 to \$4.80; machinists, \$3.60 to \$6; fitters, \$3 to \$6.90; ship-carpenters, \$6. Stevedores throughout Italy, \$7.44, about the highest wages earned in the general trades and callings. (Consular Reports, No. 120, p. 97.)

Italy, 1890.—Per diem wages in Florence and vicinity: Foundries and machine-shops,—moulders, 49 to 96 cents; turners and planing-machine hands, 59 to 86 cents; carpenters (model-makers), 73 cents to \$1.05; fitters, 39 to 96 cents; blacksmiths, 69 cents to \$1.05; blacksmiths' helpers, 39 to 45 cents. Brass founders, 49 to 69 cents; cutters, 78 cents. Per diem wages in Sicily: laborers, 24 to 28 cents; masons, 44 to 52 cents; masons' helpers, 32 to 40 cents. (British Consular Reports.)

Italy, 1893.—Miners, 40 to 72 cents per day; bricklayers and masons, 66 cents; blacksmiths, 64 cents; laborers, 32 cents; and car men, 48 cents. (British Consular Reports.)

Italy, 1894.—Weekly wages in ship-yards, Genoa: pattern-makers, 70 per cent. receive \$3.60, and 30 per cent. \$6; machinists, 80 per cent. receive \$3.60, and 20 per cent. \$7.20; boiler-makers, 80 per cent. receive \$3, and 20 per cent. \$6; smiths, 80 per cent. receive \$3.60, and 20 per cent. \$7.20; carpenters, 50 per cent. receive \$3.60, and 50 per cent. \$5.40; fitters-up, 50 per cent. receive \$3.60, and 50 per cent. \$6; moulders, 50 per cent. receive \$3.60, and 50 per cent. \$7.20; laborers, 50 per cent. receive \$2.40, and 50 per cent. \$3. (Consular Reports, No. 170, p. 298.)

Switzerland, 1892.—The Swiss workingman's wage is 33 to 40 per cent. below that of the English, and 10 to 15 per cent. below that of the French workingman, the rates being higher in the French than in the German cantons. Swiss officials estimate the average wage of a Swiss male worker at 50 to 60 cents per diem, but the consul considers this estimate too low. Non-contract laborers earn from 48 to 72 cents. (British Consular Reports.)

Switzerland, 1895.—(From a report by Consul Germain, of Zürich, dated July 11, 1895): The average wages paid in cotton mills vary between 29 and 50 cents per diem. A day's wage of 80 cents for ordinary factory hands is an exception. Among the reelers the wages are lowest, one-eighth of these receiving not more than 20 cents per day. Silk mills: dyers and finishers, 30 per cent. receive less than 30 cents and only 15 per cent. receive over 40 cents; winders and twistors, 40 to 50 cents; spinners, 33 to 35 cents; warpers, 50 to 60 cents; weavers, 40 to 60 cents,—all per diem. Iron foundries and machine works: unskilled laborers (20 per cent. of the whole), 60 cents; skilled workers (57 per cent. of the whole), 50 cents to \$1; and the remaining skilled workers 23 per cent. of the whole, \$1 to \$2,—per diem.

Austria, 1889.—(From a British Consular Report): Budapest,—factory hands, daily, 10 cents to \$1.05; women factory hands, 8 to 40 cents; boiler-makers, 80 cents; wheelwrights, 90 cents; tinsmiths, 70 cents;

coppersmiths, 84 cents; turners, 80 cents; machinists, 66 cents; locksmiths, 76 cents; instrument-makers, 88 cents; carriage-builders, 68 cents; wood-workers, 83 cents; saddlers and upholsterers, 81 cents; painters, 69 cents; moulders, 65 cents; day workmen, 50 cents; other laborers, 46 cents; iron miners, 32 to 40 cents. Various districts—chemical factories, 24 to 92 cents; flour mills and sugar factories, 20 to 80 cents; tobacco factories, 24 to 40 cents; distilleries, 20 to 72 cents; glass factories, 32 to 40 cents; iron-works, 20 to 80 cents; saw-mills, 16 to 60 cents; foundries, 40 to 92 cents; forges, machine-shops, and rolling mills, 40 to 96 cents; nail factories, 20 to 24 cents; women, 16 to 18 cents; day laborers, 20 to 30 cents.

Austria, 1894.—Weekly wages (60 hours) in the Trieste ship-yards: pattern-makers, \$4.20 to \$7.80; boiler-makers, plumbers, pipe-fitters, coppersmiths, and moulders, \$3.60 to \$5.40; carpenters, joiners, drillers, fitters-up, riveters, calkers, painters, and furnace men, \$3 to \$4.50; iron and brass workers, \$2.40 to \$3. (Consular Reports, No. 170, p. 290.) Weekly wages in hemp mills in the Budapest district: laborers, \$2.50; breakers, \$3.50; hacklers, \$4.14. (Consular Reports, No. 168, p. 140.)

Mexico, 1885.—Mining—in the San Antonio mine (near Monterey), where Mexicans labor under an American superintendent, working two shifts of twelve hours each, good smelters are paid \$1 per day of twelve hours; assistant smelters, 75 cents; and yard hands, 36 to 50 cents. (Consular Reports, No. 67, p. 491.) La Paz mines—wages per day of twelve hours: miners, \$1.50; furnace men, \$1; general workmen, \$1.25; teamsters, 75 cents; machinists, \$2.50; carpenters, \$2; watchmen, 75 cents. (Consular Reports, No. 67, p. 504.)

Mexico, 1895.—July, 1895, Mr. W. C. Ford, of the United States Treasury Bureau of Statistics, quotes a statement from the treasurer of the Mexican Central Railway of wages paid by that company, thus:—

“In the first part of 1890 we were paying Mexican laborers from 50 to 75 cents per day, according to the location upon the road; brakemen, from \$45 to \$50 a month; machinists, from \$1 to \$5 a day; masons, from \$1 to \$3; and carpenters, \$1 to \$3. At the present time laborers are receiving the same rates; carpenters, from \$1.50 to \$3.50 per day, and some as high as \$4.75; machinists, from \$1 to \$5 a day, according to their skill.”

Russia.—While silver is the nominal currency of Russia, paper is the actual currency in which all general business and other commercial values are estimated throughout the Empire. Consul-general Karel, of St. Petersburg, in a report upon this subject, says: “The paper ruble—officially called ‘credit ruble’—is the actual currency of Russia.” Silver, being very little in circulation, plays only a small part in Russian currency. Gold is the standard by which the values of both the paper and silver ruble are determined. The consul-general says that at the date of his writing (July 16, 1895) the silver ruble passed at par with the paper ruble, which was then quoted at 52.1 cents American. According to the United States Treasury valuations the silver ruble on that date was valued at only 38.9 cents. The Russian gold ruble has a fixed value of 77.2 cents. In 1884, the date on which the following Russian wage-rates were obtained, the silver ruble was valued by the United States Treasury at 64.5 cents, on July 1, 1895, at 38.9 cents.

According to the Statesman's Year Book for 1895 the outstanding paper currency on Jan. 1, 1892, amounted to 1,122,295,384 rubles, covered by 286,505,032 rubles in gold and silver, leaving uncovered 568,527,206 paper rubles. It may be well to add to this statement from the Year Book, to make it clearer to the general reader, that the 286,505,032 gold and silver rubles were estimated on that date as equal to 553,768,178 paper rubles, thus leaving 568,527,206 paper rubles uncovered.

AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGES PAID IN COUNTRIES WITH CURRENCIES ON A SILVER BASIS.

GENERAL TRADES AND OCCUPATIONS.	Austria.*		China.		Colombia (Barran- quilla).	Ecuador.		Japan.	Mexico.	Persia.	Peru (Callao).	Russia.	Venezuela.
	Bohemia.†	Austria.	Amoy.	Ningpo.		Quito.	Guaya- quil.						
		1891.	1884.	1891.			1884.						
Building trades:													
Bricklayers . . .	—	\$3.58	\$1.64	\$1.20	\$7.74	\$1.44	\$7.50	\$2.04	\$10.00	\$2.40	\$9.00	\$4.32	\$9.00
Hod-carriers . . .	—	2.05	1.13	—	3.90	.72	4.50	1.14	3.60	1.00	5.40	2.45	4.63
Masons . . .	\$2.63	3.73	1.60	—	7.74	1.44	7.50	2.18	10.80	1.80	14.76	6.72	9.74
Tenders . . .	—	1.02	.75	—	3.90	.72	4.50	1.14	3.50	1.20	4.90	2.88	3.81
Plasterers . . .	—	4.00	1.50	—	7.74	1.44	7.50	1.56	4.25	2.40	9.00	4.00	9.40
Tenders . . .	—	1.82	.75	—	3.90	.72	4.50	—	3.50	1.20	5.40	2.55	4.63
Slaters . . .	—	4.00	—	—	7.74	1.44	—	—	8.40	—	—	4.20	13.20
Roofers . . .	—	4.20	1.60	—	7.74	1.44	7.50	1.80	8.40	1.80	—	3.75	8.70
Tenders . . .	—	2.80	.75	—	3.90	.72	4.50	—	3.25	1.20	—	2.60	4.52
Plumbers . . .	—	4.11	1.56	—	14.50	1.44	10.00	—	—	—	—	4.32	—
Assistants . . .	—	2.41	.75	—	7.74	.72	6.00	—	—	—	—	2.30	9.60
Carpenters . . .	2.85	5.10	2.15	—	7.74	1.44	10.80	1.56	—	2.40	9.00	3.30	9.84
Gas-fitters . . .	—	6.00	—	—	14.50	1.44	8.00	—	—	—	—	3.70	18.00
Bakers . . .	—	4.72	2.80	—	4.84	1.44	10.00	—	7.60	3.72	3.60	2.02	12.00
Blacksmiths . . .	2.57	3.18	1.25	1.25	9.66	1.44	9.00	1.85	8.00	3.04	16.30	3.72	12.83
Bookbinders . . .	—	4.00	1.64	—	4.84	1.44	7.50	—	5.50	—	13.80	3.42	10.25
Brickmakers . . .	2.24	3.10	—	1.00	4.84	1.44	7.50	—	6.00	3.78	9.20	2.80	9.16
Brewers . . .	3.09	5.87	3.50	—	—	—	—	—	6.00	—	20.00	4.00	—
Butchers . . .	—	3.60	2.25	—	3.84	1.44	9.00	—	5.40	1.68	12.30	2.91	11.75
Brass-founders . . .	—	4.40	1.62	—	—	1.44	10.00	3.00	10.00	—	—	4.20	—
Cabinet-makers . . .	3.31	3.00	2.25	1.80	7.74	1.44	10.00	—	10.00	—	14.76	5.76	14.45
Confectioners . . .	2.85	3.00	2.80	1.32	4.84	1.44	9.00	—	5.00	2.88	4.20	3.30	10.38
Cigar-makers . . .	3.20	3.04	1.40	—	4.84	1.44	8.00	—	4.50	1.68	7.50	5.00	12.50
Coopers . . .	—	3.90	1.63	1.80	—	1.44	10.00	—	7.25	—	7.50	3.66	—
Cutters . . .	—	3.00	2.13	—	—	—	—	—	4.00	1.25	—	3.91	—
Distillers . . .	2.20	3.00	2.13	—	3.84	—	12.00	—	3.60	—	—	4.00	13.50
Draymen and teamsters	2.36	3.00	3.50	—	3.84	.72	9.00	—	3.60	—	3.50	3.60	—
Drivers:													
Cart and carriage . . .	—	4.00	—	—	3.84	—	9.00	1.50	3.60	1.75	3.50	3.60	—
Street-car . . .	—	3.68	—	—	4.84	—	9.00	—	3.00	—	7.40	2.95	8.50
Dyers . . .	2.42	3.80	1.75	2.00	—	1.44	—	—	3.16	2.40	—	3.16	10.00

Engravers	—	1.75	—	1.44	9.00	1.52	4.66	3.00	19.75	4.66	—
Furriers	3.67	2.56	—	—	—	—	3.66	—	—	3.66	13.00
Gardeners	—	1.50	—	—	—	—	3.90	1.48	5.00	3.90	6.50
Hatters	3.85	1.50	—	1.44	8.00	—	3.84	3.84	9.00	5.10	—
Horseshoers	3.48	1.56	—	1.44	12.00	—	3.75	1.68	—	3.75	—
Jewellers	4.74	1.88	1.98	—	8.00	—	4.15	6.30	13.90	4.15	—
Laborers, portiers, &c. .	3.00	1.00	1.20	.72	20.00	1.14	2.90	1.92	3.50	2.88	7.85
Millwrights	—	1.88	—	—	—	—	3.30	—	—	3.30	—
Potters	3.10	1.88	1.44	1.44	2.75	1.80	5.76	3.00	—	5.76	—
Printers	4.85	2.25	—	1.44	10.00	1.75	5.76	1.92	9.42	5.76	12.00
Shoemakers	3.40	4.50	—	—	—	—	2.60	—	—	2.59	10.00
Sail-makers	3.80	1.45	—	1.44	9.00	—	—	3.84	—	—	—
Shoedores	—	1.88	—	—	9.00	—	9.00	—	—	2.88	—
Stone-cutters	7.40	1.75	—	1.44	—	2.18	—	—	—	—	—
Tanners	4.15	1.50	—	1.44	8.00	—	3.00	3.84	4.92	4.90	12.00
Tailors	3.00	—	—	1.44	10.00	{ \$1.70 }	7.14	2.88	4.92	3.42	—
Telegraph operators . .	4.03	2.50	—	—	27.00	{ \$2.95 }	11.50	—	12.10	5.25	11.38
Tinsmiths	6.75	6.00	—	—	10.00	—	7.50	1.92	7.50	3.96	14.00
Tinsmiths	3.70	1.10	—	1.44	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

* Although the gold standard now prevails in Austria-Hungary, the silver standard prevailed up to August, 1892. As will be noted in the tables printed in Consular Reports showing the value of foreign coins, the Austria silver florin, the old money unit of the empire, fluctuated in value from 47.6 cents in 1874 to 32 cents in July, 1892, when it was superseded by the gold crown, with a fixed value of 20.3 cents. The downward course of the old silver florin must be taken into account in the Austrian wage-rate, thus scaling still further the very low rate which prevailed in that country.

† A week of seven days.

‡ Tailors employed on native clothes.

§ Employed in making foreign clothes.

A MEXICAN LAWSUIT.

BY WALTER S. LOGAN, ESQ., OF NEW YORK.

[A Paper read Thursday, September 5.]

Saxon jurisprudence had its origin in the anarchy of the German forest; Latin jurisprudence, in the despotism of the Roman Empire. The old Teuton was an untamed freeman; the Roman, a well-fed, well-ordered, highly developed, and thoroughly disciplined slave. The one demanded justice from his equal as a right, and was ever ready to fight with his own strong right arm for his cause: the other begged for justice or for mercy from a superior as a boon, and took thankfully whatever was graciously conceded to him.

This distinction survives the time of the wager of battle and of the arbitrary decree of a despotic judge. The common-law declaration, the Saxon's formulation of his claim, is still the assertion of a right, and concludes with a demand. The bill in equity, the typical Latin plea, is now, as it ever was, a petition, and ends with a prayer. The Saxon issue is sharp, clear, concise. It has a clear affirmative and a plain negative,—something that you can fight about. The Roman pleadings are long, complicated, verbose. They disclose much to talk about, but little to fight over. The conduct of a modern Saxon suit is after the manner of orderly and civilized warfare. The Latin litigation is, as it ever has been, a persistent plea for grace. The Saxon jury is an umpire, empowered to decide a particular dispute within narrow lines and upon well-established principles. The Latin judge is the dispenser of a favor or the almoner of a bounty, and is clothed with unbounded discretion. The Saxon trial is a battle, with the advocate for a commander, and the client, it may be, a candidate for slaughter. Latin legal practice has nothing whatever in it that is at all the equivalent or the counterpart of the Saxon trial. A Saxon suitor asks only a proper forum and a fair field, a chance to *try*. The Latin suitor ever hides beneath the protecting ægis of the judicial authority. He himself does not *try*. The Saxon code, where there is one,—and the true Saxon is always shy of codes,—is but the formulation and crystallization of general rules of law or prac-

tice, the result of long previous experience. The Latin code — and the law in all Latin countries is codified — is the decree of a sovereign power, prescribing most minute and complicated rules of life and conduct.

Latin jurisprudence is, in its nature, its essence, and its form, paternal. Saxon jurisprudence, unadulterated, has no trace of paternalism in it. In England and the United States we have, to some extent, imported Roman law into a Saxon community and grafted the Latin bud upon a Saxon stock. In Mexico they have preserved the Latin nomenclature, but adopted the substance of a pure Saxon constitution. While, therefore, in form, the Mexican jurisprudence is Latin, in substance it is in many respects coming to be even more Saxon than ours.

To trace the reasons for this it is necessary to go back to pre-European America.

The Indian, like the Saxon, was born for freedom. The wild breezes of his native hills were scarcely more impatient of restraint than was he, who was born and dwelt among them. Their chiefs were but chosen leaders, and their government was wont to try rather to direct than suppress the wildness and ferocity of their passions. The forests of aboriginal America and of ancient Germany were alike the abode of wild and rough, but free and undaunted, men. In neither the Indian nor the German was there good raw material for a slave.

First and foremost of the inhabitants of aboriginal America in development, culture, and civilization, as well as in all the peculiar racial characteristics of the Indian, stood the Aztec, and other Nahua tribes, on the plateau of Central Mexico. They had developed for themselves an orderly government and wise and well-rooted institutions. They had individual ownership of property and a complete system of conveyances. They had written laws, courts with well-defined jurisdiction, and a criminal code, severe, but well adapted to the necessities of their situation. Their government in form resembled a monarchy, but in reality it was rather a government of the people in somewhat the same sense as is the English government to-day. It was necessary to have royal blood, in order to be eligible to the throne; but the selection from the class possessing the requisite qualifications was made by the representatives of the people, and no monarch was allowed to commence his reign, even after his election, till he had put his courage to the test, and shown conspicuous merit upon the field of battle.

Around the throne was ever a council, representative of the people and independent of the will of the monarch. The last Montezuma had, it is true, surrounded himself by many of the indicia and accessories of despotic power; but his life election and all the bulwarks he had erected around his throne could not save him from being removed, and did not prevent the actual substitution of a successor in his place when in the crucial moment he showed the craven spirit, and demonstrated his unworthiness for the high place to which he had been elevated.

These Nahua races had never quite discovered the alphabet; but they had devised a system of hieroglyphics that bore a striking resemblance to it, and gave them many of the advantages of a written language and a literature. They had no ships upon the sea nor beasts of burden upon the land; but, notwithstanding this, they had developed an extensive system of commerce with distant tribes, and they had merchant princes, honored there as nowhere else in the world. They had not learned the use of iron, but they shaved themselves with razors made of stone. They used copper and bronze in many of their arts, and excelled even the people of the Old World as workers of gold and silver. Their civilization was degraded by the practice of human sacrifice; but I do not know that the honorable death upon the temple top as the chosen victim of the gods, which the Spaniards abolished, was worse than the horrors of the *auto-da-fé*, which they introduced. No man, at any rate, was ever killed in the land of the Aztecs for what he thought, till the Europeans came and taught them to do it. They had slavery; but the condition of the slave in Aztec land was far better than it was in Europe, and his children were free. In all aboriginal America no man was ever born a slave.

It was upon the horizon of such a social and political organization that the Spaniards, with the alphabet, gunpowder, beasts of burden, and European discipline and civilization, appeared. The Indian was dazed. What he saw was not only new, but beyond his power of comprehension. After a fitful and ill-organized resistance at first, he was wont to submit. His mental faculties were paralyzed, and he accepted the new order of things as the decree of inevitable fate. For three centuries Mexico was ruled entirely by the Latin race. The language, the habits, the religion, and the institutions of the people became Latinized. There was no longer freedom, even in the barrenness of her deserts or the wildness of her forests. The habit of self-reliance was lost; and the people

came to look to the powers above them for guidance, and without questioning to submit their wills to those of others. Paternalism in State and Church reigned supreme.

Meanwhile a new race was growing up to take its place among the people of the earth. Montezuma had in his coffers vast stores of gold, and in his palace the most beautiful women of all Tenochtitlan. The first thing the Spaniards did was to appropriate the gold, the next to take the women; and the foundation of the present Mexican race was laid. Few women ever came from Spain to Mexico to stay. Few men came who did not form some sort of connection, lawful or otherwise,—and to their credit be it said it was usually lawful,—with some Indian woman. It was the bravest, the most manly, and the best of the Spaniards who came. There was no place for cowards or sluggards in the New World. They were popular with the other sex, and had their choice of the women. The Indian maiden preferred even a common Spanish soldier to an Indian king; and so it was the most beautiful, the most accomplished, and the best of the Nahua women who became the mothers of the new race.

The reason why the pure Indian degenerated after the European conquest, or, at the most, only held his own, was that his best blood, through his fairest daughters, was beginning to course in Creole veins; and the reason why the Spaniards as a race never gained such a foothold in Mexico as the English did in the colonies north or as they themselves did in the more southern colonies was because their racial characteristics were ever being modified and lost or merged in the union of blood out of which the new race was growing.

Nowhere else in America has the aboriginal blood been preserved and the Indian racial characteristics been perpetuated as in Mexico.

The pure aborigine was of a stolid and immobile race. He had not the generations of culture which enables the European to adapt himself to any climate and all conditions. He had not the mobility which gives the Negro the power to survive and multiply alike in frozen Canada or equatorial Africa, as a slave under the lash on the plantations of Cuba and as a freeman under the benign influence of the stars and stripes and the Thirteenth Amendment.

Truly did Francis Parkman say of this child of the American forest: "The Indian is like a rock. You can rarely change the form without destruction of the substance."

The blessings of European civilization were not for the unmixed native. In the farther south the Indian tribes were usually too low to attract the white man; and in the far north, in what is now the United States and Canada, the product of the occasional union of the Englishman and Frenchman with the Indian was simply Indian. The half-breed of either of these races seemed generally to combine only the aggregate vices of his ancestors. But in Mexico the Aztec maiden was well worthy of her Spanish lord. She was usually taken for a wife, and always honored as a wife; and so she became the mother of a race and a nation.

We come now to 1800. Three centuries have passed. The new race has multiplied and prospered. It numbers five million souls. New race characteristics, differing radically from those of either Spaniard or Indian, have been acquired; and Mexico and the Mexicans are about to take their place among the nations and the races of the earth. It had been three centuries of Latin domination. For three hundred years Spain and the Spaniards ruled the new land. The Indian had the stolid indifference of age. The Mexican, as a race, was acquiring his growth, developing his character, and learning his first racial lessons. Indian and Mexican alike submitted unquestioningly to the Spaniard. No man, unless of pure Spanish blood and born in Spain, was allowed to hold office of trust or emolument in Spanish America. Birth in Mexico, even of pure Spanish ancestry, was a disgrace; and even parents taunted their children with their inferiority because born in the New World, so jealous were Spain and the Spaniards of their race and their rule.

It is 1810. The new race is growing and learning. Foreign books are denied them. Foreign teachers are kept away, and foreign ideas prohibited. The ruling Spaniard would sooner introduce a viper into his parlor than a foreign suggestion into a Spanish colony. But, nevertheless, foreign ideas came, germinated, and grew. Down through Louisiana and Texas kept coming the news that a people in the north had raised the glad cry of freedom and independence, and won a glorious victory over European oppression; and that an earnest, thoughtful, and self-reliant nation, the architects and the artisans of their own destiny, were prospering as no other nation ever prospered before, with liberty of thought and action as the corner-stone of their new republic. Across the ocean came the news of the French Revolution,—the revolt of nature against centuries of wrong. French and English

books were smuggled in and read, even though the terrors of the Inquisition were threatened against any one in whose hands they were found. Even Spain, whose bigotry had hitherto been as stern and unyielding as the rocks of that Gibraltar that England had wrested from her, was beginning to think that she might herself enjoy a little of that liberty which she would not then or ever consent that Mexico should even know about. For a few months the astonished world was permitted to gaze upon the strange spectacle of the existence of something they called a republic in the land of Philip II.; and the news even of this came to Mexico.

And so the Mexican Revolution came. It has sometimes been compared with the American Revolution, but there is really no comparison between the two. Ours was the movement of a country for independence: theirs, the struggle of a people for existence. We sought to give birth to a nation: they, to baptize a race. We fought for a trifling change of constitution: they, for the right theretofore always denied them, to establish institutions. Ours was a struggle of Englishman against Englishman, a child against its unnatural mother: theirs, a war of races. The Englishman in the colonies had more freedom even than in England; and, having brought his Saxon institutions with him, he had only to maintain them. The Mexican had yet the very alphabet of freedom to learn, and he had to build his institutions new from the foundation-stone.

In 1821 the army of the "Three Guaranties," with the dashing and gallant Augustin Iturbide, and that old hero of heroes, Vicente Guerrero, at their head, entered the Mexican capital; and Mexico had won her independence. But she had gained only the right to learn how to establish her freedom, and half a century more was yet to roll over her head before she obtained established institutions and was able to maintain a well-ordered government.

Full of interest and pathos those fifty years. The student, the statesman, the philosopher, the patriot, the man who loves his species and hopes for a better civilization and a higher life for mankind, may well dwell upon this period, and study intently the struggles of this new race.

For thirty years and more Mexico was still a Latin country. She early adopted a constitution in form modelled somewhat after ours. It provided for a federal republic with a president, two houses of congress, a supreme court, and a division of sovereignty between the nation and the State very much such as we have.

But constitutions do not make States. There is a supposed place said to be paved with good resolutions; and history is full of schemes of government promising enough on paper, but, in fact, impracticable or bad. Here was a people, brought up under the most jealous of despotisms, suddenly finding themselves free. As a blind man suddenly restored to sight plunges in the light to which he is unaccustomed even worse than in the darkness with which he has become familiar, so will a people unused to freedom make most unfortunate missteps and receive painful wounds before they learn to order their lives, restrain their emotions, and organize their social and political relations so that freedom will be a blessing.

For thirty years Latin Mexico had all the evils of freedom without its benefits, and all the terrors of despotism without its security. Republic overthrew empire, constitution succeeded constitution, and government followed government. Now it was a federal republic, now a centralized military despotism. Occasionally there was a regularly elected president, more often a self-appointed dictator. Congresses came and went, administrations changed, pronunciamientos appeared so often that they ceased to attract attention; and one rarely knew when he went to bed at night who would be his ruler in the morning. In their political relations, in their experience in self-government, in their knowledge of how to build and preserve institutions, the Mexican people were children; and the child must have many a fall before he can learn to stand alone.

Their institutions, such as they had during all this time, were Latin. The Church was really the only stable power, and it was the unmodified and unmodernized Latin Church. The administration of justice such as they had was after Latin forms. Their jurisprudence was inherited from the Spanish colonial state, and was Latin to the core. The customs, the habits, the manner of life, and the modes of thought, the whole form of their civilization, was Latin. It could hardly have been otherwise. Children need the guidance of the paternal hand, and a race in its childhood instinctively turns to a paternal government.

We come now to 1853. Mexico, as an independent Latin nation, had started in 1821 with an absolute Church; and it ended in 1853 with an absolute State. It commenced with Iturbide: it ended with Santa Ana. They had had the constitutions of 1824 and 1836, and the Constitutional Convention of 1842. They had

had the *Siete Leyes* and the *Bases Organicas*. They had had the conscientious civil administration of Guadalupe, Victoria, Bustamente, Arista, and Herrera. They had had far-seeing statesmen, such as Gomez Farias, Rosa, and Pedraza. They had had military dictator after dictator; but all had run their course, and now they had Antonio Lopez de Santa Ana alone.

We, who are so accustomed to Saxon methods, can scarcely understand what a Latin revolution means. Our race has had occasionally to dethrone kings, and even to cut off their heads. We have fought for independence, and won it upon the dikes of Holland and upon the fields of Bunker Hill, Saratoga, and Yorktown. We have set up one government in the place of another, and modified and changed our constitutions whenever it has become necessary; but the ordinary life of the community has gone on all the time just the same. It has been an alteration of constitutions, but not a destruction of institutions. We have reclothed our government in new attire, and sometimes manacled its limbs; but there has been no disruption of the living and breathing body. It has been a change of appearance to the world outside, and occasionally more or less a reformation of the relations of society inside. But, nevertheless, the progress of our civilization has been a gradual, persistent growth, sometimes slower and sometimes faster, sometimes in one direction and sometimes in another, but always growing. There has never come a time when we have had to stop and commence over again. We have never had to pull down and rebuild, to destroy, in order that we might create.

But in Mexico it was entirely different. Prior to their revolution they had no institutions except an absolute Church and an absolute State. Absolutism was everywhere. There was no opportunity to make their change from absolutism to freedom, from despotism to liberty, gradually. When Iturbide and Guerrero entered the City of Mexico at the head of the triumphant army of the nation, all that had been was swept away, and they must commence and build anew from the bottom foundation-stone up. The old ship of Latin absolutism was broken in pieces upon the rocks. There was nothing left for them to cling to except the floating planks and rigging, and these could at the best only keep their heads above the water for a little time. They were entirely unfit to be worked into or become a part of the new ship of a free State.

And now in 1853 all her efforts seemed to have failed. The

earlier Federal Constitution and the later Central Constitution had both been discarded. States had become provinces, had asserted their independence, and some of them had won it, and the whole foundations of society and government seemed to have broken up. In their desperation the people had, with a sort of unorganized unanimity, recalled Santa Ana from exile, and intrusted him with the work of framing a new constitution and scheme of government, and had given him absolute power while this was being done; and Santa Ana, thorough Latin as he was, had abused his trust. With the ostensible purpose of preserving order, he had organized a large army, which he used only to crush the liberties of the people. He had incited a counter-revolution, which had pronounced against the present adoption of any constitution, and had proclaimed him dictator for life, with power to appoint his successor. He had overthrown the State governments and trodden under foot all municipal authority. He had dispersed Congress, and made his cabinet only the personal instruments of his own will. He had destroyed all political machinery and every vestige of the elective franchise. He set about killing or driving into exile every patriot who opposed his rule. He repudiated the very plan that had elevated him to his position; and, having thrown down the ladder by which he had climbed up, he sought to say, as said the great Louis of France, "I am the State." And he had an army of ninety-thousand men to enforce his imperial will.

Another year passes away. On the 1st of March, 1854, a small but brave and earnest band of patriots, who had escaped the bullet of the executioner and the decree of exile, met at the little town of Ayutla in the south of Mexico, and proclaimed the plan under which the present government of Mexico is organized; and on the 11th of the same month the plan, somewhat amended, was repromulgated from the larger town of Acapulco. The movement spread like wild-fire. The people arose everywhere. The exiles came back, and took up arms for their country and for freedom; and old Mexico, Catholic Mexico, absolute Mexico, Latin Mexico, ceased to be.

The Spaniards had long before been driven from the country, and there were few people in it in whom European blood predominated. The inhabitants were in the main either Indians, or Mexicans with an Indian ancestry. Thenceforward Mexican civilization was to be developed on other than Latin lines; and for the

result, whether good or bad, Latin methods and Latin civilization are no longer responsible.

Go back with me to 1806. In the little hamlet of Gelatao San Pablo, in the mountains of Oaxaca, in a hut of straw, was born an Indian boy. There was no drop of European blood in his veins, and scarce any trace of European culture did he inherit from his ancestors. His tribe, the Zapotecs, are not known to have been related to the Nahuas in blood; but they were near neighbors of the Aztecs, inhabitants of the same elevated plateau, and akin to them in the courage of their people and in the degree of their civilization. The Zapotecs had, however, lived in a more inaccessible region, had been able to make a more effectual resistance to the Spaniards, and had their racial characteristics less affected than had the Nahuas by the European invasion. The Zapotecs of 1806 differed but little from the Zapotecs of 1520. For whatever Benito Juarez did or was the credit is due neither to Saxon lineage nor Latin influence, but to the pure Indian blood of one of the bravest and best of the Indian tribes of North America.

Young Juarez arrived at the age of twelve years without having ever spoken a word of any language except his ancestral Zapotec. Spanish was as foreign to his ear as is Zapotec to ours. Then, by chance, he had an opportunity to go to school; and no blue-eyed Saxon or dark-haired Latin ever applied himself more assiduously or gained knowledge more rapidly than did this copper-colored son of the wild Oaxacan forest. They set him to studying for the Church; but his logical mind refused to accept either its dogmas or its superstitions, and he chose for himself the liberal and elevating profession of the law. He had moved to the city of Oaxaca, and while still a youth was elected a responsible officer of the municipality. Then he was a member of the State legislature, Secretary of State and Attorney-general of the State government, and several times representative of his State in the National Congress. Still later he was repeatedly chosen governor of the State; and so successful were his administrations that, while all was anarchy and discord and revolution in the other parts of the republic, the State of Oaxaca — the Massachusetts of Mexico — was all the time growing and prospering under an orderly and peaceful government, and life and property were as safe there as anywhere in the world.

When Santa Ana became dictator in 1853, and attempted permanently to subvert the liberties of his country and make himself

its absolute despot, to the honor of Benito Juarez be it said that he was chosen for one of the first victims. Santa Ana had a keen scent for the stalwart foes of despotism. Juarez was thrown into a dungeon at Vera Cruz, and afterward, as an exile, lived two years in the United States. He was poor, and had to earn his own livelihood. It is said that he did it as a cigar-maker in New Orleans; but, whatever his hands may have been doing, his mind was ever active and alert for his country's interests and the cause of human freedom. He was all the time studying the Saxon institutions of the United States, and qualifying himself for the great part he was to play in the regeneration of Mexico. The moment he heard the call of freedom from Ayutla he started back for his native land, soon found himself the leader of his people, and for twenty years—the twenty years most critical in Mexican history, the twenty years during which the race emerged from childhood into the full vigor of manhood, the twenty years during which it won its freedom, developed its character, and established its institutions—this Zapotec Indian from Oaxaca was the faithful and trusted leader of the Mexican nation and the Mexican people.

Fortunate was it for Mexico that this leader was a lawyer rather than a soldier. We Saxons owe much to our great generals and our soldier-statesmen. They have done noble work for freedom and humanity, but theirs has not been the most important work. The foundation-stones of our free Saxon institutions have been laid by the members of the profession of the law, and the structure of Anglican and American liberty has been reared by lawyers.

Juarez, though born in these mountains of the south, the scene of Mexico's most severe and desperate struggles in all the Indian wars and the great War of Independence; though he passed his boyhood there during all those years between the defeat of Hidalgo and the triumph of Iturbide; though he lived in a land where the soldier alone seemed to have rank and influence and power, and where the military profession was favored above all others; and though he belonged to a race of such valiant fighters that they, almost alone in all Mexico, had been able to persistently resist the power of Spain, he himself never bore arms. It is not because he was not brave. He always displayed the most sublime courage in the time of danger, and never flinched in the most desperate of crises. Few men have faced death oftener, or with sublimer indifference to personal fate, than he. It was not because he lacked the qualities of a great commander. In all

those troublous times he was the coolest and most self-reliant man in the nation, ever ready to strike a telling blow for his country and his cause when the occasion permitted, and equally ready to do that still harder thing,—wait for the opportunity when he could best serve by waiting.

It was only because his broad view and clear vision early saw that, if Mexico was to be saved, and the cause of freedom to triumph there, it must be the work of the lawyer and the statesman rather than the man of arms.

In 1855 Juarez came back from his exile, and commenced the work of de-Latinizing Mexico. The Indian boy of Oaxaca had been among the first to see that free institutions must be built on some other foundations than those on which the structure of despotism in State and Church, through twenty centuries, had been so carefully reared and developed.

And now we come to the most trenchant and far-reaching social and political revolution that the world has ever seen. Other nations have often substituted one dynasty for another, and changed their constitutions and forms of government. Other nations have curbed the power of despotism, and given the people constitutional liberty in the place of absolute rule. Other nations have substituted republic for empire,—the will of the people for the fiat of the king. But in Mexico the revolution went far deeper than all this. It was a change in the very structure of society, even in the relations which neighbor bore to neighbor, husband to wife, and parent to child,—a change in their hopes and in their aspirations, in everything that pertains to life and to living. When complete, it will be, in deed and in truth, not only a reorganized and regenerated, but a new and entirely different Mexico. There will be the same old lofty mountains, broad table-lands, and fertile valleys ; but they will be inhabited by a freer and happier people, blessed with a far higher civilization and infinitely more benignant institutions.

That all this must be, Juarez, the Indian boy of Oaxaca, the prophet of his race and nation, saw when he came back from New Orleans, and silently took the hands of his companions in hope and danger at Acapulco in 1855. The first step was the law to which history has given the name of its author. It is called the *Ley Juarez*.

Half the property in Mexico was owned by the Church. The Church could not be sued, even in an action of trespass or eject-

ment, except in its own priestly tribunals; and it could sue any citizen for any cause of action in the same tribunal. Litigation with the Church, in reference to church property, was therefore a one-sided affair. The Church sat in judgment in its own case, and, it is needless to say, always won. Half the adult, able-bodied men in Mexico were soldiers; and the army, like the Church, had its own tribunals, not limited, as by our military law, to the punishment of military offences, but giving special protection to the soldier in all his relations in life. Only a soldier sat in judgment between soldier and citizen. Class feeling ran high; and the soldier, too, always won. Juarez had been born among an Indian tribe where there was always equality of rights. He was just back from exile in a land where equality before the law was the foundation-stone of their constitution. He was himself a careful student of the principles of jurisprudence; and privileges like these permitted to the Church and the army he knew to be subversive of all law.

The *Ley Juarez* abolished all such tribunals, and made every man, priest, soldier, or citizen, amenable to the law of the land, and equal in its courts. Instantly the Church took up the gauntlet, and turned all its batteries, all the terrors it could pronounce in this world and the next, against the *Ley Juarez* and its supporters; and from the promulgation of this law until the consummation at Queretaro in 1867 the battle-cry of the reactionist party was *Religion y Fueros*, "The Church and the Privileges." It was truly a battle between liberty and oppression, law and anarchy, right and wrong. Equality before the law is the fundamental principle of Saxon jurisprudence, and the final triumph at the Cerro de las Campanas was the triumph of Saxon liberty over Latin oppression.

But I am twelve years ahead of my story. Twelve most fateful years were to intervene between the beginning and the end, between the *Ley Juarez* and the Hill of the Bells. The *Ley Juarez* was followed by the *Ley Lerdo*, named after Don Miguel Lerdo de Tejada, Secretary of the Treasury at the time of its promulgation. Not only did the Church hold half the property of the nation in its hand, but it was a dead hand. It took, but never gave. It acquired in whatever way it could, even by purchase, if driven to the dread necessity of payment; but it never sold. Property, when once it reached the possession of the Church, might as well, so far as the purposes of trade, development, and improvement, were

concerned, have been wiped out of existence. Half the people of the nation were the forced tenants of a Church which owned allegiance only to a pope five thousand miles away across the ocean.

The *Ley Lerdo* allowed the tenants to purchase at a fair valuation fixed by law and calculated upon its rentals. A few years later, during the presidency of Juarez, the *Ley Lerdo* was supplemented by a law nationalizing all church property and authorizing its sale for the benefit of the people. Some have called this robbery. I call it restitution. It gave to the people only what they themselves, by three centuries of grinding toil, had fairly earned.

Then came the constitution of 1857, which, with its later amendments, is the fundamental law of Mexico to-day. Almost every line of this constitution shows that the Saxon idea was uppermost in the minds of its authors. It is more Saxon than ours, and is the most liberal and advanced and, I think, the best written constitution in the world.

Article I. declares that "the Mexican people recognize that the rights of man are the basis and the object of social institutions."

Of Article II. I give a literal translation :—

"In the republic all are born free. Slaves who set foot upon the national territory recover, by that act alone, their liberty, and have a right to the protection of the laws."

Remember that this was two years before Harper's Ferry, six years before the Emancipation Proclamation, and nearly ten years before our Thirteenth Amendment. The Indian boy of Oaxaca antedates John Brown and Abraham Lincoln.

Article III. provides that instruction in Mexico shall be forever free. It is now forty years since Ayutla; and we, the great, liberal, free United States, have not entirely learned *this* lesson yet. Articles IV. and V. provide that every man may adopt and follow whatever honest calling or occupation he chooses, and that no one shall be obliged to give personal service without compensation and without his full consent.

"The State," says Article V., "shall not permit any contract, pact, or agreement, to be carried into effect which has for its object the diminution, loss, or irrevocable sacrifice of the liberty of man, whether it be for the sake of labor, education, or a religious vow. The law, consequently, may not recognize monastic orders, nor may it permit their establishment, whatever may be the denomination or object with which they claim to be formed."

By a later amendment the necessity of religious oaths is abolished, marriage is made a civil contract, the State and Church are declared to be absolutely independent, and Congress is not allowed to pass laws "establishing or prohibiting any religion." Every lover of free institutions may rejoice that these are no idle words. and that in fact, as well as in theory, there is absolute, practical, religious liberty all over Mexico to-day.

Articles VI. and VII. give Mexico a free press, and declare that "the liberty to write and publish writings on any subject whatsoever is inviolable."

Not only is the right of petition declared to be inviolable, but every respectful petition addressed to the powers that be must have a respectful answer returned to it. No petition in Mexico can be pigeon-holed and ignored.

The right of public agitation and organization is amply protected by Article IX.

Every man has a right to possess and carry arms, and to enter and go out of the republic, travel through its territory, and change his residence "without the necessity of a letter of security, passport, safe conduct, or other similar requisite." No hereditary honors, titles of nobility, or prerogatives, are permitted.

The *Ley Juárez* is imbedded in the constitution in the following words:—

"In the Mexican republic no one may be judged by special law nor by special tribunals. No person or corporation may have privileges or enjoy emoluments which are not compensation for a public service and established by law."

Article XIV. reads:—

"No retroactive law shall be enacted. No man may be judged or sentenced except by laws made prior to the act and exactly applicable to it, and by a tribunal which shall have been previously established by law."

This is broader than the similar provision in our Constitution. Another section provides that—

"No one may be molested in his person, family, domicile, papers, and possessions, except in virtue of an order written by the competent authority which shall establish and assign the legal cause for the proceedings."

In Mexico a man's house is, under the constitution, as much

his castle as in any Saxon country in the world. There can be imprisonment for crimes only. Arrest for debt of any kind is prohibited, nor can a prisoner be detained for the non-payment of a simple fine. The prisons of Mexico are intended for rich as well as poor wrong-doers, and for wrong-doers only; and there is no provision in their law that payment may take the place of punishment. There can be no detention of a prisoner for any cause beyond the term of three days without "a writ showing cause of imprisonment and other requisites which the law establishes," and "the mere lapse of this term shall render responsible the authority that orders or consents to it, and the agents, ministers, wardens, or jailers who execute it." In every criminal trial the accused must be confronted with his accuser and with the witnesses who testify against him; and the grounds of the accusation, with full data relating thereto, must appear in the process against him and be fully made known to him. He is entitled to be heard in defence by himself or by counsel, or by both; and, in case he is not able to pay counsel, he may himself select any lawyer in the republic, who must serve him faithfully without compensation. They do not allow, as we sometimes do, young and inexperienced advocates to experiment on a poor prisoner. Extraordinary punishments are prohibited, as with us.

The post-office is inviolate. It ought to be so here. Better occasionally let a criminal escape than allow, as we sometimes do, Mulberry Street detectives to invade the sanctity of private correspondence.

Private property cannot be appropriated except for public use and with *previous* full indemnification. If elevated railroads are built in the City of Mexico, they will have to pay their damages before they commence running their trains instead of a quarter of a century afterward, as in the city of New York.

No municipal or ecclesiastical corporation, "whatever may be its character, denomination, or object," has legal capacity "to acquire in proprietorship or administer for itself real estate, with the single exception of edifices destined immediately and directly to the service and object of the institutions."

Monopolies of all kinds are prohibited. Mexico has not yet reached that high state of civilization under which trusts can flourish as they do with us.

The privilege of Mexican citizenship is extended not only to those who are born within the republic or become naturalized as

with us, but to every parent of a Mexican child and to every man who owns an acre of land in the republic, no matter where he may reside.

Article L. out-Saxonizes the Saxon. It reads:—

“The supreme power of the federation is divided for its exercise into legislative, executive, and judicial. Two or more of these powers shall *never be united in one person or corporation*, nor the legislative power be deposited in one individual.”

The law-making power is vested exclusively in the Congress of the republic, which consists of two chambers; and a simple majority of each body can enact a law over the president's veto. There is a division of sovereignty between the nation and the States similar to that provided for in our Constitution. The federal judiciary consists of a supreme court and circuit and district courts, with powers similar to those of our federal judiciary; and the State courts throughout the republic are generally organized very much as our State courts are, and with similar jurisdiction.

It will be seen that this constitution is patterned a good deal after ours, and that, wherever there has been a departure from the precedent we set, it has been in the direction of more liberal provisions and more stringent guarantees of individual liberty and private property. We can well imagine it to be such a constitution as our forefathers would have framed if our Constitutional Convention had sat in 1857 instead of 1787.

If you judge the two constitutions—theirs and ours—by their simple intrinsic merits, Mexico would have no reason to fear the result of the judgment. But, if you consider the circumstances under which the two constitutions were framed, Mexico may well indeed be proud of what was done for her by the patriots of Ayutla.

In our Constitutional Convention sat some of the wisest and most learned statesmen of all the world, men who had learned their statesmanship not so much in books as in the practical administration of affairs in their own States and in the Continental Congress. They came of a race of men who had been accustomed to govern themselves for centuries back, a race which had been educated in the town meeting, and had acquired self-reliance in the hard school of Saxon liberty. They had before them the writings of all the great philosophers and thinkers of Europe; and they sat in a time of profound peace, years after the country had securely won its independence, and when they could deliberate with perfect leisure.

The Mexican Constituent Congress was composed of men belonging to a race which had little history behind it and no experience in self-government. They were providing a constitution for a people who had known only three centuries of absolutism and thirty years of anarchy ; and, as they sat in their convention hall, the cannon of their reactionary enemies boomed on half the hills of Mexico, and they knew that they must lay down their pens to take up their swords. They must fight in battle to establish all that they then resolved in convention. If they had been wise and learned and experienced Saxons, their work would be entitled to the world's commendation. How much more should we honor them, when we remember how utterly without experience and without precedent they were ! Our constitution-makers furnished us with good bricks for the temple of liberty, but they were made with an abundance of straw : their constitution-makers made just as good bricks out of nothing but stubble.

The partisans of reaction and absolutism — an absolute Church and a Latin State — turned instinctively to the Latin monarchies of Europe for help and protection against this idea of Saxon liberty, which the Mexican people, under the guidance of their wise, brave, and true Indian lawyer leader, were accepting as the foundation of their hopes and aspirations. Louis Napoleon had stolen the proudest Latin throne in Europe ; and he was quite willing to be a party to the larceny of another on this side the ocean, on which a Hapsburg and a relative of Philip II. might sit in theory, while he, the nephew of his great uncle, might rule in fact. And so came the War of the French Invasion, as cruel, as uncalled for, as unjust, as any war in history. Its avowed object was to overthrow the free Saxon institutions that the Mexican people had chosen for themselves, and to restore Latin absolutism in Church and State. Louis Napoleon, from Fontainebleau, writes General Foréy, about to set out for Vera Cruz, July 3, 1862, that it is not for the interest of France that Saxon institutions, such as they have in the United States, shall be established in Mexico, but that, "if a stable government be established there with the assistance of France, *we shall have restored to the Latin race, from the other side of the ocean, its strength and prestige, . . . and we shall have established our beneficent influence to the centre of America.*" "Now, therefore," continues this upstart emperor of the Latin race, "our military honor pledged, the exigency of our politics, the interest of our industry and our commerce, make it our duty to

march on Mexico, to plant there boldly our standard, *to establish there a monarchy.*" And it was as Latins, and for the advancement of Latin absolutism, that they set to work to accomplish their fell purpose.

The French emperor had arranged his course of procedure with Almonte, a reactionist exile from Mexico. It had been agreed between the two — the Mexican monarchist and the Latin monarch — that a French army of invasion should land in Mexico, and that whatever force was necessary should be used to establish there a monarchy, with the perhaps well-meaning but certainly incapable and ill-fated Maximilian as emperor of Mexico. General Foréy, as commander of the French forces, called an assembly of notables, carefully selecting with Almonte's advice the men who were to compose it. Naturally, there was not a known republican or a constitutionalist in the assembly. And they, this so-called assembly of notables, selected by the commander of a foreign army of invasion and conquest, from which every patriot and every lover of freedom was excluded with the most extreme care, went through the form of decreeing as follows : —

"*First.*—The Mexican nation adopts a monarchical, temperate, and hereditary form of government under a Catholic prince.

"*Second.*—The sovereign shall take the title of Emperor of Mexico.

"*Third.*—The imperial crown of Mexico shall be offered to his imperial and royal highness, Prince Ferdinand Maximilian of Austria, for him and his descendants.

"*Fourth.*—In case, from circumstances which cannot be foreseen, the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian should not take possession of the throne which is offered to him, the Mexican nation shall place it under the consideration of his majesty, Napoleon III., Emperor of the French, that he may indicate another Catholic prince to whom the crown shall be offered."

The last paragraph was rendered necessary by the fact that Maximilian alone, it seems, of all these conspirators against the peace and freedom of Mexico, had a conscience, and might give them trouble. He really would not accept even a throne from the lavish hand of Napoleon unless he was first convinced that he had been elected to it in some way by the Mexican people. To satisfy him, they had to go back to Mexico, and pretend to hold an election, though no election was in fact ever held. They simply

took over a lot of petitions and doctored returns, and really "buncoed" this high-minded but exceedingly gullible Austrian prince.

It might be inferred from the language of this decree that some limit was to be imposed upon the power of the monarch, and that it was intended that the country should have some sort of constitution,—although Latin sovereigns are not very much given to constitutions, unless forced upon them,—but no constitution ever came; and, while Maximilian ruled, it was with a sway as absolute as that of the czar of Russia. The infamous decree or statute of the 3d of October, 1865, under which the best blood of Mexico flowed and the stanchest and most devoted patriots of the nation met their death, and which was the just cause of his own execution, was issued by "Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico, our Council of Ministers, and our Council of State, with one accord decreeing." The Council of Ministers and the Council of State referred to were of his own arbitrary selection. In the government of Maximilian the people had no voice whatever.

This bloody statute provided that every patriot taken in battle or with arms in his hands or who was a member of any patriotic band or armed gathering, "whether or not they proclaimed a political pretext," and every man who furnished food, clothing, or shelter, whether voluntarily or by force, to a patriot band or a patriot soldier, should suffer death within twenty-four hours after capture. Some of our ancient Saxon ancestors have won and deserved a fierce and bloody name in history, but they were never quite so ferocious or blood-thirsty as these nineteenth-century Latins in Mexico.

There was a Saxon republic just north of Mexico that was quite occupied with its own affairs at the particular time when Maximilian came over to teach the people of the American continent the science of Latin government; but one day, at Appomattox, they settled up this business of theirs, so that then they had more time to devote to his majesty, the Emperor of the French, and by almost the next mail our great Secretary, William H. Seward, wrote to Louis Napoleon that the French soldiers must be withdrawn from Mexico, or our soldiers, just then out of business, would go there, too, and take a hand in the quarrel. And so Louis Napoleon went home, and Maximilian met his fate at Queretaro on the 19th of July, 1867.

And thus ended Latin absolutism, and thus was established

Saxon freedom in the Mexican nation. No Latin prince has since shown any eagerness to follow in Maximilian's footsteps.

But no one knew better than the wise and far-seeing statesmen who were responsible for the constitution of 1857 that the customs, habits, and modes of thought of a people cannot be changed by the formal adoption of a new constitution. It takes an hour or a day or a month to enact a law; it takes generations to establish institutions. A people whose ancestors for hundreds of years have been educated in Latin absolutism cannot become fully developed Saxon freemen all at once. The Mexican statesmen of 1857 saw this then quite as clearly as we see it now, and in nothing is their wisdom and foresight better shown than in the fact that they were careful not to attempt too much at once. They had, indeed, laid the corner-stones of their free institutions on a broad, secure, and enduring foundation; but the superstructure they left for time and the system of free education they so carefully provided for to complete. And so Mexico continued really Latin in form, though in reality her institutions have been since then much more after the Saxon than the Latin idea.

But we are concerned to-night with jurisprudence; and the jurisprudence of a nation is the supreme test of the practical excellence of its civilization. That people has made the most progress which knows best how to try a lawsuit. The provision of a proper forum in which private controversies may be settled is the most important sphere of government. On the proper and actual administration of justice between man and man depends more than on anything else the degree of a nation's prosperity and the happiness of its people. A lawsuit in Mexico furnishes, perhaps, the best illustration of the union of Latin forms with Saxon realities. I have already shown how in criminal trials the substantial rights guaranteed by our Saxon Magna Charta are imbedded in the Mexican constitution. The accused is confronted with the accusation, the accuser, and the witnesses. He is defended by counsel of his own selection, and even so entirely Saxon an institution as trial by jury has won its way into this as well as other countries educated in Latin ideas.

But the Saxon guarantees and the Saxon jury are under the control of a judge who has been educated in Latin forms, acquired his learning from Spanish books, and who is not always fully imbued with the true Saxon spirit; and, moreover, he is apt to be enveloped by an atmosphere from which the old taint has not

been altogether removed. The Saxon statute light which is intended to direct his course is still often seen through Latin spectacles, and we must not expect or desire too close an imitation of our favorite methods; nor must we be too sure that the lusty food that suits our Northern stomachs and ponderous vital mechanisms is always the best for all people all over the world, under all conditions.

The Saxon criminal procedure, especially as administered in the United States, is inclined to be somewhat slow and dilatory. It takes time to wrap around the accused and very probably guilty citizen all the guarantees of the Magna Charta, and to convict and punish him without doing violence to our inherited ideas of criminal procedure. If you have but a little crime to punish, it is all right; but in a condition of society where offences against the law become for any reason peculiarly prevalent our system shows at its worst. The condition of things in Mexico has been such that celerity and certainty of punishment have often been more important than a nice observation of the provisions of Magna Charta, or even of their own most excellent constitution. The civil wars had left the roads full of bandits, the mountains infested with robbers, the streets teeming with highwaymen, and had so confused many people's ideas of *meum* and *tuum* that portable property was likely to change hands very rapidly, and a cross by the roadside was often the only record left of the resisting owner.

Violent diseases may require summary remedies; and Mexico's statesmen saw that Mexico must be cured of the bandit fever, no matter at what cost. Fortunately, the bandits usually resisted, and were killed while being arrested or while attempting to escape, instead of being saved for more regular execution afterward; but, even if brought before the magistrate, the bandit was given but short shrift, and conviction followed accusation, and execution conviction, with a celerity which, I fear, left little room for an abstract discussion of the rights of either Englishmen or Mexicans, or of the guarantees of their constitution or ours, and which is, at least, not usual in the city of New York, where I practise law. I cannot say that this method was entirely peculiar to Mexico. In States and Territories of the American Union similarly situated the people, even the most pronounced of the Saxons, were wont to imitate their brethren on the other side of the line, and adopt methods similar to theirs when methods ideally better would not work.

We may, and we do, criticise the methods of enforcing the criminal law which were at one time quite prevalent among our Western and Southern neighbors, both in Mexico and the United States, and they are doubtless fit subjects for just criticisms; but it is due to Mexico that it should be said that in the last twenty-five years — the only twenty-five years she has ever had of real self-government — she has done so much to rid the country of her criminal classes that life and property are as safe there to-day as anywhere in the world; and it does not become the generation that reaps the benefit to criticise too much the methods of those who did the work.

As the criminal classes have been suppressed, as the country has become quiet, and peace and order have taken the place of the preceding anarchy and war, criminal trials are coming more and more to conform to the true spirit of the Mexican constitution and the ideas of Saxon freemen. And no one who has watched the progress of events in Mexico since she first began to stand erect and breathe the inspiring air of freedom can have any doubt as to whither it is tending.

The continuance of Latin forms is even more prevalent and more marked in civil than in criminal cases. The proceedings to commence a suit are especially peculiar. There had been imported from Spain, in the old colonial days, a practice of summoning a proposed defendant first before the Court of Conciliation, presided over by a judge who was not and was not allowed to be a lawyer, and who heard no evidence, summoned no witnesses, and had no jurisdiction to determine any question in dispute. His duty was simply to see if he could not induce the parties to settle or compromise their differences before they plunged into the vortex of an actual lawsuit. His good offices were placed at their services, whether they sought them or not; and it was only on a certificate from him that the dispute could not be compromised that they were admitted to the ordinary tribunals.

When the republic was established, this practice was continued; and there was actually a provision in the constitution of 1824 that no civil suit could be commenced in a Mexican court until the parties had first been summoned before the Court of Conciliation, and that court had found that the difficulty would admit of no amicable adjustment. The practice is still continued, though now without the sanction of any constitutional require-

ment ; but it is coming to be more and more only a form. This Court of Conciliation is entirely paternal in its origin and its character, and adapted only to a people accustomed to submit themselves to the kind care of a paternal government. It is a common feature of Latin legal procedure, and now exists in most of the Latin nations of Europe. We Saxons never had anything of the kind. It is contrary to our ideas and the genius of our institutions. If we wish to compromise a difficulty, we do it as free-men,—rely on our own judgment, take the responsibility ourselves, and prefer to make our own compromises without the assistance of an official compromiser.

In its inception the Court of Conciliation was a most important part of the structure of the government, and was constantly called upon to perform its important function. The fact that it is degenerating now into a form only shows, as perhaps nothing else can, that in Mexico, as in all the world, the Saxon star is rising, and the Latin is on the decline.

In nothing is the difference between their way and ours shown more clearly than in the method of disposing of the issue. We try it. It was always the Saxon practice to try it. They had somewhat rough and uncouth and unsatisfactory methods of trial in the early days. The cross-examiner, as an institution of the court-room, is a product of modern evolution. Before his advent, if one man asserted the affirmative of a proposition of fact and another had a different recollection, they settled the question by challenging one another and fighting it out ; and the most skilful fencing master was the one whose story was credited. The substitution of the trained advocate, the learned judge, the impartial jury, and modern methods for eliciting and discovering the truth was a long step in advance ; but we have still clung to the trial as a distinctive and never-to-be-abandoned feature of Saxon self-reliance as applied to the administration of orderly justice. There comes a time, in the history of every Saxon lawsuit, when the plaintiff and the defendant must face one another with their witnesses and their advocates in the forum of justice, and finally submit their differences to the arbitrament there provided.

Under the Latin practice there was nothing at all the equivalent of our trial. From the commencement of the litigation the judge took entire charge of the case. He summoned the parties and the witnesses before him, one at a time, as suited his convenience ; and in the privacy of his own closet they each pour-

their story into his receptive ear. If he was a peculiarly honest and scrupulous man, he took nothing at these interviews but testimony; but, if he was simply an ordinary judge, he took what he could get, and, if the case was an important one, his opportunities were by no means insignificant. Having gone through the process of hearing the testimony till he was tired of it, or until his harvest was all gathered, he sooner or later — usually later — decided the case. If he was a learned man, skilled in the law, he decided it himself: otherwise — and it was usually otherwise, for the judges were seldom lawyers — he got some one else to decide it for him, who knew how better than he. As neither party had heard the evidence on the other side, no one could dispute the wisdom of the decision.

In Mexico they retain in form the old Spanish methods of determining an issue of fact. The statement of the parties and the testimony of each witness are taken by the judge in private. Neither party nor witness is confronted with his adversary or with other witnesses or submitted to the ordeal of an oral cross-examination, and the judge decides the case, when he gets ready, in his own way; but counsel are allowed to submit questions and cross-questions to the judge, to be propounded by him to the witnesses and the parties, and this is the usual practice. The testimony is all reduced to writing, and, when completed, submitted to the other side; and counsel are heard upon it, usually in writing, but sometimes orally.

Mexican judicature appears here at its worst. No one appreciates the weakness of the system more than the good lawyers — and the country is coming to be full of them — who practise in their courts; and there will doubtless soon be a change for the better. It is beginning to come already in some of the States of the republic, and an oral cross-examination is in some cases permitted. But even now the practice is infinitely superior to the old Latin system. Publicity, the best of all security against wrongdoing, is secured. The calcium light of public opinion is turned upon the action of the judge in every case; and, if he commits an error, the courts of appeal are ready and prompt to give redress. There is still a good deal of delay, unavoidable to the system; but I do not know that there is any more than there is with us under our better system. It is, at the worst, far better than it ever was before; and in the practical administration of justice there are fewer annoying delays and grievous abuses. In many respects it

compares very favorably with the administration of justice in the United States.

In former years it was the exception rather than the rule to select a judge from the bar ; but now the lawyers among the judges are getting to be in the great majority, and, so far as my acquaintance goes,—and it is quite extended,—the judges are usually men of high character, and anxious to do equal and exact justice between man and man without fear or favor.

At the time of the adoption of her constitution the condition of Mexican society was not such as to make an extensive use of the jury system practicable ; but, as the work of education goes on,—and it is going on very rapidly,—as the level of public intelligence is raised,—and it is being raised very fast,—and as the people become more and more accustomed to managing their own affairs and relying upon their own efforts, there will come the material for a jury system, and trial by jury will undoubtedly be generally introduced in civil as it is already in criminal cases ; and with the Saxon jury must go the other concomitants of a Saxon trial. This is a consummation which the best statesmen, the best patriots, and the best lawyers in Mexico devoutly hope for ; and it is pretty sure to come.

The feature of Saxon jurisprudence most important, however, is the independence of the judiciary. Few people fully appreciate the far-reaching nature of those provisions of our national and State constitutions dividing government strictly into the executive, legislative, and judiciary departments, and prohibiting *ex post facto* laws and laws impairing the obligations of contracts.

The law must be general in its operation, must precede the offence, and be determined and applied only by permanent and regularly appointed judicial officers who have neither executive nor legislative powers. There may be *privileges and immunities* without these guarantees, but there can be no *rights*. They are necessary foundation-stones in every temple of freedom.

With the Latins all authority over the bodies or the souls of men came from some superior power,—king or pope,—and the same authority might enact the law, interpret and determine it, and carry it into execution. If no law or tribunal was found that fitted the case, a new one might be manufactured for the occasion or an old one reinterpreted to new uses.

The Mexican constitution of 1857, as we have seen, contains provisions more stringent even than ours for the protection of the

independence of the judiciary. It provides that government shall be divided into legislative, executive, and judicial departments, and that "two or more of these powers shall never be united in one person or corporation." It forbids forever retroactive laws, and provides that "no man may be judged or sentenced except by laws made prior to the act and exactly applicable to it, *and by a tribunal which shall have previously been established by law*"; and special laws and special tribunals are expressly interdicted. No words could be more broad and decisive than those used by the makers of the Mexican constitution in protecting that bulwark of freedom, judicial independence. They knew well their prevailing danger, and they guarded against it with all the means at their command. There is no doubt that their action produced an immediate and most beneficial effect, and that Mexico's relief from the evils which had been hanging over her so long began at once. A true and impartial statement of the case requires, however, two additions to what has already been said upon the subject.

1. The executive power of Mexico down to very recent times has had, and still has, in practice, more influence upon the judiciary than is consistent with the letter and the spirit of these most admirable provisions of the constitution of the republic; and the judicial power is not as independent as it ought to be.

2. The influence of the executive over the judicial power is growing less and less every year, and the judiciary are becoming more and more independent. The evil yet exists, but it is infinitely less than it was. It is all the time diminishing, and it bids fair soon to disappear altogether.

Let us not complain or criticise too much. When a people are travelling, as the people of Mexico are, with accelerating speed in the right direction, we can well afford to give them time to reach the goal they have so firmly and heroically set for themselves. We must remember that it is scarcely more than a quarter-century since Queretaro.

In the phraseology of deeds and forms of contract still in use in Mexico the paternal theory of jurisprudence is well shown. In ancient Spanish times, when one person wished to make a conveyance to another, the two went before a notary public, and stated the whole case to him. The notary inquired into the most minute details of the transaction, investigated the value of the property, passed upon the sufficiency of the consideration, looked into the circumstances of the parties to see if the affair was one which

was in every way to their advantage, and, in general, acted the paternal to the fullest degree. Then finally came the deed. It was not, as with us, a simple instrument signed and acknowledged by the grantor, and containing, in terse form, words of grant; but it was a most prolix and tedious affair. It was in the form of a recital by a notary that the parties had come before him, and the one said so and so and the other said something else, and that he had looked into everything connected with the transaction, questioned their neighbors and investigated their business; and he tells with a detail that is sickening, if you are in a hurry, as we Saxons always are, all the conclusions to which he arrives, and finally states that the one party says he is willing to convey, and the other to accept, the property. And the notary, not the parties, signs the deed, with about the same degree of solemnity that a priest would perform the marriage ceremony. Then some magistrate goes out with the parties, walks around the property, and fixes its metes and bounds; and it is the magistrate, not the vendor, who actually delivers possession to the purchaser.

Some of these forms are still kept up in Mexico, but as forms only. The notary copies the deed, questions, answers, and everything, from a form book, barely changing the necessary details to fit the circumstances; and the parties sign and deliver it just as we do. There is still kept up also the form of exchanging possession in the presence of the magistrate, but this is likewise coming to be mere ceremony. Some day they will enact the most excellent statute we have in New York State for short forms of deeds, and their system of prolix conveyancing will be at an end.

In contracts, as in deeds, the magistrate in form plays the old paternal part. The statutes still retain many of the ancient provisions, such as giving a party the right of rescission, etc., if the consideration is not such as to satisfy the mind of the protecting and fatherly magistrate or if something should happen that had not been thought of or if there was some other reason which appealed to the Latin conscience; but all evil results are now avoided, and the teeth of paternalism in the transaction effectually drawn, by inserting in the contract an express statement, as is now always permissible, that the parties waive the benefit of these well-intentioned but mischievous and meddling provisions of the law, and choose to stand upon their responsibility, and attend to their own business as freemen. The spirit of Saxon self-reliance is really spreading in Mexico faster than the casual observer can

imagine, and with it are coming stronger and prouder men and better citizens all over the land.

I cannot leave you to-night without saying a word about the members of our profession in the republic of Mexico. Upon the advocates of a country, more than upon its judges, depends the administration of its justice. They form the only reservoir from which an able and accomplished judiciary can be drawn, they form the only background upon which a pure judiciary can be projected, and they make the atmosphere, fair or foul as it may be, which the judiciary must ever breathe. The Latin judge sat in the silence of his closet. There was no opportunity for the persuasive eloquence of the advocate. The Saxon judge sits in the forum, where the advocate is at home.

In Latin Mexico there were many men learned in the law, but few lawyers. The advocate was not there. In the first republic, the republic before Ayutla, anarchy rather than law reigned; and arms, and not advocacy, was the favored profession. The war of the French intervention occupied men's minds till it was ended at the Hill of the Bells. Then for the first time was there a proper field for the advocate in the Mexican nation. And so the lawyer in Mexico is just beginning to be a power and to make his influence felt.

It is my good fortune to be favored with the personal acquaintance and friendship of many of Mexico's able and accomplished lawyers and advocates, and I can say of them from my personal knowledge that their eloquence would delight any audience and their learning grace any court-house in these United States of ours.

ADDRESS BY SEÑOR ROMERO, MINISTER OF
MEXICO AT WASHINGTON.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—While I feel very grateful for the honor you have bestowed upon me in inviting me to the present session of the Law Department of the American Social Science Association, given up to Mexican Jurisprudence, I at the same time exceedingly regret that in the printed program of this evening's proceedings I appear as making an address after Mr. Logan's paper. I should feel greatly honored to follow our distinguished friend if I had had the time and opportunity to prepare something worthy of this assembly; but the invitation I received came to me too late, and, besides, I did not understand that it was an invitation to make an address to-night that I had accepted, and consequently have made no preparation. You can readily imagine, therefore, my embarrassment when I have to speak in a language that is not my own, after the very able paper we have just heard and before such a distinguished audience as is here present. Instead of making an address or anything which would be worthy of that name, I will only enter into an informal conversation with you on some topics that may be of interest to you, as they are connected with Mexican jurisprudence, and of which I am reminded by the able paper just read.

But, before doing so, I wish to express my admiration for the masterly manner in which our friend Mr. Logan has treated the subject of Mexican Jurisprudence under his chosen title, "A Mexican Lawsuit." It is really remarkable that, with the comparatively few opportunities he has had for obtaining practical knowledge of Mexican laws and the habits and usages of the people, he should have mastered his subject in such a wonderful way, and have expounded it in the able and comprehensive manner in which he has done here to-night. It is very difficult, as you all can realize, to understand the laws, habits, and customs of a foreign country, unless you have been a long-time resident of it, and have made a special study of that particular subject; and it is therefore surprising that, with such scanty facilities as Mr. Logan

has had, he should have accomplished so much and shown it so clearly as he has here to-night.

There are, however, a few points upon which I would like to dwell, not in criticism of Mr. Logan's paper, because that is unassailable, and because it would not be becoming in me to attempt such a criticism, even if there were ground for it, but rather by way of amplification as to some of the different characteristics of the laws of Mexico which he discussed.

In referring to the provision of Article II. of our constitution of 1857, which decreed that everybody is born free in Mexico, and that any slave obtains his liberty by stepping on Mexican soil, Mr. Logan correctly stated that our constitution made slavery forever unlawful in Mexico five years before Lincoln's famous proclamation which abolished it in the United States, although, in fact, the abolition of slavery was accomplished in our country a great many years before. Indeed, Hidalgo, the promoter of our independence, issued Dec. 6, 1810, not quite three months after he had proclaimed independence from Spain, a decree abolishing slavery; and our first Congress, which met in Chilpancingo in 1813, issued at Apatzin-gan in Mexico some bases for a constitution, and decreed at the same time the abolition of slavery. The abolition, of course, could be enforced then only in the few places which were occupied by the insurgents; but, when independence was achieved in 1821, one of the first decrees of the first Congress convened at the City of Mexico (in 1822) was to abolish slavery, and it was then actually abolished. In fact, every Mexican is born a strong antislavery man, so much so that we could not understand why this country should have accepted slavery and should have tried to sustain it, at the cost of a tremendous Civil War which imperilled the very existence of the United States, and the great influence that it is their destiny to exert upon the destinies of mankind, especially when the very Declaration of American Independence contains the principle that all men are born free and equal, and slavery is a contradiction of that great principle. But, fortunately, slavery has been abolished here, as it was in Mexico over seventy years ago; and the stain which for so long a time tarnished the fair name of this country has in that way been obliterated.

Mr. Logan has enlightened us considerably about the advantages of the Anglo-Saxon system of jurisprudence as compared with the Roman system. I confess that subject has always had a

great deal of interest for me, because, having been educated at home as a lawyer, I always desired to study and compare the various systems of jurisprudence of different countries, as one of the best ways to understand the philosophy of jurisprudence. I regret, however, that my public duties have deprived me of the opportunity to practise law at home, and hence of becoming better acquainted with all its provisions, and that the same cause has prevented me from studying the practical workings of the Anglo-Saxon system of jurisprudence as practised in the United States. I always thought it would be very pleasant for me to spend a few days in visiting the courts of this country, especially in the city of New York, with a view of getting better informed as to the workings of your system of jurisprudence; but, unfortunately, I never had enough time at my disposal to do so.

It is therefore with great reluctance that I approach such a difficult subject as this, because I do not believe I am fully competent to treat it as thoroughly as I would like. Even in regard to the Mexican laws I am not so well informed as I should be if I could have practised law at home; for, while I know the general tenor of our legislation, I have been absent many years from my country, and am not so well acquainted with all its details as I should like to be. While I would not say a word derogatory of the Anglo-Saxon system of jurisprudence, I think the Roman system, being the result of many centuries of study and experience by one of the most enlightened and cultivated nations on earth, is also entitled to some regard, as is shown by the fact that the Anglo-Saxon nations are adopting some features of the Roman jurisprudence. A careful study of both would very likely lead to a conclusion in favor of an eclectic system, combining the best features of each.

A great deal has been said about the advantages of the Anglo-Saxon jury system; but, while I am not disposed to criticise it, I will only remark that eight hundred years ago, when England was divided into different classes, and baron and commoner were struggling for the mastery, each over the other, it was undoubtedly a great conquest for the rights of the people that a man should be tried by a jury of his peers. The commoners were undoubtedly oppressed both by the king and by the barons; and during the reign of King John they obtained the Magna Charta, which was then a great conquest for human rights and human liberty, and has proved to be the corner-stone of free institutions throughout the

world. The commoners realized that the best way to protect their rights and to prevent any abuse of authority by either king or baron, was to establish that they could not be arrested except in accordance with the law of the land, or adjudged guilty and punished unless it was by a jury of their peers. But times have advanced considerably during the eight centuries which have since elapsed. The present condition of the commoner in England is not now the same as it was then, and we might say now that the barons are merged into the commoners. Certainly, so far as this country—where there are no classes—is concerned, there is no reason at all to fear that the people will be oppressed by those in authority. The Constitution of the United States is so careful about this that it does not clothe even the President of the United States with the right to make arrests unless it is in a very few cases specially provided by the laws or by the treaties, as when the extradition of a fugitive from justice is required, under a treaty by a foreign power.

For the reasons above stated I will not express any decided convictions upon this subject ; but I might say that the conditions under which the jury system was established do not prevail at the present time even in the country of its origin, and it cannot have now the importance it once had. Its insufficiency to punish criminals is shown, I think, by its practical results, which have unfortunately often brought about what is called Lynch law, which is really the complement of criminal proceedings under the Anglo-Saxon system, which is demoralizing and liable to great abuses. When a community is satisfied that a crime has been committed, that somebody is the author of that crime, and that the criminal cannot be punished under the regular proceedings of a common law trial, they often take the law into their own hands, and administer swift justice in a manner you may call barbarous, but in the only way left to them.

But the force of example, and the great credit which the Anglo-Saxon system has obtained in the world, on account of its respect for human rights, have induced some of the American nations of Latin origin to adopt it; and we have done so in Mexico. Señor Mariscal, our present Secretary of State, who lived in the United States from 1863 to 1877,—up to 1867 as Secretary of the Legation, and afterwards as Minister from Mexico in Washington,—and who is a great jurist, a thorough student, and a careful observer, made a special study of the jury system in this country ;

and, when he returned home and became Secretary of Justice, he established the jury system in Mexico for criminal cases, changing it somewhat with a view to adapting it to the peculiar conditions of the Mexican character. He provided, for instance, that the majority of the jurors should render a verdict, while under the Anglo-Saxon system a unanimous vote of all the jurors is required. It is the practice in Mexico that all the preliminary proceedings in a criminal case shall take place before the judge who presides over such proceedings, without a jury; but, when the trial is finished, then the jury is convened, and they hear the indictment of the district attorney, the defence of the accused, and such witnesses as they desire,—both their direct testimony and their cross-examination,—and finally give their verdict, declaring the accused innocent or guilty. It is provided, besides, with a view to prevent the failure of justice, that if, in the opinion of the presiding judge, the verdict is clearly against the facts established by the evidence, he should report to the higher court; and, if that court sustains his opinion, the verdict of the jury is entirely set aside, and a new trial takes place. Even with all those alterations in the true Anglo-Saxon jury system, I have seen cases in Mexico in which criminals have been left unpunished because their attorneys with their eloquence have influenced the jury in favor of the accused.

I do not think it entirely correct to say that the proceedings under the Roman law are secret, and that the accused does not know what the witnesses have said against him. This misunderstanding is sometimes carried very far. One of the difficulties that the Spanish-American countries have to contend with at Washington, in cases where citizens of the United States are tried by the local judges in any of those countries, is the great difference between their legislation and criminal procedure and the system prevailing in the United States. Here all trials are to be public; the accused has a right to appear in person or to be represented by an attorney, and to hear and to refute all the evidence against him; he has the right to be set at liberty on bail, whatever may be the crime imputed to him, except wilful murder; and he has finally the right to be tried by a jury of his peers, while in the Spanish-American countries prevails a legislation of Roman origin, which may or may not be better adapted to ascertain the facts and to do justice, but which is entirely different from the English or common law system.

In the Roman system every criminal trial is divided into two stages: the Summary (*sumario*), which is secret and for the purpose of finding out the facts connected with the case, in which the testimony of the accused is taken down when he may not know who appears against him, and sometimes not even of what crime he is accused; and the Plenary (*plenario*), or second stage, in which the proceedings of the Summary are made public, and all the other proceedings are public, and then the accused has the same rights as are guaranteed to him by the common law. He is allowed to go out on bail only in very limited cases, determined by law, and never if he is liable on conviction to bodily punishment. He is not allowed to hear the testimony against him until after the Summary is over.

As my only object is to mark the principal differences between the two systems, I will refrain from saying anything about their respective advantages. The secret proceedings of the *Sumario* are very much criticised in the United States, without remembering that the English law has also a secret proceeding very similar to the *Sumario*. Before anybody is indicted in this country, the case is heard secretly by a grand jury, which in some cases is composed of persons designated also secretly. The grand jury hears such testimony as is offered, or as it may deem sufficient, without allowing a hearing to the accused; and, if there is in its judgment sufficient ground for it, the indictment is made, and after that the public trial begins before the proper court.

The *Sumario* corresponds, therefore, in countries of Latin origin, as far as that is possible between two systems of legislation based on such widely different principles, to the grand jury indictment in the Anglo-Saxon nations. The substantial difference between the two is that under the Latin system the accused is arraigned when the *Sumario* begins, while in the common law system he is not arraigned until after the indictment is made; but the Latin law has provided some remedies for any possible abuse in such cases. Some American citizens tried in Spanish-American countries expect that the proceedings will be conducted in accordance with the legislation of their own or some other country with a similar judicial legislation; and, when they find that it is otherwise, they complain bitterly, considering the Latin proceeding inquisitorial, an outrage, and even barbarous,—just as if the legislation of the United States must be in force in other countries. My experience has shown me that this is sometimes the cause of

difficulties and misunderstandings between the United States and some of the Spanish-American republics.

They complain, too, that under the Roman system the trial goes on very slowly and they aver that criminal trials in the United States come to an end more speedily. I am not prepared to say under which of the two systems a criminal trial is ended sooner. When the trial actually begins, it may take a shorter time in the United States, because, once the trial begins, it cannot be interrupted; but it often happens that there is a long time before it begins, and yet longer when it is followed by a new or second trial. It must be borne in mind that the courts in this country hold their sessions for but a few weeks or months at a time, and only during the session do they hear cases, while in the Latin-American countries they are open and working all the year round. Then, as a trial here takes the whole time of the court, so only one case can be tried at a time, while in the Latin-American countries the judge tries several cases concurrently; and, as a consequence, every trial here has to be postponed until its docket-number is reached, and that sometimes requires the lapse of several months, while in the Latin countries it may begin at once.

I do not know which of these two systems of criminal jurisprudence is, on the whole, best calculated to establish the facts of the case and do justice, whether they can be better accomplished by a judge with long experience and proficiency in his profession, having no personal interests in the cases tried by him, or by a jury of men who generally have no experience in criminal jurisprudence. If the judge may sometimes be derelict in his duty, the jury occasionally are controlled by their emotions. The Anglo-Saxon criminal jurisprudence follows the principle that it is better to leave a thousand criminals unpunished rather than punish one innocent person; while the Latin system, accepting, too, that humanitarian principle, aims not to leave a criminal unpunished.

There is a remark in Mr. Logan's paper which needs some explanation, and it refers to the summary way in which criminals are sometimes punished in Mexico. Our constitution commences with a statement of the rights of man, taken in great measure from the Declaration of the French National Assembly during the Revolution; and those rights secure the most ample liberty and immunity to the person and property of the inhabitants of the country, as Mr. Logan has informed us by quoting fully from that instrument. It was represented, however, while our constitution

was being discussed, that on extraordinary occasions, as in case of war or other serious danger to society, such rights as had been guaranteed by the constitution stood very much in the way of speedy punishment. To avoid that, the constitution itself (Article XXIX.) provided that the rights of man as guaranteed by that instrument, excepting such as secure a man's life, can be suspended for a short time, in certain emergencies, provided the President asks Congress to suspend them and Congress agrees to do it, and that the suspension embraces a class, and not an individual. If it is found, for instance, that the crime of the derailing of railway cars, either to rob them or for some other purpose, becomes frequent, and it is thought the emergency requires an extraordinary measure, the President asks Congress for the suspension of the personal guarantees of such criminals for a limited period, say six months. If Congress sanctions the suspension, a summary criminal proceeding is established, for the purpose of inflicting punishment without delay, and thereby frighten others who might be disposed to commit like crimes. At the end of the six months, for instance, the public confidence is restored; and, there being no further need of a speedy trial, the suspension of constitutional guarantees comes to an end. It will be seen that our constitution provides a speedy way of punishing criminals in extraordinary cases, without the unfortunate need, which the condition of things has made necessary sometimes in this country,—especially in California in former years,—of establishing a committee of public safety to preserve order, by which the people took the law into their own hands and acted without any form of law, very much as in cases where Lynch law prevails.

We have copied from you the writ of *habeas corpus*, the great conquest of the Anglo-Saxons, which guarantees life and liberty to man, and which places under the control of the judicial courts the otherwise arbitrary orders of those in authority; but we have gone considerably farther in that direction, and our writ of *habeas corpus* is not limited to the protection of personal life and liberty, but extends to all the rights guaranteed to man by the constitution, embracing his personal property, even covering judicial decisions. If a man, for instance, finds that his property or any other constitutional rights are interfered with by either a civil or military power, or even by the judicial sentence of a federal or State court, he applies to the respective federal district court which has jurisdiction to suspend at once the act complained of by the

plaintiff, and finally to decide the case either in his favor or against him, the decision always going for revision to our Supreme Court.

So far as the Conciliation Act mentioned by Mr. Logan is concerned, it was intended to avoid civil suits; and for that reason the Mexican Constitution of 1824 established that, before any civil suit began, the plaintiff should present a certificate that he had attempted, without avail, to settle his difficulties amicably. But that provision was not repeated in our present constitution of 1857, and therefore it is not now in force.

To understand the condition of things in Mexico is very difficult for foreigners who are not quite familiar with the country, and even for Mexicans themselves who have not paid any special attention to this subject. The general impression of the outside world is that, because Mexico has been troubled by a long series of civil wars which lasted for over half a century, we were constitutionally disposed to fight, and did so without any plausible cause or reason; but such a view is a great mistake. I think it is easy to understand the philosophy or the real reasons of our civil wars.

During the Spanish rule in Mexico, which lasted for three centuries, there were three controlling privileged classes, the people counting for nothing at all. The first was the clergy, which, by obtaining bequests from persons who were dying, and in several other ways, had accumulated very large fortunes, owning almost two-thirds of the real estate of the whole country, and so absorbing the banking and other business of the country. The power of this class depended not only upon its immense wealth, but on its religious influence, and on its being the only educated class; for, though they knew but little, that was a great deal more than the other classes did, who were kept in the most profound ignorance. Its discipline assisted the clergy in wielding great influence. They had so much influence during the Spanish rule that a viceroy once tried to enforce his authority on a recalcitrant archbishop of the City of Mexico by arresting him and sending him to Spain. He succeeded in making the arrest; but the moment it was known that the archbishop was on his way to Vera Cruz the people rebelled in such a serious manner that he was soon brought back to the City of Mexico, and the viceroy had to leave.

The second privileged class were the Spaniards by birth, who formed a kind of aristocracy, some of them having titles, and being the only ones to hold office in the country, and monopolizing the principal business. This was also a rich class. They were so

jealous of the native Mexicans that even the children of a Spaniard by a Mexican mother, if born in Mexico, were not considered on the same footing as the native Spaniard. They were called *creoles*, had no political rights at all, and could not fill any public office nor have any position. But few Spanish women ever came to Mexico. The men came while they were young, grew up in the country, and married Mexican women, very seldom pure-blooded Indians, but generally the daughters of Spaniards by Mexican mothers born in Mexico.

The third class was the army, which was comparatively small, but a very important element in the country; and native Mexicans were permitted to hold only subordinate positions, though in a few cases admitted among the commissioned officers.

The Spaniards disregarded so much the interest of their colonies that they would not allow the Mexicans to raise the same fruits they had at home, such as vineyards, olive-trees, etc.; and that is the reason why we do not yet produce so much wine as we otherwise could. It was only after independence was accomplished that we began to cultivate those fruits.

These three classes were, of course, decidedly attached to the Spanish rule, because under it they prospered, and had all the wealth and power they could possibly wish, while any change might endanger their position and welfare. The only educated class was the clergy, and that was, too, the only profession open to native Mexicans. The higher clergy were, of course, heartily loyal to Spain; while a few members of the lower clergy, those who had true patriotic feelings, were the only ones who appreciated the condition of things, and longed for a change.

The opposition of the clergy to independence and the alarm with which they viewed that movement were so great that all the bishops of the country excommunicated its leaders the moment that the insurrection broke out. The Inquisition commenced proceedings against them, and several members of the higher clergy took up arms against the independent cause. The Bishop of Oaxaca, forgetting the teachings of the founder of his religion, organized his clergy, when he heard that Morelos was going to attack that city, into a regiment to fight against the insurgents; but, according to my recollection, the martial prelate had no occasion to come in conflict with the insurgents.

Independence was proclaimed in Mexico Sept. 15, 1810, in an Indian village of the State of Guanajuato, by Miguel Hidalgo y

Castilla, the curate of the town and quite an old man, assisted by two inferior officers of the Mexican militia. His enterprise was bound to fail, for the leading classes of Mexico were against it. He collected a very large number of peasants, Indians, and poor people, who followed his lead. To raise the public enthusiasm, he had to put his cause under the protection of the Virgin of Guadalupe, who was supposed to have preternaturally appeared two hundred years before to a humble Indian, near the City of Mexico, and was highly revered in the country. His men were unorganized, without arms, ammunition, or discipline; and, although he captured some towns and made some headway, the organization and discipline of the Spanish army soon prevailed, and he was defeated, captured, degraded, and shot in July, 1811. He was succeeded by another priest, a full-blooded Indian, Jose Maria Morelos, having in him the elements of a great warrior, who organized a government, and convened a congress at Chilpancingo. It issued a constitution, defeated the Spaniards in several drawn battles, and sustained for several months, against great odds, the famous siege in Cuautla, near the City of Mexico, which siege is the subject of one of Mr. Logan's most interesting papers on Mexican history. Morelos fought the Spaniards from 1810 to 1815, when he was defeated, captured, degraded, and shot. After that the War of Independence seemed almost over. Only a few leaders remained, and those principally in the southern part of the country, which being quite mountainous and having a bad climate, it was easy to keep up the insurrection for some time; and the Spanish troops could not make much headway there.

Such was the condition of things when in 1820 the Spaniards at Madrid restored the liberal constitution adopted by the Cortes in 1812, when King Ferdinand VII. had fled from Spain on account of the French invasion. That fact greatly alarmed the Spanish element in Mexico, who, fearing that liberal principles might find a foothold in that country, thought the best plan for them was to proclaim independence of Spain, and establish a Catholic monarchy under a Spanish king, so that they would not be subject to the obnoxious changes which liberal ideas that had begun to permeate Spain might bring about. They went, therefore, to Iturbide, who, although a native Mexican, had been one of the leaders of the Spanish army against the insurrection, and was a good soldier and an ambitious man. Iturbide accepted their plan; and, when appointed by the viceroy to command the

army sent to subdue the southern revolutionary leaders, he took all the forces and money of the viceroy, and joined Guerrero and the other revolutionary leaders. After that, independence was accomplished almost without a blow; and Iturbide was crowned Emperor of Mexico.

Thus it was that the movement for independence — which in the other Spanish colonies came from the higher classes — in Mexico sprang up originally from the lower classes, with the higher classes opposing it; and thus it was that the first movement was an apparent failure. As soon as it became the interest of the higher classes that Mexico should be independent of Spanish rule, their influence turned the scale, and independence was achieved. But the Mexican patriots, who had been fighting for ten years in favor of independence, material progress, and liberal principles, could not be satisfied with the establishment of an empire. They thought this was depriving them of the fruits of their victory, and so they rebelled against Iturbide, and inaugurated a revolution which finally overthrew the empire, and made Iturbide fly from the country. That renewed the old hostility between the two parties,—the Liberal party, which had been the promoter of independence and desired progress, and the Conservative, or Church party, which intended to maintain the *status quo*, and was decidedly averse to any changes. It is not strange that the conflict between these two parties, representing such antagonistic ideas, should have lasted long.

After Iturbide's downfall the Liberals summoned a national Congress, which issued on Jan. 31, 1824, the preliminary bases of a federal constitution. Finally, on October 4th of that year, the constitution itself, as finally adopted, was promulgated. It was patterned after the Constitution of the United States, and was almost a copy of it; and I do not know whether, in imitating your institutions so closely, we did not make a mistake. The constitution of a country should be adapted to the conditions of that country. Here, in your northern country, thirteen colonies independent of each other had made war against England, achieved their independence, and then found themselves little more than a confederacy of infantile nations, with all the weaknesses which ever have attended a simple confederation. They therefore decided to consolidate themselves into a strong nation, under the name of "The United States of America." The federal system of government was the only solution of the problems which confronted your

people then. It was the natural and inevitable outgrowth of the condition of things existing before the adoption of the Constitution. In Mexico there was a united country, subject to the same authorities and laws, and with only one head. In adopting a republican federal system there, the nation had to be artificially divided up into separate sections, to be called States, which had no separate existence before and no individual history or experience in self-government. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that, when this constitution went into operation, it caused great disturbance. It is easy to find in this condition one of the causes of our prolonged civil wars. We were not alone in our misfortunes; for almost every other nation on this continent followed in your footsteps, and tried to adapt the republican federal system to a condition of things to which it was not suited. Brazil alone escaped this period of chaos and experiment, by establishing an empire with a scion of the reigning house of Portugal on the throne, and did not adopt a federal republican form of government until nearly a century later, after the people had acquired some ideas about self-government and some capacity for it; and it is probably for these reasons that she has suffered less by civil commotions than any other country of the same origin in this hemisphere.

Our constitution of 1824 was a decided victory for the Liberal party, but very far from being a final one. The Church party, though then defeated, was really the stronger of the two. The Liberal victory did not last long; and the Conservative or Church party prevailed upon some of Mexico's numerous military leaders to rebel against the government, and inaugurate a revolution, which ended in 1835 in the overthrow of the constitution of 1824.

When the Church party had the ascendancy, they repealed the federal constitution of 1824; and on Oct. 23, 1835, they issued some basis for a constitution, which was finally proclaimed on Dec. 29, 1835, under the title of Constitutional Laws, which abolished the federal system of government and repealed several of the liberal features of the federal constitution. The Constitutional Laws of 1835 did not seem to be conservative enough to the Church party; and they issued on June 13, 1843, a more conservative constitution which we called "Organic Bases," and to these two constitutions Mr. Logan has referred in his paper.

As the Church party was rich and strong, and had so much influence in the country, it could very easily bring about a civil war of such seriousness that it was difficult for the Liberal side to

overcome it ; but, as time elapsed, the Liberal party, which really represented the patriotic element of the country, grew stronger with education and contact with foreign nations, and was materially assisted in its task by the demoralization of the clergy and their unpatriotic conduct during our foreign wars. It was less difficult, therefore, for the Liberal party to inaugurate in their turn a counter-revolution, which was at last successful, and finally restored them to power. Besides the civil wars, we had in 1828 a war with Spain, which sent an expedition to reconquer Mexico ; in 1838, a war with France ; in 1846 and 1847, a war with the United States ; and, from 1861 to 1867, the war of the French Intervention.

It was in this way that the period of our civil wars continued so long, and we came to have the many different constitutions which Mr. Logan has mentioned. When the Liberals were in power, a federal constitution was issued or the old one restored ; and, when the Church party had the ascendancy, they proclaimed a conservative constitution or established a dictatorship. Finally, May 18, 1847, the federal constitution of 1824, with some amendments, was restored ; and the Liberal party regained power, and kept it until 1853, when Santa Ana returned to Mexico, called back by a successful revolution of the Church party, notwithstanding he had been in former years a leader of the Liberal party. It was then that he established the dictatorship which Mr. Logan has described. But the Liberals rebelled against him again, proclaiming the Plan of Ayutla ; and in 1855 Santa Ana fled from the country. A federal government was established under General Alvarez first, and General Comonfort afterwards. General Alvarez appointed Benito Juarez Secretary of Justice ; and it was on Nov. 23, 1855, that Juarez, as such secretary, issued the first law against the clergy which deprived them of the privileges they had enjoyed before. Under the Spanish rule, and also after the independence of Mexico, the clergy had special courts composed of clergymen, to try them for any offence they might commit. This was a privilege which insured them almost perfect immunity, and exempted them from control by the laws of the country. The Liberals thought that a great outrage, but they could not change the condition of things until the Juarez law was issued in 1855. The army enjoyed the same privileges, of which the Juarez law deprived them also, by restricting the jurisdiction of military courts to military offences.

The Juarez law was succeeded by the Lerdo law, which provided that no corporation — meaning the clergy, as the Church was the only corporation existing in Mexico — could hold real estate, and that such as was held by any corporation should be sold to the actual tenants, at a price to be arrived at by capitalizing the rent on the basis of a six per cent. rate of interest. Thereafter the tenant was to be the owner of the property, the corporation retaining a mortgage equal to the price fixed in this way. These two laws were the cause of another insurrection, promoted by the Church, and subdued by President Comonfort. But, unfortunately, he afterwards wavered, and allowed himself to be influenced by the clergy. The constitution of Feb. 5, 1857, had been issued during the administration of Comonfort, and he had just taken the oath to support it, and under it had been elected constitutional President for a term of four years. Notwithstanding this, and the fact that he had successfully subdued one insurrection of the Church, he finally allowed himself to be used as the tool of the clergy, and headed a revolution against the very constitution he had proclaimed, and by virtue of which he held his power.

Juarez, after the enactment of the law which bore his name, had for a time been governor of the State of Oaxaca, and, while holding that office, had been elected Chief Justice of the republic and *ex-officio* Vice-President. He was, at the time of the Comonfort rebellion, also acting as Secretary of the Interior. He became Comonfort's successor, and undertook to stem the tide of rebellion and reaction. In the City of Mexico most of the old regular army of the country were in favor of the Conservative or Church party. The city, therefore, fell into the hands of Juarez's enemies, and he had to fly from it. He went to the interior, where he established his government, first at Queretaro, afterwards at Guanajuato and Guadalajara. Finally, he sailed from Manzanillo, a Mexican port on the Pacific, to Panama, New Orleans, and back to Vera Cruz on the Atlantic coast, where he remained for some time. Vera Cruz was the stronghold of the Liberal party, being naturally a strong place and well fortified. It was protected also by the prevalence of the yellow fever there, and was the best place he could have selected to establish his government. He remained at Vera Cruz from March, 1858, to December, 1860, during which time the principal cities of the country were in the hands of the Church party. The Liberal army, though often defeated, was

never destroyed; for the people were with them, and recruits came in abundance. After a defeat they reorganized their armies, and were soon ready to meet the enemy again. Their courage and persistence were finally rewarded; and they were victorious in the decisive battle of Calpulalpan on the 24th of December, 1860.

During that terrible struggle which we call the War of Reform, Juarez issued from Vera Cruz our Reform Laws, which had the object to destroy the political power that the clergy had exercised before. The church property was declared national property, and was sold by the government to the occupants of it at a nominal price, payable partially in national bonds, then selling at a very low figure, 5 per cent., I think. The clergy were then deprived of all political rights. Their convents, both of monks and nuns, were suppressed. The number of churches existing in the country was considerably reduced. Complete separation between the Church and the State was proclaimed. A civil registry of births, marriages, and deaths, was established; and processions and all other religious demonstrations outside of the church, as well as the ringing of bells, were prohibited. The number of feast days, which had amounted to nearly one-fourth of all the days of the year, and tended to keep the people in idleness, was reduced to not more than two or three for the whole year. The wearing outside of the church of the priest's peculiar habit was prohibited; and many other stringent measures against the Church were adopted, with a view to destroy its political power and to deprive it of the means to bring about another insurrection against the government.

It is a remarkable fact that most of the Liberal leaders were lawyers. They were influenced solely by patriotism and a desire for the success of the Liberal cause, and, without any military education, had to lead our armies during the long civil wars. Some of them became very distinguished soldiers in our war, as lawyers did in yours, in the United States. Mr. Logan is therefore correct when he says that the final success of the Liberal cause in Mexico was due in a great measure to the jurists of the nation, so much so that they incurred the special hatred of the Church party, and the name of "lawyer" was wont to be used by them as a contemptuous designation for the Liberal leaders.

After the battle of Calpulalpan, where General Miramon, the last Church party President, was defeated, Juarez left Vera Cruz,

and established his government at the City of Mexico. He then convened Congress, ordered an election, and in 1861 he was elected president for his first constitutional term. The Reform Laws did not become operative until after Juarez occupied the City of Mexico and his rule was extended over the whole country. The Church party did not give up the struggle, but began it again with renewed vigor, and started a new insurrection in 1861, especially against the execution of the Reform Laws. This insurrection was not serious, because they could not capture any important place nor defeat the government troops; but they did succeed in keeping up an unsettled condition of things throughout the country and great insecurity to life and property.

When the Church party became satisfied that the Liberal party had grown so that they did not have strength enough at home to overcome it, they went to Europe, and began an intrigue with European courts to secure European intervention in Mexico. Unfortunately, about that time the Civil War in the United States broke out. The French emperor seemed quite certain of the success of the Confederacy, and was very well disposed to avail himself of the opportunity offered by the Mexican Church party to gain a foothold in Mexico, and effectually aid in the permanent division of the United States. He had also his dreams of establishing a French empire on the Pacific. Under his influence an alliance was made between France, England, and Spain, and Maximilian was persuaded to come to Mexico. England and Spain withdrew before the war actually began, and Napoleon's army was defeated at Puebla on the 5th of May, 1862; but, after being considerably re-enforced, he succeeded in occupying both Puebla and the City of Mexico in 1863, and so began the rule of the French Intervention. You are familiar with its details, and I will not say more about it.

When peace was restored in this country, after the collapse of the Confederacy, Louis Napoleon, of course, understood that he could not continue his occupation of Mexico; and he had to give up his Mexican plans, and withdraw his army from the country. Maximilian well knew that he could not remain in Mexico after the withdrawal of the French, and he decided to leave the country as soon as he heard that the French army was to be withdrawn; but, unfortunately, he was not equal to the occasion. He was not steady in his resolutions, and was persuaded by the leaders of the Church party to return to the City of Mexico. He had al-

ready started on his homeward journey, and gone so far as Orizaba, very near Vera Cruz, where the "Novara," the same Austrian man-of-war which had brought him to Mexico in 1864, lay ready to take him back to his native country, having been sent over at his request by the Emperor of Austria after he had been reinstated in his rights as eventual heir to the Austrian imperial crown. It was in March, 1867, that he returned to the City of Mexico. Shortly afterwards he went to Queretaro, where he was finally captured, tried, and shot, as you all know. In July of that year the Juarez government was again restored to the City of Mexico, and another election took place, in which Juarez was almost unanimously elected by the people for another term, from 1867 to 1871.

I believed it would be for its good to establish some competition with the Catholic Church in Mexico; and so, as Secretary of the Treasury, soon after the French Intervention I sold to a Protestant congregation of which I was not a member, for the nominal price of \$4,000, I think, in government bonds, the finest church in the City of Mexico, after the Cathedral. It was very well situated, and I think could not be built now for \$1,000,000. I have just heard that the building has been recently sold for a large amount of money, and is to be opened again as a Catholic church.

In a country where civil war had lasted for such a long time, everything was demoralized, and so, even after our complete success against the French Intervention and the so-called empire of Maximilian, some new uprisings took place, which were now headed by dissatisfied Liberal leaders; and though they were of no serious nature, and were easily subdued by President Juarez, they kept the country in an unsettled condition, and gave rise to the idea that we were unable to maintain peace. President Juarez died July 18, 1872, and President Lerdo de Tejada who succeeded him, first as Vice-President and afterwards as constitutional President, held the office until November, 1876, when General Diaz became President. Among the many distinguished services that General Diaz has rendered to Mexico, perhaps the principal one is to have restored complete peace to the country. During the several terms in which he has filled the executive office, he has earnestly encouraged the material development of the country and firmly established peace and order. Material development always furnishes the best of security that the public peace will be maintained.

It will be readily seen by this incomplete synopsis that the causes which brought about the civil wars in Mexico are now over. Ours was a contest for supremacy between the vital forces of the nation, which in other countries has taken longer years to be settled; but now our political problem is solved, the Church party has completely broken down as a political organization, and could not cause again any serious disturbance, so the main elements of civil war are now lacking. Mexico now for nearly twenty years has been at peace, and enjoyed all the advantages of a permanent repose. Such persons as took part in former revolutions have either died, disappeared, or are now interested in the maintenance of peace because they are thriving under the development of the country. Even in case President Diaz's guidance should fail Mexico, I am sure that peace would be preserved, because the interests in its favor are very strong. Railways and telegraphs are great preservers of peace. In case of an insurrection, it was not long ago that it took months for the government to reach the insurgents; and in the mean time they could organize and fortify themselves and make considerable headway before they were confronted by an enemy. Now the government can send troops at once to quell it.

It is only necessary to understand the philosophy of the disturbances with which we were afflicted for over fifty years, to see that the causes which produced them no longer exist. I consider, therefore, that peace in Mexico is as secure as it is in any other country, and that life and property are as safe there as anywhere else. Public opinion seems to share this view; and capital — especially foreign capital, which is so conservative and timid — is now being freely invested in Mexican enterprises.

Before finishing my remarks, I beg you to allow me to say a few words about Juarez, of whom Mr. Logan has spoken with such encomium. His career was really remarkable. He was a full-blooded Indian, born in Gelatao, a small town inhabited only by Indians, and where there was but one man — the parish priest — who spoke Spanish and could read and write. Juarez was so anxious to learn Spanish and to acquire an education that he offered his services to the priest under condition that he should be taught. The priest found him so intelligent that he sent him to the city of Oaxaca to be educated. From such humble beginnings he rose to be a prominent lawyer and a foremost statesman. He was at different times Secretary of State of his own State,

member of the State legislature, State senator, governor of his State for several terms, representative to the federal Congress, Secretary of Justice and of the Interior, Chief Justice, Vice-President, and finally President of the republic. His principal characteristics were his profound conviction of liberal principles, his very clear mind, his remarkably good common sense, his great moral courage, his unimpeachable integrity and honesty, his great patriotism, his tenacity of purpose, and his devotion to civil government. In time of war, when the destinies of the country were in his hands and depended on the result of a battle, and when many others in his place would have led an army, he purposely abstained from exercising any military duties. These he left entirely to those of his associates who had shown talent for war, and he himself set the example of conducting a purely civil government. He had as true personal courage as any man in the world. I saw him more than once facing death as imminent, as any man ever did, with perfect calmness and almost indifference, but without bravado. I think he was of opinion that it is best for a patriot to die in the service of his country, because he thus wins for himself immortality; and on this theory I account for the fact that he was never afraid to die, if he died while in the performance of a patriotic duty. His physical courage was as great as his moral courage, and it was by no means easy for him to resist the temptation to win for himself military laurels during the War of the French Intervention. He had been in this country as an exile, living for some time in New Orleans, where he supported himself by working as a cigar-maker. He admired your free institutions; and it was his earnest wish to establish them in Mexico, and to see everybody there as happy and free as he had seen the people of the United States.

Another of his characteristics was his tenacity of purpose and his devotion to the right. His saying that "peace is respect for the rights of others" has become an axiom among us. There was a time during the French Intervention in which many seemed to despair of the fate of Mexico; and that feeling was not entirely unreasonable, considering that the country was invaded by a very large French army,—some sixty or eighty thousand men, I think. Besides, Louis Napoleon and Maximilian had contrived to have an Austrian Auxiliary Corps, and a corps from Hungary, and another from Belgium to support the invasion. (Maximilian's wife was a daughter of the former king of Belgium, and a sister

of the present king.) He had also a contingent from the French colony of Algiers, and the command of the troops of the Church party, embracing most of our old regular army; and, finally, he had almost all the aristocratic elements of Mexico in his favor. Altogether, the array was so great it was no wonder that many of our public men had sometimes little hope of success. But Juarez never wavered or despaired for a second. He was as certain of final success as we are that, after the darkness of this night, the sun will rise to-morrow to shed its brilliant light upon us and give new life to the earth.

His sense of duty was so rigid that, having established his government during the French Intervention at El Paso del Norte,—a small town on the right bank of the Rio Grande,—where he remained for about three years, he never crossed the river to visit the opposite side for fear that such visit might be considered as a desertion of his post.

Mr. Seward's estimate of the character of Juarez shows how the Anglo-Saxon was impressed by the little Indian. When Mr. Seward visited Mexico on his trip around the world, he was heartily welcomed by my country; and, in a remarkable speech that he made in the city of Puebla, he said that Juarez was the greatest man that he had ever met in his life. His speech was taken down in shorthand, and Mr. Thomas H. Nelson, of Terre Haute, Ind., then United States Minister to Mexico, noticing this phrase, and thinking that in the excitement of the moment Mr. Seward had gone farther than he intended, and farther than he would like to have repeated after a sober second thought, took it to Mr. Seward, and said to him: "Governor, will you be willing to stand by what you said in your speech, about Juarez being the greatest man you ever knew? Remember that you have been the peer and contemporary of Webster, Clay, Calhoun, and many other distinguished men of our country, and that you place Juarez above them all." Mr. Seward answered, "What I said about Juarez was after mature consideration, and I am willing to stand by my opinion." I think to quote this opinion is the best thing I could say of Juarez before an Anglo-Saxon audience.

I could enlarge this talk, mentioning a great many other incidents about the condition of Mexico which support the views I have presented here this evening; and I could say a great deal more about the remarkable life of President Juarez and other topics touched upon in Mr. Logan's paper, but I feel it would be

intruding too much upon your time. I understand that most of the ladies and gentlemen present here have other engagements for the evening which are awaiting them, and I have already spoken longer than I intended. I will therefore close my remarks by again thanking you very sincerely for the great honor that you have conferred upon me in inviting me to be present at this meeting and to address you to-night. [Applause.]

EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH: SOME DIFFICULTIES AND ENCOURAGEMENTS.

AN ADDRESS BY JULIUS D. DREHER, A.M., PH.D., PRESIDENT OF
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[Read Tuesday, September 3.]

In undertaking to discuss "Education in the South: Some Difficulties and Encouragements," it is hardly necessary to say, by way of introduction, that it is impossible within the limits of a paper like this to enter upon a general discussion of so comprehensive a subject. The most that can be attempted is to touch upon certain features that stand out in bold relief. Some comparisons with the North will be necessary, in order to present the difficulties encountered in educational work in the South. When not otherwise stated, these comparisons are based on the statistics of the Census of 1890 and the latest Report of the Commissioner of Education, that for 1891-92.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The chief difficulty in maintaining good public schools, as well as good schools of all kinds, in the Southern States, is the lack of money. The South sustained immense losses by the war, while the North came out of that great struggle richer than at its beginning. The Southern people are mainly engaged in agricultural pursuits, in which money is accumulated slowly; and, notwithstanding the recent rapid increase in manufacturing industries, factories are not yet common in the South. Although a wonderful recuperative power has been shown and considerable material progress made, it is nevertheless true that in comparison with the North the South is still poor. According to the Census of 1890, the six New England States, with an area of 66,465 square miles and a population of 4,700,745, had an assessed valuation of \$3,567,947,695; and the six Middle States (including Maryland and the District of Columbia), with an area of 116,530 square miles and a population of 14,142,075, had an assessed valuation

of \$7,813,052,992; while the thirteen Southern States (not including Missouri), with an area of 818,065 square miles and a population of 17,914,290, had an assessed valuation of only \$3,731,097,264. That is, the New England and the Middle States combined, with an area only two-ninths that of the Southern States and a population greater by only 928,530, have an assessed valuation of real and personal property more than three times as large as that of the South. It will be seen from this comparison that the rate of taxation which will provide public schools for ten months in the year at the North will be sufficient to maintain such schools at the South for only three and a third months in the year. The assessed valuation of Massachusetts in 1890 was \$2,154,134,626, or nearly three-fifths the total assessed valuation of the thirteen Southern States, while the single State of New York (including the city) had an assessed valuation greater than that of these thirteen States together. If some Northern and Southern States be compared, the difficulty of the situation in the South will become still more apparent. Massachusetts, with less than one-fifth the area of Virginia, has an assessed valuation five and a half times greater than that of the Old Dominion. Texas, although five and a half times as large as New York, has an assessed valuation less than one-fifth that of the Empire State. Pennsylvania has an assessed valuation more than seven times that of Kentucky; Connecticut, more than double that of West Virginia; and Rhode Island, one forty-seventh the area of Georgia, has eight-ninths as much taxable property as that great State. Such comparisons enable us to appreciate how easy it is to maintain good schools for ten months in the year at the North, and how difficult it is to support such schools for a much shorter period in the South.

The sparseness of population throughout the Southern States is another difficulty in the problem of providing good schools. New England has 71 people to the square mile; the Middle States, 121; the Southern States, 22; Massachusetts, 278, and Virginia only 41; Connecticut, 154, and Georgia only 31; Pennsylvania, 117, and Alabama only 29. As it is necessary to maintain throughout the vast territory of the South separate schools for the two races, the foregoing comparisons, which are based on the total population, do not fairly represent the serious obstacle encountered in maintaining good schools by reason of the sparseness of population in the South. For instance, Alabama, with a total

population of 1,513,017, has, as we have said, an average of 29 people to the square mile; but Alabama has 833,718 white people or 16 to the square mile, and 679,299 colored people or 13 to the square mile, making it practically two States so far as the maintenance of schools is concerned, with the exception of the cost of superintendence.

Although the Southern States are supporting normal schools, there is as yet inadequate provision for the training of teachers; and as the school year is only from three and a half to five months, and the pay for that time far too small, comparatively little inducement is held out to competent and ambitious scholars to adopt teaching as a profession. Of course, many of the towns and cities maintain good schools by special taxation, and pay fair salaries for eight and even ten months in the year. In the South, however, there are few cities compared with the North; and it must be added that, owing to the lack of efficient local government and the individualizing tendency of the old-time Southern society, the people have not yet generally learned to submit to local taxation for public purposes. And hence the schools, and especially the high schools, in many towns and cities are not properly sustained by such taxation, which is common at the North and the West. In some of the larger cities of the South, however, the public schools will compare favorably with those in any other part of the country.

Although the colored people pay an insignificant part of the taxes, they share in proportion to population equally with the whites in appropriations for school purposes. It is not yet time to expect any great results from the efforts made to educate the colored people. As Dr. J. L. M. Curry well said some years ago, "The elevation of this race to complete manhood and womanhood, to the full appreciation of the responsibilities and duties of the parental relation and of the privileges and prerogatives of American citizenship, is a great problem, requiring generations to solve." The negroes are eager for education; and they are advancing, with faltering steps, it is true, but, nevertheless, they are making steady and substantial progress. And we believe with Dr. A. D. Mayo that "they will respond in reasonable time, if we furious Anglo-Saxons, a thousand years ahead, will only have the Christian patience to bear with the blundering steps of the last child of the centuries, standing on the threshold and facing the fierce electric light of American life." That this "last child of

the centuries" should not know well how to use his freedom should not surprise us when we see how white men abuse it; and, when we bear in mind that thousands of white men wish to live without work, we ought to be slow to condemn the colored man for indolence. It is quite natural that he should be influenced by example. His mistake is that he often undertakes to be a gentleman of leisure on too little capital. That the negroes are fairly industrious, however, is evident from the large crops produced throughout the South. As, in the nature of the case, they must be for years to come chiefly manual laborers, it is important that industrial schools should be provided for them. The Trustees of the Slater Fund act wisely, therefore, in restricting appropriations to such schools. With good schools, the continued sympathy and aid of the white people, and more wise leaders like Booker T. Washington, Principal of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, the colored people will in due time justify every effort and expenditure made for their advancement.

There is another feature of the situation that is interesting. In the early days of the republic, that great fundamental idea of the fathers of the Constitution that a republican government can rest safely only on the virtue and intelligence of the people took practical shape at the North in the establishment of free schools, supported by taxation. Higher education, though aided at times by various States in the North, was left to be provided for mainly by private liberality and public spirit. There is no university in the New England or the Middle States that is owned, supported, and governed by a State. The University of Vermont at Burlington, the College of New Jersey at Princeton, and the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia are not under State control, as are the Universities of Virginia, Texas, and Michigan. Several States have some share, however, in the control of universities, like Cornell, for instance, which received the benefits of the land-scrip appropriated by Congress for the establishment of agricultural and mechanical institutions. Of course, the agricultural and the normal colleges are supported and governed by the States. Before the Civil War hardly any provision was made anywhere in the South for the education of the great body of the people; but most of the Southern States established State universities, and several military academies, supported by legislative appropriations. Jefferson proposed a scheme of popular education for Virginia, with a great university as the capstone. The university,

which is the best in the South, was finally established, but not the system of common schools. When the free school system was established throughout the South, after the war, the States had to bear the burden of maintaining the common schools and the State universities also. Appropriations had to be made, too, for institutions of higher education for the colored people, so that now the Southern States are undertaking to do more than is done by the wealthy States of the North, but what the prosperous Western States are doing successfully. While it is impossible, of course, that all this should be well done at the South, it is a matter for congratulation that it is done with a fair measure of success.

To the credit of the South it should be said that, in proportion to assessed valuation, the Southern States are doing as much as the Northern States for the support of public schools. According to the Annual Statement of the Commissioner of Education for 1894, the New England and the Middle States expended for public schools in 1892-93 \$59,461,708, and the Southern States \$18,873,565. As the former have more than three times as much property as the latter, it will be seen from these figures that the South compares favorably with the North in appropriations for public schools. Introduced at a time when some opposition was naturally to be expected, these schools have gained in public favor throughout the South; and there is a growing disposition to provide more liberally for them. Better superintendence in States, counties, and cities, has steadily improved the school system; while State Normal Schools and Summer Institutes have improved the quality of the teachers, and inspired them with enthusiasm for their work. In spite of short sessions and small salaries, a considerable proportion of the public school teachers of the South are recruited from the ranks of college graduates and the better classes of society, and hence bring to their work a degree of literary and social culture unusual among teachers of the same grade of schools in other sections of our country.

PREPARATORY SCHOOLS.

We cannot claim to have any system of preparatory schools in the South. In the New England and the Middle States there are many academies and high schools that fit pupils for the best colleges. Several of these academies are so well endowed that scarcely a college in the South has as much property as is owned

by each of several New England fitting schools. Owing to the fact that the University of Virginia, several other State universities, and a number of Southern colleges are organized on the "school system" instead of the class system, which is general at the North, not many of the preparatory schools in the South have courses leading regularly up to the Freshman Class. Very few of these schools are well equipped for their work, and scarcely any of them are endowed. The college courses vary so much that no academy can prepare pupils for the Freshman Class in a dozen colleges as can be done in New England. Public schools in the South do not yet prepare any considerable number of pupils for colleges. With respect to this feature of the situation, one of the best informed men in the country has forcibly said: "It is from lack of suitable preparation in the country, district, and graded schools that the material for college work is still so crude and unsatisfactory in the South, compelling learned professors to 'make brick without straw' in the effort to instruct a class of youth in the higher education, who never have learned how to study or to handle their own minds." In these circumstances, many of the colleges find it necessary to maintain preparatory departments or "introductory classes." Even the Johns Hopkins University, which has the "group-system" of studies required for the bachelor's degree, and which, owing to its situation, is affected somewhat by the educational conditions at the South, has now a class of candidates for matriculation, organized to insure better preparation for admission to the courses prescribed for the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

There is no greater need to-day in the South than the reorganization of many of our universities, colleges, and secondary schools, and the introduction of some sort of system, so that each class of institutions may do its specific work. The recent establishment of a few good academies in Virginia and in several other States may be regarded as the promise of a better system of preparatory schools in the South.

UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES.

If the South has too few preparatory schools, the fact is plain enough from the Report of the Commissioner of Education that it has too many colleges and universities. This, however, may be said of every section of our country, with the possible exception of

New England. We may boast, if we will, of our 442 universities and colleges in the United States, and we may claim that we are rich with 145 universities, and pity the poverty of Germany with only 21; but in this very abundance is our weakness. Of the 145 universities, 43 are credited to the South, 16 of the 43 being for colored people. The predilection for high-sounding names is further illustrated in the fact that, of the 24 institutions of higher education for colored people, 18 are called "universities." And the "universities" are not all included in the lists; for several years ago two colored men called on me at my home in Salem to solicit a subscription to "—— University" in North Carolina, which they reluctantly admitted did not possess property worth \$10,000!

Returning now to our comparisons, we find that New England has 19 colleges and universities, or one to every 247,407 inhabitants; the Middle States, 73, or one to every 193,727; and the Southern States, 115 (not counting 13 "colleges" tabulated among secondary schools), or one to every 155,776 inhabitants. As we have seen, the New England and the Middle States combined, with a population greater by only 928,530, have more than three times the wealth of the Southern States; and yet they have together only 92 institutions, while the South has 115. Since, however, the negroes, who are included in the population of the Southern States, have little ability to support colleges either with students or money, the Northern States compared with the Southern may be said to have nearly double the population to support their colleges. If we omit the institutions for colored people, we have 93 colleges and universities for the South. If, now, we subtract the colored from the white population, we shall have 11,486,231, which would allow the South one college to every 123,508 white people.

If we compare the colleges and universities with respect to the value of grounds and buildings, we shall find that the 19 in New England have \$13,775,090, the 73 in the Middle States have \$23,432,562, and the 115 in the Southern States \$12,715,010. Average in New England, \$750,000; in the Middle States, \$321,000; in the Southern States, \$110,565.

If the comparison be made with respect to productive funds or endowments, we shall find that the 19 in New England have \$20,282,885; the 73 in the Middle States, \$30,939,972; and the 115 in the Southern States, \$10,159,896. Average endowment in

New England, \$1,067,520; in the Middle States, \$423,833; in the Southern States, \$88,347. The average total income in New England is \$124,824; in the Middle States, \$52,525; in the Southern States, \$16,966. The comparison on the basis of total income more nearly represents the comparative strength of institutions for higher education in the South, because the total income includes the annual appropriations to State universities and colleges which are not embraced in productive funds or endowments.

If we inquire into the question of libraries, we shall be face to face with one of the weakest features of educational work in the South. Indeed, the number of books in the Southern States is comparatively small. From "Statistics of Public Libraries," issued by the Bureau of Education, it appears that in 1891 there were in New England 956 libraries of more than 1,000 volumes each; in the Middle States, 1,098; and in the Southern States, 449. The libraries in the New England States had 7,219,124 volumes; in the Middle States, 9,445,440; and, in the Southern States, 2,250,712. The libraries of Massachusetts alone contain 4,650,088 volumes, or more than twice as many as all the libraries in the South together. In that State 248 of the 351 towns and cities have free public libraries, and up to 1891 individuals had given in money for libraries and library buildings more than \$5,500,000. The Harvard University Library and the Boston Public Library have each more volumes than are contained in all the libraries in Virginia. Massachusetts has for each 100 population 257 volumes; New York, 74; Pennsylvania, 51; Maryland, 89; Virginia, 22; Kentucky and Louisiana each, 20; South Carolina, 18; Tennessee and Georgia each, 15; Alabama, 8; Texas, 4. Nearly every town of any size in New England and many in the Middle States have public free libraries; and in most of these, as well as in some Western States, towns and public schools are aided by legislative appropriations in providing libraries, and local taxes may also be levied for this purpose. In the South there are very few public free libraries, and scarcely anything has been done in any of the Southern States to aid free city or public school libraries. The effect of free libraries on the education of the people is considerable.

The library statistics show that the 19 colleges and universities in New England have 1,171,973 volumes; the 73 in the Middle States, 1,328,769; the 115 in the Southern States, 633,717 vol-

umes. Average in New England, 62,735; in the Middle States, 18,202; in the Southern States, 5,510 volumes. If comparison should be made as to the value of scientific apparatus and equipment, it would appear that Southern colleges are weak also in this respect.

The average number of students in all departments in the 19 institutions in New England was 497; in the 73 in the Middle States, 349; and in the 115 in the Southern States, 249. A considerable proportion of the students in the colleges in the Middle States and a larger proportion in the Southern States were in Preparatory Departments. Notwithstanding the lack of endowment and equipment, it should be set down to the credit of Southern colleges of the better class that they reach many more young men in proportion to their means than are reached by the richly endowed colleges of the North. Taking the total amount invested in grounds, buildings, equipment, and endowment in 1893-94, from figures kindly furnished by the Bureau of Education, and dividing by the number of students, we have the amount invested for each student in attendance for the session of 1893-94 at the following universities and colleges: Harvard, \$4,247; Yale, \$3,872; Brown University, \$4,042; Bowdoin College, \$3,371; Dartmouth, \$4,722; Amherst, \$5,057; Williams, \$3,182; Trinity, \$15,413; Columbia, \$9,344; Union, \$7,987; Hamilton, \$5,603; Cornell University, \$5,153; University of Pennsylvania, \$2,568; Lafayette College, \$3,189; Pennsylvania College, \$2,461; Princeton, \$3,663; Johns Hopkins University, \$7,436; Washington and Lee University, \$4,285; Richmond College, \$2,677; Hampden-Sidney, \$1,606; Roanoke, \$1,145; Georgetown College (Kentucky), \$1,069; Centre College, \$1,226; Vanderbilt University, \$2,369; University of the South, \$1,181; Wake Forest College, \$1,247; Davidson, \$1,542; Wofford, \$1,025; Mercer University, \$2,079; Emory College, \$1,284; Tulane University, \$2,223. There are many colleges and some universities in the South that have much less than \$1,000 (some even less than \$500) invested for each student in attendance. None of the State universities are included in the foregoing list, because their invested funds do not correctly represent their strength, a considerable part of their support being in the form of annual State appropriations. These institutions generally have a larger income in proportion to the number of students than other universities and colleges in the South. It should be borne in mind that, as the cost of living is

less and salaries smaller at the South, moderate college endowments count for more there than at the North. Although the standard of Southern colleges is not as high as that maintained at the North, the work they are doing is of the highest value to the thousands of young men dependent on these institutions for collegiate training.

From what was said about preparatory schools it is evident that the standard for admission to colleges in the South is an uncertain quantity, and it must also be said that it is everywhere too low. As to the preparation needed to enter the University of Virginia, the catalogue contains the following: "Entrance examinations are not required except from academical students from Virginia seeking free tuition. But applicants for admission to the different classes in the several schools are expected to exhibit to the professors suitable evidence of adequate preliminary training." What is required of "academical students from Virginia" falls far below the standard for admission to the Freshman Class in New England colleges. As the University of Virginia exacts a large amount of work of its students, and rigidly enforces a high standard for graduation, it is evident that the students of our leading Southern university are obliged to do a good deal of cramming. Students not well prepared for the high quality of work done there cannot maintain a respectable rank and graduate, without cramming for severe examinations and overworking even at the serious risk of health. As Harvard and Yale set the standard at the North for admission to the Freshman Class and all respectable colleges endeavor to maintain that standard, and fitting schools adjust their courses to it, so the University of Virginia has exerted a wide influence on Southern colleges and preparatory schools. Following its example a number of colleges have adopted the "school system" of organization, little preparation being necessary to enter the "schools," and such preparation being mainly provided for in "introductory classes." The University High Schools in Virginia and other Southern States, having no uniform standard set for the admission of their students to the university, prepare them for the first class in some "schools" and for the second and even Senior Class in others. Some academies fall into line and undertake to fit students for the Sophomore and even Junior Classes in colleges. The colleges that adhere to the historic classification of Freshman, Sophomore, Junior, and Senior Classes, have great difficulty in classifying the

heterogeneous applicants for admission. Of the burden imposed on the instructors Professor Charles Forster Smith, himself a Southern man and a graduate of Wofford College, says: "I reckon honestly, from actual trial both in New England and Southern colleges, that the teacher must expend at least twice as much vital energy on our mixed lower classes as on the better arranged classes there."

Southern colleges cannot, in the present condition of things, maintain a proper standard for admission to the Freshman Class, and many of them have preparatory departments to meet the needs of young men who have had meagre opportunities at home or who have been irregularly prepared for college. The poverty of most of our young men in the South operates against the maintenance of a high standard for admission, as well as for graduation, as they wish to enter as high and graduate as quickly as possible. From the University of Virginia down to the weakest colleges, professors must do work that properly belongs to fitting schools; and the evil of cramming is almost unavoidable. Students who are obliged to cram for recitations and examinations have little time for reading and for digesting and assimilating knowledge; and hence the standard of literary culture is not high, even in the best institutions in the South. While giving the University of Virginia due credit for maintaining a high standard for graduation and for the influence it has exerted on the standard of scholarship in the South, I am confident that, if it had been organized, as Harvard and Yale, with the four college classes and a proper standard for admission to the Freshman Class, the standard of collegiate education and especially of literary culture would to-day be higher throughout the Southern States. In the present state of things it is certain that no "Committee of Ten" could devise a scheme of studies for preparatory schools applicable and acceptable to the colleges and universities of the South. It is not possible in Virginia and adjacent States to maintain an association of college men to agree upon requirements for admission to the Freshman Class, as is done in New England and elsewhere at the North. That the "school system" of organization has had an injurious effect on collegiate education in the South is maintained by President William Preston Johnston, of Tulane; the late Chancellor Garland, of Vanderbilt; Dr. A. A. Lipscomb, late Chancellor of the University of Georgia; President James H. Carlisle, of Wofford College; Professor Edward S. Joy nes, of South

Carolina College; Professor Charles Forster Smith,* of the University of Wisconsin, formerly of Vanderbilt; and many others.

There are at the South, as at the West, numerous "business colleges" and "universities" and private "normal colleges" that profess to open a royal road of "rapid transit" to success in business and to scholarship and culture. Many of our young men, of limited means are attracted by the alluring advertisements and promises of such institutions. Even in Virginia, which may claim to lead the Southern States in education, and where it is also claimed that people are fairly well informed as to educational standards and methods, there are "normal colleges" that undertake to do what the best universities in our country would consider impossible, even with their able faculties, large endowments, and splendid equipments. Let me quote from the catalogue of one of these "colleges": "This course [the "scientific"] is intended as an introduction to that broad culture so necessary to success in any profession. Many persons are deprived of that higher culture because they do not have time nor money to spend four or five years at some institution where they are compelled to pursue studies that will be of no practical use to them in after life. The course may be completed in one year." Think of it: "higher culture" in "*one year*"! This course of one year of forty-five weeks is thus set forth in the catalogue: "Algebra, Latin, Zoölogy; Cæsar, Geometry, Chemistry; Cæsar, Trigonometry, Geology; Virgil, Surveying, Botany; Constitution, Virgil Reviews." From the catalogue of another "normal college" in Virginia I take the following: "Those who complete this course [the "scientific"] will be prepared for all the practical relations of life. We have endeavored to give the maximum of work in the minimum of time. That this work is well done is attested by all who have entered our classes. There is no reason why a student should take five or six years to do the work here completed in two." This "scientific course" of thirty-six weeks embraces "Geometry, Cæsar, Natural Philosophy, English Literature, Essays; Trigonometry, Virgil, Chemistry, Greek Lessons, Essays; Astronomy, Cicero, Geology, Xenophon, Finals." Then follows the "classic course" of one year, of which we are assured that "the student who takes this course will be prepared for any of the professions that require the application of the laws of investigation." As this

* Professor Smith published valuable articles on "Southern Colleges and Schools" in the *Atlantic Monthly* for October, 1884, and December, 1885.

rapid transit process has not yet been patented as a literary cramming machine, it ought to have a wider publicity than it can gain from the circulation of the catalogue ; and hence, for the benefit of university and college faculties, I quote further: "The methods here employed are somewhat unique. Principles only are sought after. Subjects are studied, and not text-books. Each student must do original work. The exponential outline is largely used in the class-room. Written work is done by every pupil of the school in all departments. It is safe to say that by our methods double the work can be better done in the same time with less friction than by any other plan. Our students find it a pleasure both to study and to recite. The enthusiasm is contagious. School work here is not a slavish burden under the eye of a hard taskmaster, but a delightful pleasure, with the teacher as a cheerful, intelligent guide on the road to knowledge, pointing out the beauties along the way." The catalogue further informs us that "this institution is regularly chartered under the statutes of the State of Virginia to grant diplomas, degrees, and other literary honors and distinctions usual in such cases." The catalogue of this "college" shows an enrolment of 105 students. As I think of some of these taking their diplomas, I am reminded of a good and true story I heard some years ago of a graduate of a "normal university" in Ohio, who, on leaving that institution with "a little learning" and abundant conceit, longed to show off his superior attainments to a Harvard or a Yale graduate. Happening to meet a graduate of Yale, he came out of the contest a sadder and wiser man. Indeed, he had the good sense afterward to enter a real college from which it took him several years to graduate.

From what I have said about the lack of anything like a uniform standard of admission to colleges in the South, it follows that there can hardly be anything but a variable standard for college degrees, and that that standard is generally too low. That is always the result, however, where the effort is made to maintain more colleges than are needed. Much that has been said about the multiplicity and weakness of colleges and universities in the South would apply in great part to those in Ohio and in States further west. If Tennessee with 22 and Kentucky with 13 colleges and universities have too many, so have Ohio with 38 and Illinois with 27. It is too easy in the South, as in other parts of our country, to secure charters for literary institutions, with power to confer degrees ; and it is to be hoped that

the legislation on this subject in New York, and more recently in Pennsylvania, will produce plenty of good fruit in the near future. The giving of honorary titles throughout our country has been carried to so great an extent that some men who deserve such marks of distinction prefer to be distinguished without them. Ohio seems to be, more than any other State, a maker of Doctors of Divinity, if the statistics for 1891-92 are not misleading; for in that year Ohio colleges conferred the degree of D.D. on 41 clergymen, while the remaining 404 colleges and universities gave that degree to only 225 ministers. The whole system, or lack of system, of giving degrees in course and as honorary titles needs to be rescued from the state of degradation into which it has fallen, as has also the name of college, in almost all parts of our country.

Of the professional schools in the South—those for the study of law, medicine, and theology—there is little need of speaking, except very briefly. In theology the courses are almost everywhere three years; in law and in medicine, two. A few medical schools are extending their courses to three years; and it is expected that the University of Virginia will add a third year to its unusually thorough theoretical course of two years, which it was possible, until four years ago, for a student to complete in one year. Many more men failed, however, to get their diplomas in two years than succeeded in graduating there in one session. Owing to the pecuniary condition of the vast majority of the young men and the low ideals of academic and professional education prevailing in some degree throughout the South, I fear it will be many years before we can have required courses of three years in law as is general at the North, and longer still before we have required courses of four years in medicine, as at Harvard, Columbia, the University of Pennsylvania, the Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia, and the Johns Hopkins University. It is interesting to note in passing that in this respect America is only following the example of Japan, the Imperial University of that progressive nation having required, before any college in this country, a four years' course in medicine, with an examination for graduation covering twenty-five days and conducted by a committee of active practitioners. Harvard now requires as a condition for entering the Law School that the candidate shall be a graduate of a respectable college, and Johns Hopkins has a similar requirement for admission to the Medical Department. Sooner

or later all respectable institutions must either follow these excellent examples or at least set some educational standard for young men who wish to enter upon professional studies. At present the standard for admission to schools of law and medicine in the South is low; and, until educational conditions are considerably changed, we cannot expect any decided improvement in this respect.

Notwithstanding all the difficulties that have been mentioned, most of the colleges and universities in the South have been much improved in many respects within the last two decades. Courses of study have been enlarged and modified to meet the demands of the times. The standard for graduation has been gradually raised in the better class of colleges; and an increasing number, though not yet a large number, of bright men pursue post-graduate courses in the best universities in our country and in Germany. The quality of instruction has been improved; and the qualifications required of professors are much higher, the better class of colleges now requiring for their chairs men who have had both collegiate and university training. The Johns Hopkins University has attracted a number of the most scholarly graduates, and has made a valuable contribution to educational progress in the South by supplying properly equipped men for professorships in a number of the best institutions in that part of our country. The State universities are pretty liberally sustained by annual appropriations; the agricultural colleges are becoming schools of technology; and these stronger institutions exert a wholesome influence by stimulating the colleges to keep pace with the general educational progress. Even with meagre endowments and equipments and other hindrances, many of the colleges are doing good work through the devotion of professors who are willing to perform large tasks on small pay, making up, as President Candler, of Emory College, says, "for the lack of endowment with an opulence of self-denial which has never been surpassed in any age or clime." The endowments, too, have been considerably increased in recent years; and there is a growing appreciation of the necessity for endowments and an increasing disposition to give money to institutions of higher education. The South, however, has so little accumulated wealth that large benefactions in any considerable number are not to be expected for some time. The assessed valuation of property in Boston in 1890 was more than double that of the State of Virginia; the valuation of New York

City, more than half as large as that of the thirteen Southern States; the valuation of Philadelphia nearly equaled that of Virginia and Tennessee together; and Providence had an assessed valuation almost as large as that of the State of South Carolina. When diversified industries increase the wealth of the South, especially of the cities, from which large benefactions usually come, we may expect that the generous nature of Southern people will prompt them to make many large gifts to educational institutions and public libraries. There is no other part of our country where gifts for such objects are so greatly needed, or where money goes further in supporting institutions of higher education; and yet, of the vast amount of money given by individuals to universities and colleges in recent years, only a small proportion has gone to the needy and deserving colleges in the South. For the generous gifts of the Vanderbilts, of Tulane, of Fayerweather, and of many other donors to institutions of higher education, as well as for the munificent benefactions of Peabody and Slater, and the gifts of a host of others, societies as well as individuals, to the schools of the South, the Southern people generally are profoundly grateful.

An encouraging feature of the situation is the eagerness of students for collegiate advantages, many of them being willing to practise most rigid economy and do any sort of honorable work to enjoy such advantages. About one-fourth of the students at Roanoke take their meals in boarding clubs at a cost of about seven dollars a month; and in the last graduating class was a young man from Texas, who "worked his way" for four years in the capacity of college janitor. At some colleges students get even cheaper board in clubs than at Roanoke, and in many institutions there are young men who are paying their own way by work done either during the session or in vacation. While the expenses of students at the large institutions North seem to be increasing, it is necessary, in order to meet the wants of the great body of students at the South, to keep college expenses at the lowest possible figure. Although President Thwing, of Western Reserve University, informs us that "the average cost of a college education is greater than the average income of an American family," there are, nevertheless, many Southern boys who meet their expenses for a year at college with \$200, and some with even less. But these young men, who are determined to have an education at any cost of hard work and self-denial, are a class whose earnestness insures satisfactory progress, and whose presence in

college is a constant incentive to diligent application by the whole body of students. Scholarships and loan funds to aid deserving students in their heroic struggle for a collegiate education are greatly needed by all of our Southern colleges, or, as a valued correspondent expresses it, "What we need more than anything else is, as I believe, the endowment of the *individual*,—some way opened to our young people of obtaining the higher education, from which the great majority are as effectually debarred as if there were not a college in the United States!" It should be remarked in this connection that the poverty of the people, and, consequently, the desire to have colleges near their homes for the sake of economy, account in part for the undue multiplication of institutions of higher education in the South.

COLLEGES FOR WOMEN.

This discussion would be too incomplete without some remarks on institutions for the education of women in the Southern States. There is so much difference in the character of colleges for women in the United States that the Commissioner of Education divides them into two classes. In "Division A" he places the real colleges, 14 in number. Of these 4 are in Massachusetts, 5 in New York, and one each in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, and California. These 14 colleges have in productive funds \$3,237,357; in grounds and buildings, \$4,238,119; in libraries, 135,666 volumes. Combining "Division A" and "Division B" we have 158 colleges for women tabulated for 1891-92. Of these there are 27 in the New England and the Middle States, with \$5,398,587 invested in grounds and buildings, an average for each of \$199,947; in productive funds, \$3,212,357, an average of \$118,976; and 150,550 volumes in libraries, an average of 5,576 volumes. In the Southern States there are 99 "colleges for women," with \$4,411,300 invested in grounds and buildings, an average of \$44,558; in productive funds, \$173,000, an average of \$1,747; and, in libraries, 100,597 volumes, an average of 1,016. In the 8 "colleges" in New England were 2,395 students, an average of 300. Of these 179 were preparatory, 413 academic, and 1,803 collegiate students. In the 19 "colleges" in the Middle States were 2,636 students, an average of 139. Of these 756 were preparatory, 532 academic, and 1,348 collegiate students. In the 99 "colleges" in the South-

ern States were 13,180 students, an average of 133. Of these 1,808 were primary, 1,663 preparatory, 1,796 academic, and 7,913 collegiate students. At the North many young women pursue studies in public high schools that would be called "collegiate studies" in the South.

It is rather an ungracious task thus to expose the weakness of our institutions for young women in the South; but I do it from a sense of duty, in the hope that some good may be done by stimulating those who read this paper to make earnest efforts for improvement in this class of institutions. A brilliant Virginia lady* urged me some years ago to speak "a brave word" for the young women of the South; and in a letter last year she wrote, "I fancy the young women of the South have not quite passed the veneering epoch of woman's education, and may not be ready to avail themselves of solid culture." If we wish to get proof of the "veneering," we have only to examine the Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1891-92 to see what the young women are studying. Thus we find that, of 13,180 students in the 99 "colleges" in the South, 6,778, or more than half, are studying music, and 2,135 are studying art. Of the 5,031 students in the 27 "colleges" in the New England and the Middle States, only 854 are studying music, and only 360 studying art. While 420 young ladies in Virginia study English literature and 322 history (other than that of the United States), 1,009 are studying music! In Kentucky 207 study English literature, 157 history, and 777 music. In Tennessee 216 study English literature, 230 history, and 953 music. In Mississippi 122 study English literature, 248 history, and 645 music. In Texas 30 study English literature, 20 history, and 300 music. Although I am a lover of music and art, I am confident that a great deal of valuable time is being wasted by Southern girls in the "veneering" process. Everybody knows that comparatively few of them have a talent for music; and yet a foolish fashion requires that girls should spend time and money playing on pianos and other musical instruments, when not one in ten expects to keep in practice in music after her marriage, if, indeed, until that interesting event. How much more sensible it would be for at least nine-tenths of these girls to spend their time on more substantial studies! Vassar, which had 485 students last year, has no "school of music, special course, or diploma"; but

* Mrs. Henry C. Rice, of Coles' Ferry, Charlotte County, Va., a daughter of Hon. Roger A. Pryor and a graduate of the Packer Collegiate Institute in Brooklyn, N.Y.

the history and theory of music and art are included in the regular courses of the college, as they are, also, at Harvard and Yale. Of 780 students at Wellesley last year, 80 were in the course in music, extending through five years. Of 798 students at Smith College, 44 studied music, and 11 art, the course in each being four years. Of 327 students at Mount Holyoke College, 11 studied music last year. Of 284 in Radcliffe College, 7 studied music (history and theory only), and 13 art. Barnard and Bryn Mawr have no courses in music and art. At the new Randolph-Macon Woman's College at Lynchburg, Virginia, which aims to maintain the same collegiate standard for women as for men, 50 per cent. of the students are studying music.

As with colleges for young men, so we are trying to maintain too many so-called "institutions of higher education" for young women,—a good many more than the Commissioner of Education tabulates. And too many of them are called "colleges." In addition to the 99 institutions in the South included among "Colleges for Women," there are 17 "colleges" for women and 59 coeducational "colleges" among secondary schools in the Southern States, and a great many other institutions called seminaries, institutes, etc. Much of the sort of work done in most of these institutions is done by public high schools at the North. In all New England there are only *four colleges* for women, including Radcliffe at Harvard. In Virginia I can count more than ten "colleges" for young ladies, and such "colleges" abound in almost every one of the Southern States. Until recently none of the colleges and seminaries for women in Virginia and comparatively few in the South conferred degrees, because the standard for graduation did not justify it. But now, along with the cheering fact that the Sophie Newcomb Memorial College of Tulane University and the Randolph-Macon Woman's College are setting a respectable collegiate standard for women, and that other schools are making a near approach to such a standard, we have to express our regret that institutions that are not of collegiate grade are not only conferring the degree of A.B., but also A.M., on students who certainly could not enter the Sophomore Class in Wellesley, Smith, or Vassar. There is a college in Kentucky which does not condescend to confer A.B., but gives A.M. only. Any one who examines the catalogues of many of these "colleges" and seminaries in the South will be convinced of the showy and superficial character of these schools. From some of these catalogues—so

elegantly printed, so profusely illustrated, and some so daintily bound together with silk cord or ribbon—it would be entertaining and even amusing, if not instructive, to make extracts; but I forbear, lest this paper be carried beyond a proper length. For one, I am gratified by the interest taken in the education of young women in the South; and I rejoice that there are a good many institutions that do thorough work, and that there are some, like Hollins Institute, in Virginia, that set a high standard, as things go in the South, and yet do not assume the name of college. There are many thoughtful people in the South, as there are some in all parts of the country, who doubt the wisdom of setting the same high collegiate standard for women and men alike, and who believe that there should be an almost radical difference in the training of young men and women. It is not within the province of this paper, however, to discuss that question. What I am condemning is not the one or the other kind of training for women; but the low ideal of collegiate education encouraged by so many of these seminaries and so-called colleges, and the fact that so many people seem to know no better than to believe that their daughters are really getting collegiate training.* Well does Professor Rowland, of Johns Hopkins University, say: "I do not object to the education. . . . But I do object to lowering the ideals of the youth of our country. Let them know that they are attending a school, and not a university; and let them know that above them comes the college, and above that the university. . . . In other words, let them be taught the truth."

I know personally a good many of those who are engaged in the work of educating young women in the South, and who regret the prevailing conditions and abuses, but who feel powerless to institute reforms to any appreciable extent. What is first needed is that educators and editors should endeavor to awaken and inform

* With reference to this discouraging feature, I have permission to quote from a letter written by Mrs. Henry C. Rice after she had read a copy of this paper, before it was revised for publication: "To the great majority of girls, and, alas! to their parents, a diploma is a diploma, whether it comes from Radcliffe or from '—— College.' Why work honestly and seriously for years to obtain what can be achieved by a year or two of short swallow flights into a great variety of subjects? It sounds much grander to take a year of French, one of German, one of Latin, than to study any one of these for three years; and how are we to open the blind eyes? Does not the pretty girl of the swallow flights often marry better than the serious student? There's the real reason why our girls, and girls everywhere, find it hard to be true to the higher vision. Until a woman learns that, married or unmarried, it is her duty and her privilege to develop herself to the utmost, there is little hope of her seeking an honest, true, thorough education. . . . My own Southern 'Female College,' excellent and thorough in its work, nevertheless did no more than prepare me for the Junior Class of the Packer *Institute*, which, I believe, claims now, with a standard higher than in my day, to prepare for the Junior Class in any college."

public sentiment on this subject; and I am now making my little contribution to this end, at the risk of wounding the feelings of some of my professional brethren, and of being considered a depreciator of the South by others. But I have been studying the situation for years, and I believe that I am discharging a public duty by pointing out the weaknesses and defects of our institutions for young ladies. I believe that, when people are informed on the subject, we shall have a reform, and that real college training will be provided for the increasing number of superior young women of the South, who, as Dr. A. D. Mayo so forcibly says, "are not going to be satisfied with the regulation fashionable boarding-school, the superficial imitation of foreign training in the convent, or the pretentious instruction of sectarian 'female colleges' for infants in short clothes." During his long and useful "ministry of education" in the South, Dr. Mayo must have found "the infants in short clothes" in the primary and kindergarten departments of some of these "colleges." Certainly, no object is more worthy of the attention of wealthy philanthropists than the planting of a Southern Wellesley in some central point in this great territory, and any educator might gladly give many years of his life to aid in founding such an institution as an example of what a college for the higher education of women should be. When it is founded, it ought to have so large an endowment that its superior advantages might be enjoyed for two hundred dollars a year, and so many scholarships that no worthy girl would be shut out because of her poverty.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

The interest in schools of all grades in the South, from the common school to the university, is steadily increasing. The increase in the enrolment of eager pupils in public schools is a proof of that active interest. An additional proof is found in the fact that colleges and seminaries are attended by an increasing number of young men and women, who practise self-denial or profit by the sacrifices of anxious parents, in order that these higher educational advantages may be enjoyed. Even the tendency to multiply institutions of higher education, of which I have complained in this paper, is still further evidence of this general interest. A Southern man by birth and education, I rejoice in all the evidences of educational life in the South. If in this paper

I have spoken plainly of serious defects, it is because I believe people must recognize evils before they will endeavor to remedy them. I know there are many who believe that they prove their loyalty to a section, party, or cause by indiscriminate praise of everything connected with it; but that is not the spirit of true progress. If I am not mistaken, the highest type of loyalty demands that we frankly recognize faults and evils, and try to correct and remove them. Harvard and Yale, Columbia and Princeton, are what they are to-day because men were not content to believe years ago that these institutions were "the best in the world." Public discussion and criticism in the leading papers of the great Northern cities have been of incalculable benefit to these colleges and universities, as well as to all classes of schools at the North. If such discussions were common in the South, many of our people would not have such a confused idea of what a university is, what a college ought to be, and what a fitting school should undertake to do. As long as we praise all our institutions indiscriminately, and as long as people believe that our system of education in the South is nearly perfect, just so long do we delay the day of true progress in our educational work.

Notwithstanding all that has been said, it must not be forgotten that under many adverse circumstances the Southern people have done a tremendous work since the war in providing schools for the masses and in building and strengthening institutions of higher education. They might have been wiser in their plans and more judicious in some respects in spending their money; but no people ever projected educational systems in the midst of more inauspicious surroundings, and that, too, with the consciousness that a race recently in slavery, and hence able to contribute almost nothing in taxes, was to share equally with themselves in the schools supported at public expense. What has been courageously done against so many odds may be regarded as the sure promise of greater advances in the future.

No one could spend twenty-five years in educational work in the South, as I have done, without feeling the warmest sympathy and admiration for the many true and noble men and women who are devoting their lives to the cause of education in this part of our common country. These superior teachers, who are engaged in the public and the private schools, in the colleges and seminaries for young women, and in the universities and the colleges of every State in the South, deserve the highest praise for faithful, self-denying, honest work under unfavorable conditions.

The situation in the South is one to awaken interest and excite sympathy in all students of social progress and lovers of their fellow-men. On a prodigious scale we may see here the operation of that stern law of the "survival of the fittest" which everywhere in the evolution of society is crushing out the weakest. As in this process many who deserve a better fate are likely to be crushed out, the South presents an ample field to-day for the display of that benevolent spirit in the "struggle for the life of others," so eloquently described by Professor Drummond in his "Ascent of Man," or for the expenditure of a part of that fund of altruistic sentiment which, as set forth by Benjamin Kidd in his "Social Evolution," has been accumulating so rapidly in recent years, and which is destined in the near future to unite mankind in a universal brotherhood. Brothers of the Southland, let us not falter under the double burden of providing for the best possible education of two races. Brothers of the Northland, fail not in giving us at least your hearty Christian sympathy in this tremendous undertaking.

THE ARGUMENT FOR TRADE SCHOOLS.

A REPORT BY JOSEPH LEE, SECRETARY OF THE
SOCIAL ECONOMY DEPARTMENT.

(Read September 6.)

I should like to present a few reasons why our Association should next year devote a day to the subject of Trade Schools. In 1890, during our debate here on the single tax, Henry George asked one question which I think worth consideration now. Growing restive under the criticism which his own panacea was receiving, he said, "Well, gentlemen, what is *your* solution? what is it *you* want to have done?" Addressed as it was to college professors, to men who are concerned with social principles and phenomena from the purely academic standpoint, and who are not called upon to form opinions as to what ought to be done, the question was hardly pertinent. But our Association is not academic in its purpose. It *is* our business to have an opinion as to what had better be done. As I understand it, our main object is to stand between the student and the politician, translating the ideas of the one into a policy for the other to pursue.

If we and similar associations do not discharge this function, nobody will. Our politicians are kept too busy getting and keeping their places, and over legislative detail, to give time to the broader problems of statesmanship; and our students and professors are, as I have said, working out some of the principles that must control action, but are not thinking what that action should be, nor concerned with a large part of the data that must govern any such practical decision.

I do not mean that we are to concoct a panacea like the single tax, which is to put down evil and bring the millennium by the passage of one statute. That is not a form in which a solution of our problems will be likely to present itself. But I do mean to say that, whatever the truth in regard to constructive social work may be, it is our business to look for it, and, so far as our search is successful, to proclaim it.

I was travelling last summer in the Dolomites, and stopped at

the little town of Cortina, in a valley among the mountains. The people who live there are a very interesting and a very pleasant people,—Italian by race, Austrian by adoption. They own their chief wealth, woodland, in common, and pay for their schools, roads, and poor-rates by cutting the trees on the public account, and sending them down stream to Lombardy, perhaps to Venice. Living among some of the most beautiful scenery in the world,—a background of steep, fantastic rocks (such as one sees in the pictures of Titian, a native of the same valley), and, sloping up to these rocks, rich, cultivated fields and large, pleasant Swiss houses,—with all this beauty belonging to any one who will take the trouble to step outdoors, they still have found it necessary to have a pretty little park of common land down in the village along the banks of the stream. With all this sense and embodiment of the feeling of community, they are an independent set. A servant from one of their houses expects to be treated as an equal; some of the peasants have titles of nobility, and have lived there since ever so long ago,—since Julius Cæsar, for all I know. There is no danger that socialism of the debilitating order will be favored by them.

But what interested me most in this interesting town were two trade schools. One teaches ornamental metal work,—the making of small trinkets of various sorts,—the other wood inlaying. They both teach good workmanship, and turn out finished and successful workmen. Their business is not manual training, the development of faculties, the making of boys and girls better able to learn a trade or to do things in general, but the actual teaching of a particular trade, a way of making certain things that people want and will pay for, so that the pupils are expected when they leave the school to be able to earn a living. And these two trade schools are not paid for by the town, as I was told the regular schools are; but they are managed and supported from Vienna by the Austrian imperial government.

Here was a lesson,—at least, a striking fact. A little town in the Julian Alps, full of prosperous people of another race than the one that chiefly paid the bills, very rich, and unusually able to take care of itself; and yet for this town the old, effete, antediluvian, decrepit Austrian empire (as we in our conceit are apt to picture it) thinks it worth while to maintain two schools for helping the citizens to place their children in a position to make their way in the world.

Now, whether the Austrian government is wise in this expenditure is a question on which I do not propose to express an opinion. It is to consider that question that I want to have our Association spend a whole day next year.

But one thing I think we can safely say now, one principle I think we can say we believe in as the guiding principle for America in the social advance of the near future; and that is the principle of *education*. *Don't tie on the flowers, water the plant*. Don't put your stress on giving people what they have not earned, but on making them able to earn more. Giving is often a sad necessity. Plenty of people are unable to earn a living, and we are glad to do for them what we can. We must care for our sick. But a far more important matter is to try that there shall not be so many sick. It is a kind philanthropy that would give of its abundance to the poor and needy. It is a noble philanthropy that will patiently labor till it can so train the poor and needy that they may be able, in a fair field, to take from it a part of its abundance or the whole of it.

I speak of philanthropy, but this is a matter that ought not to be left to depend on philanthropy. The fitting of its citizens to take a successful part in life is the business of the State, if anything is. Education is the one matter in which we can hardly go too far in the direction of communism. What is spent by us in making ourselves and our children better and stronger men and women is not likely to be regretted. There is a limit, of course, to what we can afford in that direction; but it is a limit we have hardly yet begun to approach. All this, I am well aware, is a commonplace in our American way of looking at things. But that is just why I lay stress upon it. That is why I believe that *education* is the watchword of social advance in America. The American belief that it is the State's duty to secure proper training and education for its citizens is not only embodied in our public schools and colleges: it is a part of the whole Puritan conception of the duty of the Commonwealth. The State to the Puritan was to be, first of all, a power for righteousness. We have modified our ideas of what things the State can profitably do. We have found that its interference in some matters did not make for righteousness, and must be abandoned. But our conviction that the State can be, and must be made to be, a power for righteousness is still deep and persistent, and capable of much further expression than it has yet attained.

To this proposition, that education is the watchword of social advance in America, there are many corollaries. When the court of public opinion begins the hearing of every case by a statement that, as a matter of law, the question is what decree will tend toward the production of the best, bravest, and wisest men and women, the answer to many vexed problems will begin to appear with much clearer outline behind the mists of selfishness and of supposed rights and privileges.

What I wish to do at present is to call attention to what I believe to be a sound proposition in regard to education proper, — the education of children in school; namely, that it ought to be made to include, for those that desire it, not merely a general training of the mind and faculties and the imparting of a certain amount of useful knowledge, but the fitting of boys and girls for practical work, — for life such as they will find it when they leave school, — the fitting of girls to be good wives and mothers, and of the boys to earn a living.

From the economic point of view this is sufficiently important. If girls know how to cook, our people will be well fed instead of half-starved amid abundance, as many of them are now; and they will be able to work the better in consequence. If boys are thorough and skilful at their trade, we shall produce more, and (the paradoxical school of political economy notwithstanding) have more, of the good things of life at our disposal.

But the moral value of fitting children in school for the work they are to do when they come out of school is a hundred times more important than the economic. A wise man, who had had much experience in philanthropic work, once said to me, "No philanthropic scheme of amusement or occupation or good surroundings or anything else bears any comparison, in the good it can do for a boy, to simply getting him a job. Put him at work, earning money, taking his part like others, and you make a different boy of him."

At present there is a very dangerous gap in the life of a boy between his leaving school and his getting a job. He leaves school untrained for work of any sort. It is nobody's business to find him work. Many people do make it their business to prevent his getting certain kinds of work. Nobody wants him as he is, and there is no way provided for his becoming different. The apprenticeship system has died, and left no heir.

How wide this gap is, how many of our boys lose years of their

lives in crossing it, how many fail ever to cross it, and get trampled into the mud and left there, I have not made sufficient investigation to be able to report. I have gone far enough to know that the evil is a real and a great one, and to know that its removal is by no means simple or easy.

With girls, indeed, the problem does seem to be a comparatively simple one; the importance of their knowing how to prepare food in such a manner as to be edible by human beings, and how to wash clothes and keep house (whether when they are married they will do these things themselves, or direct others in doing them), seems to be so great, and so evident, from every point of view, that I see no room for a difference of opinion on that matter. The effect upon intemperance alone would be enough to justify us in teaching every school-girl these things. With boys the problem is much more difficult. Where the general training should leave off and the special training should begin, and how far they should go on side by side, must be a different problem for every sort of boy and every sort of work, from the day laborer to the medical specialist. It is a problem that our colleges are struggling with, and it is equally difficult in the case of boys who do not go to college.

To sum up, I believe it to be the business of this Association to take a part in deciding what is to be done,—what are the main lines along which social advance should now be pushed in this country. I believe education to be the guiding principle, and the inspiration of such advance. I think that school education should aim to prepare boys and girls for practical life; and I submit, for our next meeting in this department, the problem of what part trade schools should play in supplying this preparation.

THE REFERENDUM AND OTHER FORMS OF DIRECT DEMOCRACY IN SWITZERLAND.

BY E. V. RAYNOLDS, ESQ., OF NEW HAVEN, CONN.

[Read Thursday, September 5.]

Representative assemblies are at the present time undeniably out of favor. No European state regards its parliament with enthusiastic admiration, no American State looks with confident pride upon its legislature. Now that the era of struggle for the establishment of representative institutions is over, and from the Russian border westward to far-away Japan the civilized world has got its parliaments, an increasing number of men are beginning to question in all seriousness whether the worthiest occupation of the twentieth century may not be to get rid of them again. We see with apprehension the assembling of our congresses and legislatures, and at their adjournment are thankful that an interval must elapse before we are plagued with the next one.

The rigidity of the Federal Constitution prevents our doing anything with Congress except to endure its annual visitation, and commonly once in two years to express our emphatic disapproval of whichever party happens to have been in the majority. In the States constitutional amendment is an easier matter, and by a host of provisions it has been sought to put bridle and curb on the activity of our law-makers. Biennial sessions, limitation of the length of sessions, of the time within which measures may be introduced, of the power to pass special acts, extensions of the veto power, removal from legislative discretion by enactment into the constitution of all manner of laws, constitutional and otherwise in character,—such are some of the means whereby it is sought to escape the pernicious activity of the representatives of the people.

Such palliatives are, however, quantitative rather than qualitative in character; and numerous reforms are urged upon our attention. Some expect the millennium when the suffering sex obtains the suffrage, a smaller number are bold enough to urge that the suffrage be restricted rather than extended, others pin their faith upon well-devised ballot laws and stringent corrupt practices acts, a small but devoted band urges proportional representation upon

a somewhat indifferent public, while others hope to cure our present ills by giving seats and voice in the houses to the heads of administrative departments.

Within a few years another candidate for favor has appeared under the name of the Referendum, and has already made itself a question of practical politics in the United States and elsewhere. To be sure, we have long been familiar with the practical working of the thing itself in several of its forms; but the name is new and attractive, and the Swiss example suggests its extension far beyond what we have hitherto practised. In principle it amounts simply to this: that, as the people is the source of legislative power, acts of the representative assembly do not have the force of law until they have been submitted to and approved by the people. In practice this may be restricted to certain classes of acts or to those only whose submission to the people is demanded by a certain number of citizens. In this country the practice is as yet habitual only in the form of adoption or amendment of constitutions, though by no means unknown in application to ordinary statutes.

In Switzerland the referendum in its several forms is only one of a group of related institutions, all of which, like the restrictions in our States, have the effect of diminishing the power of the representative body, but, unlike them, accomplish this by a partial supersession of representative government by direct democracy. These are, besides the referendum, the right of popular initiative, the power of dissolution and the *Landsgemeinde*.

It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the advisability of transplanting these institutions into foreign soil and changed conditions, but rather to describe them as they are found in their native home; but it is important to draw attention here to some comparative statements which go far to explain the historical development.

As is well known, Switzerland is a United States in miniature, but with important differences, of which the most immediately striking is that the executive head of the State is not a president elected by the people, but a council of seven, chosen for a fixed term by the federal assembly. Each of the seven is the chief of a department, and one, who may hold any portfolio, is annually chosen President of the Confederation. He is, however, no more than the chairman of the council. The federal assembly closely resembles our Congress; but six of the twenty-five states, which

have their origin in the partition of former states, are known as half-cantons, and, although in all respects independent of each other, are each represented in the upper house by one member instead of two, precisely as if Virginia and West Virginia had each the right to one senator.

Like the United States, but unlike all other European states, Switzerland knows nothing of "parliamentarism." Executive and legislative bodies are chosen for fixed terms, and ordinarily serve out their terms, whatever the course of affairs may be. Differences between ministers and chambers do not involve the resignation of the one nor the dissolution of the other any more than with us. This explains in part why the referendum has been fully adopted in Switzerland and partially in the United States, but scarcely at all elsewhere.

On the other hand, three points of difference go far to explain the complete acceptance of referendum and initiative there, while here the latter is as yet unknown, and our constitutions are full of restrictions on the legislature. They are:—

First, that in every canton—and it was in the cantons that these institutions developed—there is a representative assembly of one chamber only. The check of an upper house is lacking except in the federal assembly. Second, the executive veto has there no existence. The executive is always plural in form, recognized as subordinate to the assembly and commonly chosen by it. The third is perhaps the most important, though it would not occur to any European; namely, that there is no power in the courts to control the discretion of the assembly in its interpretation of the constitution. The assembly is itself the only final interpreter in all cases.

Of all characteristically Swiss institutions, the *Landsgemeinde* is in itself the most interesting; but it is also the one which cannot possibly be the object of imitation elsewhere. It can hardly be altogether unfamiliar to any one; for many recent writers have described it, and drawn attention to the impressiveness of this sovereign assembly of all the freemen of the State, meeting with simple but stately ceremonial on an Alpine meadow under the open sky. It is presumably of immemorial antiquity, and no writer on the subject permits himself to forget to quote the words of Tacitus: *De minoribus principes consultant, de majoribus omnes*. The earliest record of a *Landsgemeinde* dates from 1294; and since the end of the thirteenth century their history has been continuous, except for a short period under the French domination.

Six of the petty states of the Confederation still maintain this ancient institution, Uri, Glarus, the half-cantons of Appenzell, Ausser- and Inner-Rhoden, and the half-cantons of Ob- and Nidwalden. It was abolished in Schwyz and Zug in 1849. Though the six differ considerably, any one will serve as an example. What follows relates, except where noted, to Unterwalden nid dem Wald, called more shortly Nidwalden.

The Landsgemeinde meets annually on the last Sunday in April, and may be summoned at other times by the cantonal council for matters beyond the competence of the latter and too urgent to await the annual meeting.

The first function of the Landsgemeinde is the election of a number of cantonal officials. Then, in its character as supreme legislature, there come before it:—

The acceptance or rejection of all constitutional alterations, laws, or other proposals brought in due form ;

The final audit of the finances and the budget statement ;

The imposition of taxes and all loans to exceed 6,000 francs ;

The grant of power to the cantonal council to make extraordinary expenditures or alienate public property ; and, finally,

The granting of cantonal citizenship.

It may authorize the council to enact new laws or alter existing ones in the name of the Landsgemeinde.

Any citizen having the right to vote may make propositions to be submitted to the Landsgemeinde, not, however, at the meeting itself. Everything to be voted upon, proposals, counter-proposals, amendments, must be drawn up and officially published beforehand, and cannot be modified in the assembly. The votes are simply for adoption or rejection. In Appenzell-ausser-Rhoden even discussion is forbidden.

It is worthy of note that, although the Landsgemeinde is declared the sovereign authority of the state, any one injured in his private right by its action may have his remedy by legal process.

Only two of these cantons, Glarus and Appenzell-inner-Rhoden, permit a single individual to propose alterations in the constitution. In the others a number varying from 50 in Uri to 800 in Nidwalden must unite in such a demand.

Obviously, the Landsgemeinde is possible only in states of the smallest size and simplest conditions. In these little Alpine cantons there are scarcely any rich or any poor, nearly all citizens are of the same religion, and there is little diversity of occupation

or of social conditions. The Swiss look upon these assemblies with a certain pride, the outer world with interest; but no one proposes them for imitation among more complex conditions.

In all the other states of the confederation the cantonal council is recognized as primarily the legislative body. This council, which in four cantons bears the name Landrath, in six Kantonsrath, and in the others Grosser Rath, or the equivalent in the language of the canton, will be herein referred to as the assembly. This is a representative body, which, in addition to legislative functions, participates in and supervises the administration. The executive council, called in most of the cantons Regierungsrath, and hereafter referred to as the council, varies in size from five to eleven members. In most cantons it is elected by the assembly, in some by popular vote, and in the Landsgemeinde cantons by the Landsgemeinde. In a few cases the members of the council are members also of the assembly, but where this is not the case they may attend the sessions of the latter with advisory voice. The council has regularly the right of proposing laws; and it is commonly part of its duties to put into the formal shape of a statute or resolution measures originally presented, either in the assembly or by private initiative, in a more or less amorphous condition.

In Freiburg all measures, in the Valais all but certain financial ones, are finally enacted or rejected by the assembly, the alteration of the constitution alone excepted, this being required by the federal constitution to be submitted to the people in all cases.

In all of the other cantons the legislative power of the assembly is exercised subject to the referendum.

The word comes from the old time when the Confederation was but a league of independent states, whose representatives at the Diets could vote only as instructed by their cantons, and who could consider proposals upon which they had no instructions only "ad referendum"; that is, to report them and the discussions thereon to their governments for consideration and subsequent instructions. The transition to the modern forms came through the cantons of the Valais and the Grisons, themselves formerly confederations in which the decisions of the central diet were subject to a similar referendum; in the former to the tithings, in the latter to the communes. It was not until 1854 that in the Grisons the vote of the people was substituted for the vote of the communes; while the other pioneer of the referendum, the Valais, after

a somewhat earlier change to a modern form, furnishes a unique example of its abolition, only certain financial proposals, as already stated, being now subject to it, and in practice these are not made at all.

In the present form of the referendum, in all cases, the decision is given by the majority of all citizens of the canton who participate in the vote, an earlier form, the so-called "veto," having disappeared.

The referendum is either obligatory or facultative; that is, it is either an indispensable stage in the enactment of law or it applies only in case the demand for submission of a particular measure to popular vote is made in prescribed form by a stated number of citizens or is determined upon freely by the assembly itself. The two forms are about equally common, some cantons having both for proposals of different classes. The constitutions vary considerably as to what measures are subject to the referendum. In general, all laws in the strict sense are so. Many cantons add agreements with other states. In some few any matters which can come before the assembly for decision are subject to a demand for a popular vote. A common provision includes all laws and all resolutions of generally binding obligation. This opens a wide door for interpretation, especially when there is joined to it that such resolutions shall be submitted on demand unless declared urgent. In the federal constitution, officially published in three languages, the German text speaks of "allgemein verbindliche Bundesbeschlüsse," the French of "arrêtés fédéraux qui sont d'une portée générale." These phrases do not exactly translate each other, and neither is entirely clear. The same words are used in the constitutions of several states. Two or three attempt a definition of the difference between a *Beschluss* or *arrêté* and a law; but, as the definition itself is somewhat vague, and the interpretation thereof rests wholly with the assembly, it is clear that the way is open for the passage of questionable measures in the form of a resolution upon which no vote can be demanded.

Where the referendum is optional, the number of signatures required to the demand varies from five hundred in Zug to six thousand in Vaud. It must be made within a time, varying from thirty days to six weeks, from the publication of the act, which naturally does not take effect until the time has elapsed. The assembly may also voluntarily propose a vote, and in a few states

this may be required by less than a majority of the assembly. In the *Landsgemeinde* cantons, Uri and Obwalden, there is also a species of optional referendum, in that twenty or four hundred citizens respectively may require reference to the *Landsgemeinde* of matters otherwise in the power of the assembly to determine finally.

The finance referendum is sometimes spoken of as a distinct class. It is not so, but merely a provision, and a very common one, that financial measures of certain kinds or of certain stated importance must be submitted to the people, as, for example, in the Valais, when an act involves an expenditure of 60,000 francs or of 20,000 francs a year for at least three years, and the ordinary receipts will not cover it.

From the right to accept or reject any measure to the right to propose measures is not a long step, and in the institution of the initiative the latter right is secured to the people. It appears at first sight like an extension of the right of petition, but its origin is rather to be found in the example of the *Landsgemeinde* cantons. It differs, indeed, radically from the right of petition, a petition being addressed entirely to the discretion of the assembly, which may deal with it in any way or totally neglect it, while the initiative either leaves no discretion to the assembly or only a strictly limited and defined discretion.

The canton of Vaud led the way in 1845 with a constitutional provision that any proposition emanating from at least 8,000 active citizens must be submitted to the vote of the communal assemblies. Since then all of the other cantons have, one by one, followed the lead of Vaud, except Freiburg, Lucerne, and the Valais.

In virtue of this right, a stated number of citizens, varying from a single individual in Zürich to 12,000 in Berne, may propose the enactment of a new law or decree or the repeal or amendment of an existing one, though in a few States the right is not quite so extensive. The demand is addressed to the assembly, and may take either of two forms. In the more usual, and the only one which most of the constitutions seem to anticipate, the proposition is not presented in the form of a statute, but couched in general terms, its elaboration being the duty of the assembly. The subsequent procedure varies. In a few states, as in Schaffhausen, the assembly must at once frame an act embodying the proposal. If it disapprove the plan, it may also draw up a counter-proposal, and both are submitted to the people. In two or three cantons, as in rural

Basel, the plan is submitted to the people in its original form, and only if it be approved by them does the assembly proceed to the elaboration of the statute. The usual procedure, however, is for the assembly to draw up the act if it approve the proposal, otherwise to submit it in the original form, and proceed to its elaboration only if it be approved by a majority of the popular vote.

The other form of demand, expressly authorized in some states and tacitly in others, consists in the presentation to the assembly of an act already drawn up in the formal shape of a statute. In this case the assembly has no power to alter or amend, but may in general submit simultaneously a counter-proposal. It would naturally be expected that where the referendum is found in the optional form a proposal originating in popular initiative need not necessarily be voted upon by the people, but that the assembly, if it approve, might enact it into law, subject of course to the chance of a demand for referendum. This is, however, not uniformly the case, several cantons requiring a popular vote on all measures of popular initiative, even though the referendum is not obligatory in other cases. In a few states, however, the assembly may enact the desired statute.

Where the initiative takes the form of the presentation of a formulated statute and the referendum is obligatory, the supersession of the representative legislature is complete. Its function becomes purely automatic, and might as well be performed by any official. Legislation in this case is effected without consulting the pleasure of the assembly in the smallest degree.

There is, however, an obvious method whereby the assembly can often defeat obnoxious proposals; and it has, of course, been practised. Since any measure to become law must obtain a majority of the total vote, it is often a simple matter by presenting a counter-proposal or one slightly different to draw off enough votes to accomplish the defeat of the original proposition. Thus, when in Vaud in 1878 the proposal was made to reduce the number of members in the assembly, that body, compelled to submit the proposal, but unwilling to submit to the threatened reduction, ingeniously provided two plans, differing in detail, either of which would accomplish the desired reduction. The majority of the people voted for the reduction; but, as this majority divided itself pretty evenly between the alternative plans, the wily assembly had the satisfaction of seeing itself and the *status quo* maintained intact.

It might be expected that the right of initiative would result in a deluge of propositions. Such is, however, far from being the case. Zürich is conspicuous among the cantons for the number of such proposals; but even here the total number brought to vote during the twenty years following the adoption of the constitution of 1869 was only twenty-two. Fifteen of these were rejected by the people. In Zürich alone, apart from the *Landsgemeinde* cantons, can a single citizen present a proposition; but in this case it must be supported by at least a third of the assembly or by 5,000 citizens, in order to be put to vote of the people.

A curiosity of Swiss constitutional law is the power of ordering the dissolution of the assembly or the council or both by a popular vote on popular initiative. The number of citizens required to initiate the proposal varies from 1,000 in Schaffhausen to 15,000 in Berne. Except in Aargau a new election must be held after a dissolution, the newly elected members filling out the rest of the unexpired term.

Where the people can nullify any act of the assembly, and can also initiate and enact any law, regardless of its views, this power of dismissal is so evidently superfluous that it is rather to be wondered at that it remains in the constitutions at all. It exists in only eight states, and, with one exception, is not of recent introduction in any of them. The exception is the singular one in Ticino, where alone the power of dismissal applies only to the council, and where it was first introduced so recently as 1892.

The important subject of the alteration of state constitutions must be treated briefly. In all the cantons, without exception, the initiative may come from the people, and in all they give the final sanction. Commonly, but not always, the number of citizens who may initiate a revision is the same as for an ordinary law. The maximum is 15,000 in Berne. Two cantons require a periodical vote on revision, rural Basel once in twelve years, Geneva once in fifteen. The distinction between amendment and revision is often not made clear, the former always being called partial, the latter total revision. Ordinarily, the question first voted upon is, Shall there be a revision of the constitution? and, if this is decided affirmatively, the revised constitution or the amended articles are voted upon for acceptance or rejection at a later date. In some states the revision is made by the assembly, in others, by a constitutional convention, while in a number, together with the preliminary question of revision, the people vote also on the ques-

tion of whether assembly or convention shall revise. The assembly is dissolved and a new one elected after every revision in Thurgau and Schaffhausen, and also in Lucerne, Zug, and Solothurn when the revision is begun by popular initiative. Three of these states even go to the absurd extreme of vacating every official position in the state, Schaffhausen, however, mercifully exempting clergy and teachers from the operation of this clean sweep.

Amendment or revision is easy and correspondingly frequent. Since the publication of the official collection of all constitutions in force, January 1, 1880, nine cantons have adopted new ones, and most of the others have made more or less extensive alterations. It is, therefore, difficult for a foreign student to feel confident that his knowledge of the subject is up to date.

Historically and logically, the cantons precede the Confederation; and both referendum and initiative originated in the cantons, and have been there more fully developed than in the federal constitution, though it is naturally the latter which has attracted most attention outside of Switzerland.

Prior to the present constitution of 1874 neither referendum nor initiative existed in federal matters, except that the constitution itself, or alterations therein, required the sanction of the people and the cantons. Under the present constitution the right of initiative exists for changes in the constitution, and a facultative referendum for all federal laws.

A proposal to revise the constitution, if made by either house of the federal assembly, the other refusing its concurrence, or if made by 50,000 citizens, must be submitted to the people, the question being simply: Shall the constitution be revised? If the vote is affirmative, the assembly is dissolved, and a new one elected which proceeds with the revision. If, however, the initiative is in the assembly itself, and both houses agree, they proceed as with ordinary legislation, subject, of course, to final popular sanction.

Before 1891 the preliminary question was always revision, pure and simple. No distinction was made between a proposal to wholly recast the instrument and the most trifling amendment, nor could the popular initiative take the form of proposing any particular change. An amendment of 1891 authorized a demand for partial revision; that is to say, amendment. 50,000 citizens may now demand either total revision or any alteration, and in the latter case may present their proposition in general terms or

submit the proposed article in formal shape. When the assembly disapproves of the proposal, it may present for simultaneous vote an alternative proposal or a recommendation for the rejection of the plan.

In all cases the final taking effect of an amendment is determined by its acceptance by a majority of all citizens taking part in the vote, and also a majority of the cantons, the vote of the people of a canton being taken as the vote of the canton, and the so-called half-cantons being counted as casting each one-half of a vote.

Like the initiative in constitutional matters, the facultative referendum for all other federal laws was introduced by the constitution of 1874. According to Article 89 federal laws must be submitted to the vote of the people if the demand is made by 30,000 citizens having the right to vote, or by eight cantons. The same is true, as already noted, with respect to resolutions of generally obligatory character, unless declared urgent by the assembly. In practice the demand for referendum is never made by the cantons. The difficulties of procedure make this provision a dead letter.

The demand must be made within ninety days from the official publication of the act. The vote is determined by valid ballots cast, without reference to the number voting nor to the vote in the several cantons. It has, in fact, happened in several instances that a law has been approved and put in force, though the peoples of a majority of the cantons voted adversely, which would have defeated the proposal, had it been for a modification of the constitution.

The subject of the practical working of these institutions is much more interesting than the dry details of constitutional law; but, unfortunately, it is more difficult to give any definite information on this matter. Opinion remains divided in Switzerland itself, after trial nearly as much as before trial, as to whether the results are admirable or the reverse. Only a few points are clear, one of which is that, as regards law-making, at least, the referendum is rather a conservative institution than otherwise; and another is that the quantity of law-making is thereby diminished, which in itself is no small gain. It is not an uncommon thing for a Swiss canton to escape the addition of a single act to the statute book in the course of a year, although none think it necessary to prevent their legislators meeting annually or oftener. During the twenty-one years, from the adoption of the federal constitution to the end of 1894, thirty-one measures have been put to vote of the

whole people.* Of these, thirteen have been accepted, eighteen rejected. Of the thirty-one, twelve were proposals for amendment of the constitution, and of these seven were accepted, so that of laws for which the referendum was demanded just over two-thirds were rejected.

Some of these votes are without especial interest, but others are instructive. Thus several, especially of the earlier ones, indicate a strong states-rights feeling and a willingness to minimize the federal power. This is always observable in the Catholic cantons and in those where Romance languages are spoken. So with respect to two laws for the unification of the rules governing the suffrage and the political rights of citizens, both rejected by the people; and a proposal to amend the constitution by striking out the prohibition of the death penalty, which was carried, less on account of a desire to reintroduce capital punishment than of a desire to allow the cantons to do as they pleased in the matter. A later proposal to allow of the transfer of criminal cases from cantonal courts to the federal tribunal when, in consequence of political agitation, confidence in the independence or impartiality of the cantonal courts is shaken, was defeated by a large majority. Sometimes the result has evidently been determined by other considerations than the merits of the law itself. Thus between 1879 and 1885 eight proposals were voted upon, and all were rejected, though one or two at least were pretty certainly not defeated on their own demerits, the principal reasons being general dissatisfaction with the assembly and the unpopularity of certain measures which helped to drag down unoffending ones, submitted at the same time. Occasionally, an act which has been once or twice rejected has been finally accepted with slight modification, or as in the case of the law concerning the tax on those exempted from military service, even allowed to become law without demand made for referendum.

A proposal voted upon in 1880 illustrates the working of the old rule restricting the popular initiative to the question of revision of the constitution. The demand actually presented was that Article 39 should be amended so as to give to the Confederation the monopoly of issuing bank-notes. This demand was, however, declared inadmissible; and the only question put to vote was, Shall the constitution be revised? Nevertheless, the voters understood themselves to be voting on the question of the bank-note mo-

* Possibly some recent ones have escaped my notice.

nopoly, although the assembly would not have been bound by an affirmative vote to revise in that particular way. This case also illustrates the likelihood of a change of opinion; for, while it was rejected by more than two to one, the same proposal was carried eleven years later by a considerable majority. The second time, however, the question was presented as a definite proposition.

Several recent votes are particularly worth notice for various reasons.

In 1891 a proposal that the Confederation should purchase the central railway was voted down by an enormous majority. Mr. Welti, then president of the Confederation, and at the same time minister of posts and railways, who had actively pushed the proposed purchase, resigned in consequence of its defeat. Prior to this no minister had considered an adverse vote as involving his retirement, the parliamentary system being as unknown in Switzerland as here. If this example were to become a precedent, which, however, seems unlikely, it might involve changes in Swiss political practice of far-reaching consequences.

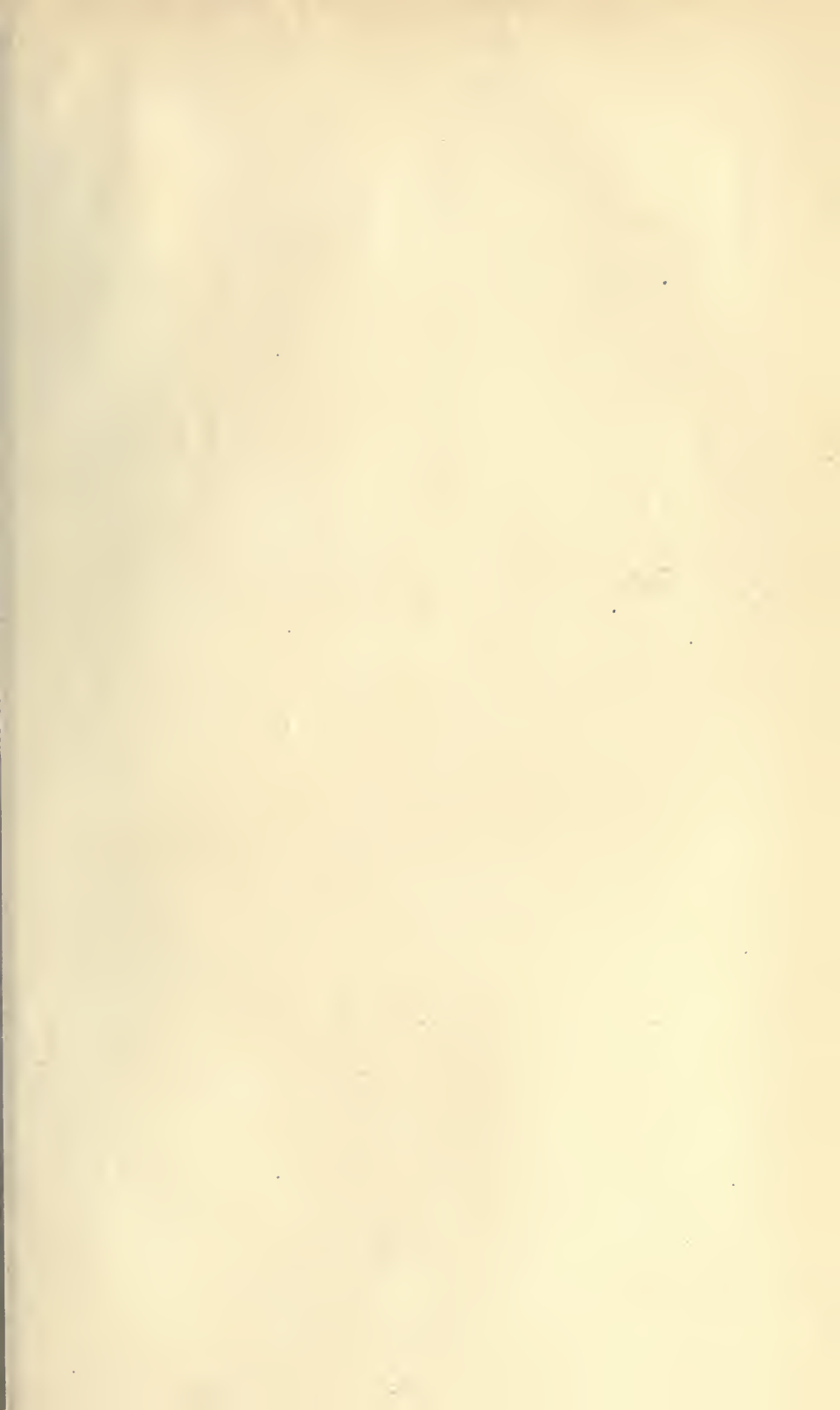
A proposal for constitutional amendment made in 1893 is interesting in two ways. Since the popular initiative is restricted to changes in the constitution, the natural result has followed of enactment into the constitution of law which is not at all constitutional in character. The proposition in this instance was for an amendment prohibiting the slaughter of cattle for food according to the Jewish ritual. In spite of the disapproval of the federal assembly, the measure, which was dictated by race hatred rather than by any sentiment of humanity, was carried by a majority of over 70,000.

Two votes passed in 1894 were more creditable to the Swiss people. The first was on a proposal, also from popular initiative, that there should be distributed to the cantons from the federal treasury out of the customs receipts a sum equal to two francs per inhabitant. The object of the plan was to weaken the central government; but it was too extreme for even Swiss particularism, and was defeated by more than 200,000 majority. The second proposal, also a product of popular initiative, originating with the socialists, demanded the addition to the constitution of a guarantee of sufficiently remunerated labor to every Swiss citizen. The exaggerated fears of its opponents proved groundless; for the scheme was rejected by the enormous majority of 230,000, and for the first time in the history of the referendum not one canton voted in favor of the proposal.

Where the referendum is obligatory for all laws, the proportion of rejections is of course smaller than where it is facultative ; but it is sufficiently large to prove how real a check it is on the assembly. Of the 131 measures relating to cantonal affairs which were voted on in Zürich during the twenty years following the adoption of the constitution of 1869, eighty-nine were accepted, and forty-two were rejected by the people.

A question of much importance is, How large a proportion of the people take their civic duties seriously enough to vote on the questions submitted to them ? The number, of course, varies with the varying amount of popular interest in particular measures ; but, on the average, it is for the Confederation about sixty per cent. of the whole number of citizens entitled to vote. In Zürich, during the twenty years just mentioned, the number of valid ballots cast averaged almost exactly sixty-three per cent. of the whole number of voters. Obviously, the decision is commonly given by a minority of the whole electorate. These percentages are, however, larger than they would be if every voter were free to abstain. Many cantons declare voting a duty, and some back up the declaration by fining those who fail in this duty. In Zürich this is regulated by the communes, so that some of the citizens are free to remain away from the polls, while others abstain at their peril. One result of the compulsory law is seen in the large proportion of blank ballots cast. In Zürich it is often the case that more than twenty per cent., and sometimes more than thirty per cent., of the ballots are blank.

Napoleon I. made a characteristic use of the reluctant voters. The constitution of 1802, which he pressed upon the not too eager Swiss, was submitted for acceptance or rejection to the vote of the people. In round numbers 72,000 voted for acceptance, 92,000 for rejection. Plebiscites under the Bonapartes, however, always gave the proper result. On the principle that silence gives consent 167,000 citizens who had abstained from voting were added to the affirmative side, and the new constitution began its brief career with a very satisfactory majority.



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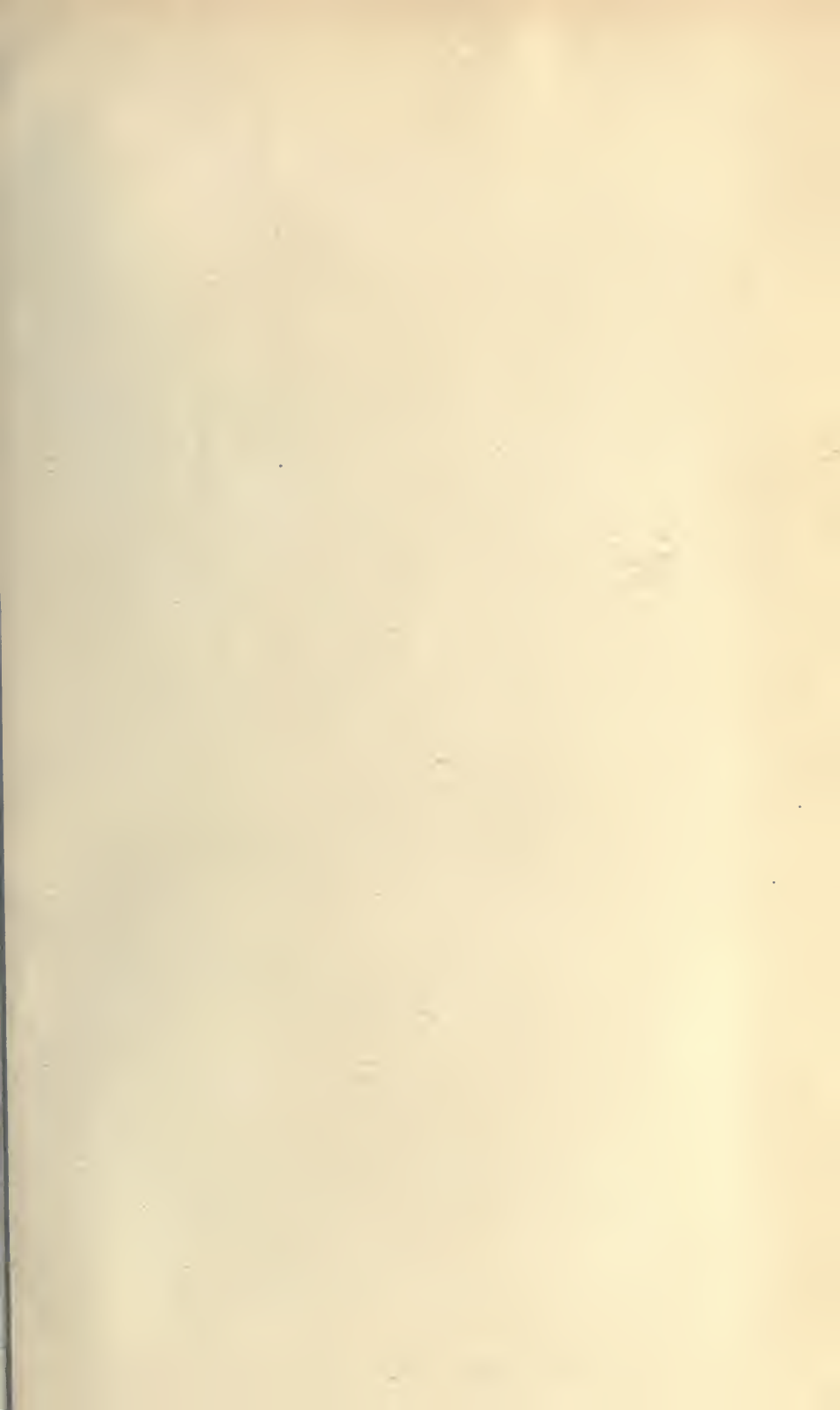
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